GAZETTEER OF INDIA

VOLUME TWO

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VOLUME TWO

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FOREWORD

I have pleasure in introducing to the reading public the second Volume of the Gazetteer of India which deals with "History and Culture". It is not to be considered as a revised version of the corresponding volume of the Imperial Gazetteer of India. It has been entirely re-written, following a completely different plan. Emphasis has been shifted from political history, which has been given only as a background. The many facets of our rich and varied cultural life through the ages have been given due importance. Important landmarks in the development of various regional languages of India have been mentioned. It has been shown that in spite of the apparent diversity, there is an underlying unity and this volume presents a coherent picture of our history and culture from the earliest times.

The approach to the subjects treated in this volume is essentially Indian. Every effort has been made to analyse the various forces and influences that were at work at different times and which contributed to the process of social change and shaped subsequent history. The history of India's struggle for freedom has been given proper emphasis and every effort has been made to tell the story of our country's emancipation with veracity and precision.

The contributors to this volume are men of distinction in their chosen fields. They have lent to this work the benefit of their profound scholarship. I hope it will be welcomed not only by students and scholars of history, but by all those interested in the history and culture of India, whether in this country or abroad.

New Delhi
October 18, 1973

S. NURUL HASAN
Minister of Education,
Social Welfare and
Culture

PREFACE

We are happy to present the second volume of the Gazetteer of India which deals with the history and culture of our ancient land. This volume follows an entirely new scheme of treatment which is more systematic and more informative than the relevant volume of the earlier series. The Imperial Gazetteer Volume on History had been written from the point of view of an imperial power. It was felt that a fresh treatment was necessary in order to present the history of a free nation in its correct perspective. Although many works exist on Indian history, Prof. Humayun Kabir, the then Minister of State for Cultural Affairs, felt that there was need for a standard book on history written with a new approach. He expressed the hope that it would serve as an authoritative text-book on history for the people not only in India but outside as well. It was proposed by him that the English version should be translated into all the major Indian languages. He was also of the view that an abridged edition of about 300 pages might be issued for students.

In view of the importance attached to these volumes, a Central Advisory Board was constituted for the revision of Gazetteers. It was presided over by Prof. Humayun Kabir and several eminent persons were its members. The Board appointed a number of sub-committees for finalizing the plan of Volume II (History and Culture) particularly as regards the periodization of Indian history, separate treatment of social, economic and cultural aspects as also the history of South India. The views of several eminent historians such as Dr. R.C. Majumdar, Dr. Tara Chand, Prof. K.A. N. Sastri, Dr. K.K. Datta, Dr. B.P. Saksena, Dr. N.K. Sinha and Dr. K.K. Pillai were solicited. In the new plan, it was decided to adopt a chronological division of Indian history into 'Ancient', 'Medieval' and 'Modern' periods. Most of the scholars agreed that the 'Ancient' period should end at A.D. 1206, while the 'Modern' period may be taken to commence from A.D. 1761.

The main emphasis in this volume has been on the social, cultural, economic and artistic life of the people. The necessary background of political history has, of course, been given with it. The political history of each period is followed by chapters on economic life, society, religion, literature, art and architecture. For instance, in the 'Ancient' period, we have three chapters devoted to cultural studies, government and economic life, society, religion, literature and art and architecture. Indeed, the attention paid in the old gazetteer to the life of the common man and the cultural heritage of the country was not only inadequate but also unsystematic. The new plan has sought to correct this shortcoming. The history of South India has been dealt with, so far as possible, as an

integral part of the general history of the country. It may be recalled that the old gazetteer had a separate chapter on the Hindu period in South India up to the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire. It was also decided that the clash between the rising Indian political organizations and the British rulers should be examined in a separate chapter entitled the 'Indian National Movement'. Besides, an exhaustive chapter on the source-materials of Indian history has also been added. It has been our endeavour to mention almost all the important sources—Indian and foreign—which throw light on the history of India. This chapter will be of immense use to scholars for research purposes. It would not perhaps be incorrect to say that this volume is the only authoritative history of India published by the Government of India and written with the cooperation of a very large number of distinguished scholars.

Eminent scholars in different fields were appointed as contributors to the various sections in this volume. It was, however, found that there were a number of points on which there was difference of opinion among the scholars. In view of this, it was decided to set up a small Advisory Committee with Prof. Sher Singh, the then Minister of State for Education, as Chairman. The members of the Committee were Dr. R.C. Majumdar, Dr. A.D. Pusalker, Dr. A.L. Srivastava, Dr. P.C. Gupta, Prof. P.K.K. Menon, Prof. S.H. Askari, Shri Jai Chandra Vidyalankar and the Editor (Gazetteers). The members of the Committee were required to go through the drafts of the chapters in which they had specialized and to offer suggestions. I am grateful to Prof. K.N.V. Sastri for his help and co-operation in scrutinizing the draft and to Dr. Bhabani Bhattacharya for having seen it from the literary point of view.

It was, indeed, a challenging task for the Editor and the officers of the Gazetteers Unit to scrutinize the contributions of over a hundred scholars, verify the facts, introduce uniformity, and also avoid overlapping, as far as possible. The task of giving diacritical marks on all vernacular terms was equally trying. It was rendered all the more difficult in view of the fact that there are more than fourteen major Indian languages besides Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. The printing of the volume presented quite a problem as there are very few presses in the country which could provide diacritical marks and were willing to take up the big assignment of printing this volume.

To give the readers an idea of the important places which occur in the volume, 4 maps have been included. The system of transliteration followed is generally the same as that standardized by the Indian National Bibliography, Calcutta. In accordance with the decision of the Advisory Committee, no diacritical marks have been given on proper names occuring from the nineteenth century onwards. In the case of place-names, the system adopted by the Survey of India has been followed. The same system would be used in the next (third) volume which is in the press.

PREFACE

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture, Shri I.D.N. Sahi, Education Secretary and Shri Mohan Mukerji, Additional Secretary, Department of Culture, who have been taking keen interest in the work.

New Delhi
OCTOBER 15, 1973

P.N. CHOPRA

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INTRODUCTION

1. Geography

Derivation of the Name 'India'. The name 'India' is derived from Sindhu (Indus), the name of the great river in the North-west, the zone where developed the first contacts of the country with the external world. The Sindhu assumed an intermediate form in Irānian of which Persian Hind is an echo, and from which Greeks and Romans got the name India. The name was doubtless first applied to the part of the country best known to them before being extended to the whole. In the traditional and legendary cosmography of the Hindus, it is called Bharatakhaṇḍa, part of Bhāratavarṣa to the south of the Meru (golden mountain); by another account, it is Jambūdvīpa, one of the seven concentric islands comprising the earth.

Geographical and Political Unity. India is a vast subcontinent which juts from the middle of South Asia into the Indian Ocean. It extends from south to north for 3,200 km. between 8°4′ and 37°6′ North parallels of latitude and its greatest breadth from east to west is 3,000 km. between 68°7′ and 97°25′ East meridians of longitude. Striking physical features of mountain and sea combine the whole vast area of 32,80,483 sq. km. into a single natural region. The early realization of the natural geographical unity of India by the thinkers of the land finds expression in the formulation of the ideal of a universal emperor, *Cakravartī* or *Sārvabhauma Samrāṭ*, the ceremonial of his installation is detailed in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and in the definition of *Cakravartīkṣetra* by Kauṭilya as including the whole of India from the Himālayas to the seas and a thousand *yojanas* across. Religion reinforced this sense of geographical unity by fixing centres of pilgrimage at the extremities—Hinglāj, Badrī, Purī (Puri), Kanyā Kumārī (Kanniyā Kumārī) and Dvārakā (Dwārka). Seldom, however, did this unity materialize as a political fact; it was nearly attained under the Mauryas and the Mughals, and again fully under British rule in the 19th century. During most of the historical period, the land was divided into a number of states of varying sizes and constantly shifting boundaries.

The Himalayas. The Himālayas constitute a formidable crescent-shaped barrier separating Sinkiang and Tibet from India along its wide northern frontier and containing the highest mountain peaks in the world. They are famed in immemorial legend and literature as the abode of gods and sages; as the home of Pārvatī—the throne of her consort (Mount-Kailās) adjoining one of the holiest *tīrthas*, lake Mānasarowar; and as the source of innumerable life-giving rivers of India including the Gaṅgā (Ganga), the holiest of them all. Two mighty rivers, the Sindhu

in the north-west and the Brahmaputra in the east, garland the Himālayas at either end of their length of over 2,500 km. The perennial snows of the Himālayas are as important for the hydrography of India as the two monsoons or seasonal winds from the north-east (November-May) and the south-west (June-October). The Brahmaputra is a continuation of the Tibetan Tsangpo, called Dihāng or Siāng after its entry into India; the union of Dihāng with two other confluents, the Dibāng and the Luhit (Tellu), produces the Brahmaputra. From the great central range of snowy peaks to the Indo-Gaṅgā plain there is a width of about 150 to 400 km. of mountain country. The Himālayan valleys must have been occupied by Indians fairly early in the development of Indo-Aryan civilization. The magnificence of the forest scenery of the Himālayas is indescribable. The outer ranges of the Siwāliks, a more recent formation of broken and disintegrating hills that form the first step upward from the plains, are famous in geological annals for the wealth of palaeontological evidence which they have given to the world. The Central Himālayas are bordered by fever-haunted jungles known as *tarai* or, on the extreme east, *duārs*; within their embrace, however, immediately south of Nepāl, are hidden the buried remains of some of the most famous medieval Buddhist cities. The passes across the Himālayas are few, very elevated, and precarious; and all of them strike into the elevated tableland of Tibet 'the roof of the world'. None of them except Natu La and Jelep La is usable except for small-scale trade, and none contributes anything now to the material prosperity of India. Simla and Darjeeling are the chief hill-stations naturally connected with the main roads intersecting the mountains. Simla is situated on the parting of the waters between the Sutlej and the Yamunā (Yamuna) and marks the great divide of the Indo-Gaṅgā plain.

The Hindu Kush. The Himālayas are continued by the Hindu Kush and its offshoots in the west and the Lushai hills on the east. The Hindu Kush is the range *par excellence* of Northern Afghānistān where the province of Kābul touches the very heart of the mountain masses which buttress the Pamirs. Tnough rugged and elevated, the Hindu Kush is not Himālayan in its mountain characteristics. There are few high peaks, and several depressions which allow easy access between north and south. However, it is not the Hindu Kush itself but the inconceivably difficult approaches to which its passes lead, that form the northern barrier to India. Historically, the most important of the Hindu Kush passes is that which gives its name to the mountain, meaning 'Hindu Killer', from the fate which once befell a Hindu force on its summit; it is but one of a group of passes leading from the Oxus basin to Kābul. This way came the Aryans into India and Alexander with his Greek legions and many successive tides of human migration, Scythian, Mongol etc. Below the Hindu Kush stretch the narrow irregular border districts

of the Paṭhān highlands, full of wild tribes, a country all mountainous, through which run the chief passes between Afghānistān and India—the Khyber, the Kurram, the Tochi and the Gomal in succession from north to south. The Kābul river at the north foot of the Safed Koh drains the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush which, from the far north, extends its long level spurs parting the waters of many historic rivers such as the Kunar, the Panjkora and the Swāt. On the western border of India between this mountain region and the Arabian Sea lies Baluchistān with its banded formation of hills rising in altitude one behind the other from the lower Indus valley plains to the great limestone backbone of the Sulaimān system. Sometimes these ranges present an impassable wall of great natural strength for hundreds of kilometres like the Kīrthar range stretching northwards from the Karāchi frontier to the passes of Kalāt. Elsewhere, the transverse lines of drainage open up narrow rock-guarded gateways leading upwards from the plains to the plateau, such as the passes of Mula, Mashkat and Bolān. South of Quetta, about the latitude of Kalāt, a division occurs in this banded gridiron formation. The outer easternmost ridges retain their original strike and reach down southwards to the sea. The inner ridges curve westwards and run east to west in Makrān in rough lines parallel to the border of the Arabian Sea and through Īrān to the north of the Persian Gulf. Makrān, which is now mostly a desert, had at one time better water supply and was not only habitable but also fertile; even now it includes long narrow valleys of great fertility where date-palms flourish and fruit is cultivated amid fields of wheat and maize. Alexander used the difficult land route across Makrān to withdraw from India with a part of his troops.

The North-west. The North-west is the key to India proper and to much of her history. It is continuous on the south with the vast plain of Hindustān, the Āryāvarta of Manu. More than once in our long history, the North-west has for some time formed part of the Western and Central Asian State system. The Achaemenid rulers of Persia (Īrān), Cyrus and Darius I, conquered the Punjab and part of Sind, annexed them as the satrapies of Gandhāra and India, and started political and cultural contacts between India and Īrān. These contacts, often broken but always revived, characterize the history of the region destined in the 20th century to become Pākistān.

Kashmir. The square block of Kashmīr territory is traversed across its breadth by the deep trough of the Indus which changes suddenly to a south-westerly course a little to the east of Gilgit to make its way to the plains of Peshāwar through wild and unapproachable mountains. The beauty of Kashmīr is the beauty of its western and southern districts where Nanga Parbat overlooks the Indus or Harāmukh is reflected in the purple waters of the Wular lake. In Kashmīr are contained the great reservoirs from which is drawn the water-supply that irrigates the vast

flat plains of the Punjab. Kashmir was from early times an influential centre of Hindu culture; it was a home of Sanskrit scholars and poets; it helped in spreading Indian culture to Central Asia and produced in Kalhaṇa the only true Indian historian of antiquity.

The Brahmaputra. The Brahmaputra and its confluents with their potentialities for the cultivation of tea, coffee and fruit, dominate the North Eastern Frontier, where live the sub-Himālayan tribes (the Daflas, Abors, Moubas, Mishmis and others). There are no easy roads in this region and the very heavy rainfall concentrated in a third of the year washes away the tracks and promotes a dense growth of forest. Thanks to the impossible Tibetan plateau and the difficulty of the eastern frontier (*pace* occasional Burmese and Shan raids on Assam), the meeting points of Chinese and Indian cultures were found only in Turkestān by way of Balkh (Bactria) in the Oxus valley and in North Annam by way of the sea.

Indian Subcontinent—The Gaṅgā Plain. The main part of the subcontinent easily falls into three major geographical and cultural divisions: the Gaṅgā plain, the central belt of hill and desert, and the Peninsula. The broad stretch of low flat country known as the Indo-Gaṅgā depression is, in some respects, the most important physical feature of India; it extends from the delta of the Indus to the delta of the Gaṅgā, though the only access from the Punjab to the basin of the Gaṅgā is along the narrow interval between the northern edge of the Rajāsthān desert and the Himālayas. This is a strategic point where the destinies of India were decided in battle at least on five occasions in historical times. Delhi stands just south of it. In the basin of the Gaṅgā have ever been founded the chief kingdoms of the plains, the most ancient cities, the earliest centres of Indo-Aryan civilization, industry and wealth. The mighty river has silently worked through the ages in an unceasing process of regeneration of the soil, spreading life and strength among the millions who venerate her as Mother Gaṅgā and purify themselves in its sanctifying waters at the *tīrthas* of Haradvāra (Hardwār), Prayāga and Vārāṇasi. In the entire plain there are hardly any hillocks to break the uniform regularity of its alluvial surface, which is unfathomable in its depth as borings to a depth of 300 m. have failed to touch the rock bottom. The result is that river courses are often very unsteady and wander over beds 30 to 45 km. wide, the Sindhu being the worst offender in this respect. But the land is extraordinarily fertile and the prevailing evidence of agricultural wealth becomes almost oppressive in its monotony.

After the confluence of the Gaṅgā with the Brahmaputra, the country widens out into an endless panorama of irrigated fertility, a wide net-work of canals, and an endless procession of picturesque villages containing a swarming population. The rainfall is certain and abundant, and it is in the Assam hills south of the Brahmaputra that the highest rainfall

in the world is recorded. The Gaṅgā and its tributaries, draining the southern slopes of the Himālayas from Simla eastwards, trace magnificent curves through the flat lowlands, carrying fertility and wealth to the plains of West Bengal. A notable addition to the Yamunā, and so to the Gaṅgā also, is made by the rivers Chambal and Śoṇa (Son) which drain the gradually rising slopes of the Central Indian plains. The wealth and population of India have been concentrated in the valley of the Gaṅgā, and in its shady groves were conceived those profound doctrines of moral philosophy that the world acclaims today as the authentic wisdom of India.

Mahanadi Basin. Though separated from Lower Bengal by a broad band of hilly country, the basin of the Mahānadī (Mahānadi) differs very little in its essential physical characteristics. Its delta forms the chief feature of the fertile flats of Orissa, very similar in every way to those of Lower Bengal. Not far from the mouth of the Mahānadī, on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, is situated the temple of Jagannātha at Purī, one of the most sacred shrines of India.

The Aravalli Range. Parallel to the course of the Sindhu from the north-east to south-west is the oldest mountain range of India, the Arāvalli, which divides Rājputāna (Rājasthān) into two unequal parts. On the north-west lies Thar or the Great Indian Desert, which has always proved to be a more effective barrier against foreign inroads than the Indus itself. Arid, hot and desolate, it extends for 480 km. between the Indus and the Arāvalli; there are, however, two cities in this region—Jaisalmer and Bīkaner. South of the Arāvalli, Rājputāna almost forms part of the Gaṅgā basin with the Chambal and its affluent Banās draining northwards to the Yamunā, and here are the great Rājpūt cities—Jaipur, Ajmer, Udaipur and Jodhpur. Even here the sandy desert feature is not altogether wanting, especially around the famous salt lake of Sāmbhar. The atmosphere is still the sweet pure air of a dry desert, and the climate, with somewhat sharp extremes of temperature, is that which might well breed a race of men such as the heroes of the epics and the Rājpūts of Indian history.

The Vindhyas. The Gaṅgā plain slopes gently upwards towards the south to a central transverse water-parting which crosses the subcontinent from west to east about 23° North Parallels of latitude. It constitutes the Vindhyas, a rugged mountainous tract varying much in width and elevation, which has offered shelter to several more or less primitive pre-Aryan tribes with their own culture and language. On the south of the Vindhyas, there is a steep fall from the crest to the deep narrow trough of the Narmadā (Narmada) valley bounded on the south by the Sātpura-Mahādeo-Maikala range. From the southern slopes of the Sātpuras, the Tāpi (Tāpti) flows parallel to the Narmadā to the west and the Mahānadī to the Bay of Bengal in the east. This double wall effectively divides

the Peninsula from the northern plain. Though this has not seriously hindered intercommunication, it rendered political unification difficult in the past, and the mighty warrior Harṣa was effectively stopped on the banks of the Narmadā from extending his power into the Deccan in the 7th century A.D.

Peninsular India. From the tip of the Peninsula at Cape Comorin, the Malabār and Coromandel Coasts extend for 1,500 km., the one to the north-west and the other at first northward, and then to the north-east. There are a few good natural harbours along either coast, though the west is a little better off, with Cochin, Goa and Bombay offering safe anchorage for ships. Located half-way on the maritime routes from the Mediterranean and Africa to China, Peninsular India developed and maintained a fairly brisk maritime trade with the nations on either side, and had a large share in the colonization of the eastern lands across the Bay of Bengal. And its rulers, at least some of them like the Sātavāhanas, Pallavas and Coḷas, are known to have devoted particular care to the maintenance of a strong navy. An early account of the ports of Peninsular India and the conditions of maritime trade is found in the anonymous Greek tract, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1st century A.D.).

The nucleus of the Peninsula is a triangular block of very old rocks that cover its greater part from the Sātmāla-Ajanta ranges to the Nīlgiris. This has a typical plateau relief; its western edge is a steep brink, the Western Ghāts, overlooking the West Coast formed by a narrow strip of rough, wet lowland; its surface has a gentle fall to a lower brink in the east, the Eastern Ghāts. Between the Eastern Ghāts and the Coromandel Coast is a belt of lowland, the Karṇāṭaka (a strange misnomer), much wider, smoother and relatively drier than the western strip. The Eastern Ghāts curve west and meet the Western Ghāts in the Nīlgiris with the Doda Betta peak at a height of 2,637 m. Immediately south of the Nīlgiri plateau lies the only break in the continuity of the Western Ghāts, the Pālghāt or Coimbatore gap, which is about 30 km. from north to south and affords lowland access from the Karṇāṭaka to the Malabār coast at a level of 144 m. above the sea. This easy road into the Karṇāṭaka from Cochin, Calicut and other ports of the west has played an important role all through history. South of the Pālghāt gap, the Ghāts reach an even greater height at Anai Mudi peak (2,695 m.) and strike south-eastwards, terminating in Cape Comorin. Here is produced much teak and coffee; there is also valuable game including the elephant. It is inhabited by hill tribes like the Kāḍar, Muduvar and Pulayan. The crest line of the Western Ghāts is generally at a distance of from 50 to 80 km. from the Arabian Sea, although in places it approaches so close to the shore as to restrict the width of the coastal plain to no more than 7½ km., and it is not uncommon for spurs and ridges to end as cliffs along the coast.

North of Goa the surface of the Ghāts is covered with thick basaltic

lava-flows—the Deccan Traps of Indian Geology. The Marāṭhās found it easy to fortify many of the flat, weathered hill-tops in this area. The uplands around Poona, clothed with the volcanic cotton soil, are quite as fertile as the alluvial valleys of the Narmadā and Tāptī rivers. Passes across the Western Ghāts here are few, and two of the best known are the Thalghāt carrying the road and railway from Bombay to Agra, and the Bhorghāt which likewise connects Bombay with Poona.

The Eastern Ghāts are irregular, scattered, broken and of much lower altitude than the Western Ghāts. The Deccan plateau has a general elevation of 600 metres and the general slope is towards the south-east as indicated by the course of the major rivers—the Godāvarī (Godāvari), Kṛṣṇā (Krishna) and Kāverī (Cauvery), all of which rise near the Arabian Sea and empty themselves in the Bay of Bengal.

Lying athwart the course of the Arabian Sea branch of the south-west monsoon, the Western Ghāts bring about a striking difference in rainfall between the regions on either side of them. While the monsoon literally pours in the west (the annual average of Mahābaleshwar is 750 cm.), in the Deccan plateau the rainfall (less than 100 cm.) is not enough to support a vegetation of tall evergreen trees, though teak is cultivated in some places under plantation conditions, and forests of odoriferous sandalwood abound in Mysore and near about.

Cities. Cities generally rose at the banks of rivers and on trade and pilgrim routes. The ancient Magadhan capital Pāṭaliputra occupied a secure position between the protecting waters of the Gaṅgā and the Śoṇa; but the modern city of Patna lies about 18 km. below the confluence and has lost the strategic advantages of the old city. Sāñcī (Sanchi) stood at the junction of several routes from upper Gaṅgā valley to Ujjayinī (Ujjain) and thence to Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) and Deccan in the south and westwards to the sea. Bharukaccha (Broach) was probably an important city in the Western viceroyalty of the Mauryan empire. Many other examples may easily be mentioned. The advent of the European powers by sea brought in a new factor, and Madras, Bombay and Calcutta are examples of big cities that have grown out of clusters of small villages to support the trade and political expansion of the English East India Company. Many other commercial centres rose and fell on the coasts under similar influences. Pondicherry and Goa are notable instances.

The geography of Upper India favours uniformity of culture, but the area is vast and even the Mughals held it together with difficulty. The smaller and better defined geographical units of the Peninsula fostered cultural variety and the development of conscious and politically well-knit communities. On the other hand, the North was open to many external influences from the north-west. There is also a perceptible difference between the extremes of the continental climate of the North and the generally more equable one of the South. Thanks, however, to planned

large-scale enterprises in irrigation and electrical engineering, and the development of aerial transport and other technological factors of the modern age, the limitations imposed by geography and climate are being altered and overcome and the geo-political and strategic conditions of the future may be very different from those of the past.

Recent Geological Changes. There is little evidence of any vast changes during historical times in the geological configuration of India, and it is wrong to interpret the Tamil literary tradition regarding subsidence of land under the sea as references to the Gondwāna and Lemuria of the geologists. But some changes of a less sweeping nature have occurred, and failure to take account of them may create difficulties in following old accounts like the story of the exploratory voyage of Nearchus. Tamluk, Koṛkai and Kāyal described as flourishing ports in ancient times (Koṛkai and Kāyal even as late as Marco Polo's time) are now land-locked villages, and parts of Māmallapuram (Mahābalipuram) and Kāveripaṭṭiṇam may well have fallen victims to sea erosion. The Vedic river Sarasvatī is now represented perhaps only by the dry bed of the Ghagger. There is need for caution in the use of modern maps while studying ancient India.

2. Periodization of Indian History

On a strictly logical view, the history of any country is an indivisible unity, in which ideas, events, and personalities act and react on one another often in an obscure and intangible manner. But such complex wholes do not lend themselves to clear exposition or convenient study until they are broken up into manageable units, and this process is bound to be somewhat arbitrary and conventional. And the division which may be excellent from one point of view may not be so convenient from another. Yet, in general, some compromise is possible between the rival divisions that present themselves to the mind.

One obvious line is that between pre-history and history. Man lived through scores of centuries in India as elsewhere before recorded history begins. And though the Indus Valley Civilization has yielded some hundreds of pictographs, particularly on seals, they have not yet been deciphered, and it is, therefore, best to include that civilization also in prehistory or proto-history. Though that civilization may be shown to have contributed some notable elements to the historic civilization of India, the continuous history of the latter, which we may well describe as Indo-Aryan (*pace* the recent stress on the pre-Aryan content of our culture as a whole) starts mainly after the settlement of the Aryans, particularly over the entire Indo-Gaṅgā plain, and the more or less complete fusion of races and cultures, Aryan and pre-Aryan. It is difficult to suggest

a definite date, but perhaps 1500 B.C. will receive wider assent than any other. The Aryanization of the Deccan and the Far South must be put much later. However, the 3rd or 4th century B.C. recently suggested by archaeologists for the coming in of Megalithic culture, which seems to be closely associated with rice cultivation and Dravidian speech, may turn out ultimately to be too recent.

For well over 2,500 years after the Aryan settlement, ancient Indian Hindu civilization, if we use the word Hindu in a broad sense so as to include Buddhism and Jainism, developed and unfolded itself and even spread outside India to Central Asia, Indo-China and Indonesia. The impacts due to contact with the Persians, Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and the Hūṇas did introduce new elements both into culture and population, but effected no fundamental change. Hindu culture bade fair to go on for ever, till Islāmic inroads brought to it many new, strange and powerful elements in race, religion and culture. India, however, stood up to Islām much better than many other lands in Asia, Africa and Europe, and the first onrush of the Islāmic tide was effectively stemmed after its establishment in a relatively unimportant corner of the country (Sind) early in the 8th century A.D. Elsewhere, particularly on the West Coast, Muslim Arabs were able to continue the time-honoured pre-Islāmic trade relations with Indians on mutually acceptable terms of peaceful co-existence. The provinces of Kābul and the Punjab were also lost to Islām in the 11th century, but the effective Muslim conquest of India proper did not begin until the last quarter of the 12th century. This may be said to have been in progress until about A.D. 1338 when it reached its widest extent, though only for a short period, under Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq. Opinions may well differ as to the definite date of demarcation between the pre-Muslim and Muslim periods of Indian history. But a strong case can be made out for fixing it at A.D. 1206 when Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak proclaimed himself the first Sulṭān of Delhi and that date has been adopted in this volume. The Muslim invaders, Turks first and then Afghāns, Mongols and others, found it easy and tempting to make their homes in India, losing contact with their original homelands in course of time. Opinions differ as to whether the natural and inevitable give-and-take between Muslims and Hindus in the long centuries of Muslim rule may be said to have brought a new Hindustānī culture into existence, or the old Hindu culture must be held to have continued to be its old self with minor readjustments to suit the new milieu; the admixture of Islāmic cultural elements and the proportion of Muslims to Hindus have differed in different regions, being highest in those that have gone into Pākistān, and lowest in South India, mainly due to the historic role of Vijayanagar.

Vasco da Gama had touched Calicut nearly three decades before Bābur laid the foundations of the Mughal empire at Pānīpat. But the

command of the Indian Ocean by the Portuguese in the 16th century, the struggles between them and their first rivals, the Dutch, and the mutual antagonisms among the Dutch, the French and the British, only touched the fringes of Indian polity and economy for quite a long time. The full effects of the Western impact were not felt till the middle of the 18th century. The Europeans did not find the Indian climate suitable for their permanent settlement (unlike their Muslim predecessors), and so the British, who won the race for power bent their energies to develop India as a colony for exploitation. The battle of Plassey (1757), the battle of Buxar (1764), or the grant of the *Dīwānī* of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa to the East India Company (1765), may be suggested as the beginning for the period of British rule in India. But another date 1761 commends itself better when we recall that this was the year in which their chief European rivals, the French, were decisively defeated and had to surrender Pondicherry (Janaury 16); the Marāṭhās, their chief rivals for the rule of India after the French, suffered a decisive setback at Pānīpat two days earlier; and on the intervening day (January 15) the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam II was defeated in battle on the Son and had to make his peace with the English on their terms. British rule in India has now become a closed chapter since August 15, 1947, and that date marks the end of our narrative.

3. Chronology—Indian Eras

Vedanga Jyotisa. The earliest method of reckoning time in India was mentioned in *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa,* astronomy ancillary to the Vedas. It was evolved *inter alia* with the object of regulating the performance year after year of seasonal sacrifices on the correct performance of which the welfare and prosperity of the community was held to depend. This was a primitive and rough method of observation which was still current or at least remembered at the time the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* was written. The extant text of *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* is a short work in verse of indefinite date (perhaps not later than 400 B.C.) and contains contradictory data on the commencenent of the year, probably because of a later revision. It recognizes a cycle (*yuga*) of five years of 360 days each completed by an additional month of thirty days, making a total of 1,830 days (solar), as against an actual 1,826¼.

Traditional Divisions. In general, we may say that the traditional Indian divisions of time follow the revolutions of the Moon, the Sun, and in an ancillary sense, Jupiter (Bṛhaspati); these luminaries delimit respectively the month, the year, and the cycles of twelve or sixty years. The durations of month, year and cycle so defined are not simple multiples of each other; the month is not an integral number of lunar revolutions,

nor the year an integral number of months, nor the cycle of Bṛhaspati an integral number of years; and so a complex system of conventions and compensations, which varies in the different astronomical works, has come into existence, seeking to reconcile the results of theory and those of actual observations.

Indian Eras. There is not sufficient evidence that until the 1st century B.C., any definite era was employed in India to record the date of an event; early inscriptions are generally recorded in regnal years of the ruling kings, like the Aśokan inscriptions. The idea of counting dates from a fixed year over a long period of time seems to have been brought into this country by the invaders from the north-west of India who have left the earliest inscriptions of India dated in this manner. We must note, however, that the oldest Indian eras, which have a religious basis and begin with the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra and of Buddha, may appear to contradict the hypothesis of foreign origin of the reckoning in eras; but there is no definite evidence of the early use of these eras. They may well have been the product of later calculations based on tradition. The Buddha era dates from 544 B.C., according to Ceylonese reckoning. The Mahāvīra era starts from 527 B.C., and is used mostly in Jain works. Modern criticism has shown that the Ceylonese epoch of the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* is some sixty years too early, the true date being 483 B.C. ; another view based on Chinese evidence puts it in 486 B.C. The Ceylonese date has been accepted by the Government of India in celebrating the 25th centenary of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*.

Once the system was adopted, there came up in the course of centuries quite a number of eras which now cause great embarrassment to the historian, particularly because there is often no clear indication of the specific era used in the context.

It would be impossible to discuss here the numerous questions connected with these. We can mention only the more important reckonings indicating their probable origin and the extent of their use. Some eras go back to a time earlier than the Aryan invasion; such are the *Kaliyuga* and the *Saptarṣi* eras. The former is a fictitious epoch confirmed by Āryabhaṭṭa (5th century A.D.) and employed in astronomical text books with a starting date at February 18, 3102 B.C., apparently the result of calculation made in the early centuries of the Christian era, and not of a tradition from pre-Vedic times. This date is sometimes taken to be that of the Mahābhārata War and the birth of Parīkṣit which almost synchronized with it; but none of the dynastic lists preserved in the Purāṇas warrants such high antiquity for these events, which have generally been placed roughly about 1200 to 900 B.C. The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II; however, accepts the early date as valid for the Great War and equates Śaka 556 (expired)—A.D. 634-635—with 3,735 years after the Bhārata battle (*Bhāratād āhavāt*). A Coḷa inscription from Grāmam (South

Arcot) is dated Kali year 4,044 or Kali day 14,77,037 corresponding to Saturday, January 14, A.D. 943. This era is still shown in the current almanacs, at least in South India. The *Saptarṣi* (also called *Laukika*) era begins after the expiry of 25 Kali years, in 3,076 B.C., and it was in use in Kashmīr and its neighbourhood at the time of Alberūnī (11th century A.D.) and generally in medieval times; it is recorded in cycles of one hundred years (often with the hundreds omitted), each cycle commencing seventy-six years after each Christian century.

Vikrama Era. The postulate of a Maurya era which played a part in discussions for some years is now seen to be a mistake due to the wrong interpretation of a passage in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela. The earliest instance of a true Indian era we can be sure of is the Vikrama era which has persisted to the present day. The history of this era, however, is rather obscure and debatable. The name Vikrama comes to be associated with the era only from the 9th century of its currency, and the legends relating to king Vikramāditya, who overthrew the Śakas (*Śakāri*) at Ujjayinī and founded the era to commemorate the victory, are also very late. The Gupta emperor Candragupta II both defeated the Śakas and bore the title Vikramāditya; but he lived more than 400 years after the epoch of the Vikrama era. In the earliest records, which employ this era and which come from Western India, it is simply called *Samvat* or *Kṛta* (established) and is described some time later as the reckoning current among the Mālavas (*Mālavānām Gaṇasthiti*). Kielhorn has sought to connect the name of the era with an arrangement of the year of the Mālavas in four equal parts, by which the beginning of the autumnal equinox in the month of *Kārtika* (October-November) was the time for leading an expedition (*Vikrama Kāla*). In medieval times, however, the Vikrama year began in the bright half of *Caitra* (April-May) in the North, and in the dark half of the same month in the South. This era was most popular in North India. Some authorities hold that several Śaka and Pahlava inscriptions of the North-west must be referred to this era, and that it was founded by Azes, one of their early kings as seen from two inscriptions of A.D. 79 (Taxila silver scroll) and A.D. 77 (Kalawān) where we find *ayasa* and *ajasa* respectively added after the date. But this is by no means certain; and Sten Konow has rightly pointed out: "We have no example in ancient Indian inscriptions of the name of a ruler in the genitive being added to a date unless that ruler was actually reigning when the record was issued". Some still assign a foreign origin (Drangiana in East Īrān) to the era and ascribe its introduction into India to the Śakas. The era starts in 58 B.C., and to convert a current year in the era to the Christian era, one has to subtract 58 for the first nine and a half months (to the middle of *Pauṣa*) and 57 for the rest of the year.

Saka Era. The second great secular era, the Śaka era (A.D. 78), was

according to tradition founded by a Śaka king who occupied Ujjayinī 135 years after Vikramāditya. This era may well have been founded by Kaniṣka and was certainly in use in the 2nd century A.D. by the Śaka Satraps of Mālwa, Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt. According to this view the Kaniṣka era and Śaka era are different names for one and the same reckoning. But others prefer to ascribe the foundation of the Śaka era to Wima Kadphises or Kadphises II, place Kaniṣka in the 2nd century A.D., and accept a separate Kaniṣka era which was current for less than a century. The Śaka era has somehow become identified with the name Śālivāhana, obviously a corruption of Sātavāhana, and is now known in the South as *Śālivāhana-śakābda*. It is perhaps the most popular era in South India and is found employed extensively in inscriptions and literary works.

Kalacuri Era. Then we have an era of A.D. 248, first in use among the Ābhīras and Traikūṭakas, later taken over by the Cedis or Kalacuris and becoming better known by their name. This era was current in Central India down to the Muslim invasion. The epoch of this era was originally the first day of the bright half of *Kārtika* (September 25) in A.D. 249, in Gujarāt and Mahārāshtra. When it was introduced by the Kalacuris in North India, a mistake occurred as current years were erroneously supposed to be expired ones, and so the commencement of the era came to be antedated by one year and fixed at *Kārtika Sudi*, 1 (October 6) in A.D. 248. This is the conclusion reached by V.V. Mirashi in his work *Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Cedi Era*.

Gupta Era. The Gupta era (A.D. 319–20) was probably founded by Candragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and was continued by the Maitrakas of Valabhī (Gujarāt) for some centuries after the fall of the Guptas in the 6th century A.D. The fixation of the epoch of the Gupta era by Fleet was a landmark in the progress of Indian historical studies that gave the Gupta dynasty its proper setting and brought order into several centuries of early Indian History.

Harsa and Other Eras. The Harṣa era (A.D. 606) founded by Harṣavardhana of Kānyakubja (Kannauj) was popular in North India for a couple of centuries after his demise. The existence of an era reckoned from the accession of Harṣa is alluded to by Alberūnī who read in the Kashmīrian calendar that Śrī-Harṣa was 664 years later than Vikramāditya (i.e. the Vikrama era). This fact agrees with the accounts of Hieun-Tsang which would indirectly put Harṣa's accession in A.D. 606. But Harṣa's name is not mentioned in any record attributed to this era. After Harṣa's demise, his erstwhile feudatories, the so-called Later Guptas, used this era. The latest date in this era seems to be that of the Pinjaur inscription year 563. Other eras of local or temporary importance were : the Lakṣmaṇa era (A.D. 1119) wrongly ascribed to King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal; Nevārī era of Nepāl which was started on October 20, A.D. 879,

according to Kielhorn; the Kollam era of Malabār (A.D. 825), the Cālukya-Vikrama era (A.D. 1075) of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇa (Deccan) and the San era which was probably introduced in Akbar's time and is current even today in Bengal. The Kollam era is still current on the West Coast and parts of the Tamil country and recorded in almanacs.

Hijra and other Eras. The Hijra era employed largely in Muslim chronicles and epigraphs, and the Christian era that came into current use with the advent of the European powers, call for no special remarks. The Ilāhī era (A.D. 1556) was started by Akbar.

Astronomical Data, and Synchronisms. The eras apart, inscriptions often furnish verifiable astronomical data which sometimes yield good results in the hands of competent scholars. The Indian historian has often to seek help from the writings of foreign travellers and annalists to gain a firm basis for his chronology. He also derives much assistance from significant synchronisms. The chronology of the Indus Civilization has been generally determined by the discovery in the Mesopotamian sites, particularly in the Sargonid period about 2350 B.C., of unmistakable Indus objects which provided an approximate date for a flourishing period of the Indus Civilization. But the treaty between the Hittites and the kings of Mitanni (*c.* 1400 B.C.) in which some Vedic gods are named has not led to decisive conclusions regarding Vedic chronology, because scholars differ on the question whether the forms of these divine names are proto-Īrānian or purely Indian (Vedic). Likewise, the astronomical argument from the precession of the equinoxes for a 4000 B.C. date for the *Ṛg-Veda* is rejected by some scholars who point out that the argument rests on two unproven and improbable assumptions, viz., that the Sun was brought into definite relation to the *Nakṣatras* and that the Vedic year started with the summer solstice.

Puranic Dynastic Lists. The dynastic lists in the Purāṇas have received more attention in the 20th century. It has been shown that the historical information they convey is not so untrustworthy as was formerly believed; for instance, the *Matsya* list of the Āndhra kings and the duration of the different reigns as given there, are now considered to be substantially correct. But often the fragments of history embedded in them have been torn away from their contexts, the lists of kings do not fit together cogently, and it is very difficult to evolve a consistent or continuous story out of them. It seems probable that the chain of evidence which might bring the Purāṇas into substantial agreement with the earlier Vedic tradition has been broken. Still the Purāṇic data are, when used with caution, of some help in the determination of relative chronology and the confirmation or correction of inferences from other sources of early Indian History.

SOURCE MATERIALS OF INDIAN HISTORY

1. Archaeology

Archaeological material which can be utilized for the reconstruction of history may be grouped under the following heads:

(i) material derived from excavations and surface-explorations of abandoned sites,

(ii) inscriptions,

(iii) coins,

(iv) standing monuments and sculptures of diverse material.

In this volume, there are separate sections dealing with inscriptions, coins, and art and architecture. We shall accordingly confine ourselves here to excavations and explorations.

Ancient sites have been excavated and explored since the early years of the 19th century. For a long time, these activities were haphazard and ill-planned and were undertaken by amateurs. The aim was mainly to collect sculptures and other objects for their artistic worth. Buddhist sites which yielded objects of this kind were the usual choice. Even after the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861 under the leadership of General Alexander Cunningham, the situation remained unaltered. Since the first discovery of a neolith in Satna district in 1860 by H.P. LeMesurier, a railway engineer, and of Early Stone Age tools in 1863 at Pallāvaram (district Chingleput) by Robert Bruce Foote, an officer of the Geological Survey of India, Stone Age archaeology was casually studied and implements collected by officers of that Survey. But Cunningham was entirely apathetic to pre-historic and proto-historic remains. He found out-of-the-ordinary antiquities at Harappa but ignored them. The South Indian megalithic tombs, the representatives of a vigorous and distinctive culture, were dismissed by him as only an earlier form of Buddhist *stūpas*. But all this should not belittle the great work of Cunningham and his associates in plotting on the map of India, particularly on the northern part, an enormous number of ancient sites, not to speak of other achievements which are beyond the scope of this section.

With the reconstitution of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1902 under Dr. (later Sir) John Marshall, excavations received a stimulus. Buddhist sites continued to be predominant, and new knowledge of Buddhist architecture was gathered from such sites as Sāñcī (district Raisen), Taxila (district Rāwalpindi, West Pākistān), Sārnāth (district Vārānasi), Saheṭh-Maheṭh (districts Gonda, Bahraich), Kasia (district Deoria), Pāhārpur (district Rājshāhi) and Nālandā (Nālanda),

district Patna. A few city-sites like Taxila, Bhita (district Allahâbâd) and Pâṭaliputra (district Patna) were also excavated. At Taxila, apart from the Buddhist monuments, two sites—Bhīr Mound dating from the 6th-5th century B.C. and its successor Sirkap originating with the Indo-Greeks and flourishing till the times of the early Kuṣâṇas—were revealed. Bhita proved to be a commercial centre on the Yamunâ. At Pâṭaliputra was identified a Mauryan palace—a wooden structure on stone pillars.

With the realization of the importance of Harappa (district Montgomery, West Pākistān) in 1921 and of Mohenjo-daro (Mohenjodero), district Lârkâna, also West Pākistân in 1922, extensive excavations were carried out at both these sites, laying bare the remains of two great cities of what is known as the Indus Civilization or Harappa Culture, the first urban civilization of the Indo-Pākistān subcontinent. The find of a few seals of this civilization at some sites in Irâq helped in the dating of the civilization to the later centuries of the 3rd millennium B.C.; the antiquity of Indian civilization was thus established. The discoveries evoked great interest; extensive explorations were undertaken in Sind and Baluchistān; many other sites of the Harappa culture, together with other proto-historic sites, variously contemporary with or earlier or later than the Harappa, were discovered.

In 1935, a Yale-Cambridge expedition led by Helmuth de Terra worked in Kashmīr and in the Sohan Valley in West Pākistān and, in addition to the identification of a new type of Early Stone Age tools—the unifacial 'chopper-chopping' tools made on pebbles as distinct from the bifacial handaxe and cleaver industries typical of the Madras region—correlated for the first time the phases of the Early Stone Age of India with the Himâlayan glacial cycle.

The mounds at Lauriyâ (district Champâran) were excavated between 1935 and 1937 and were identified as early Buddhist *stūpas* as against the previous theory that they were Vedic burial-mounds. The adjacent mound of Nandangarh, excavated during 1935-39, revealed itself as the largest Buddhist *stūpa* in India of the terraced type (basal circumference about 610 m., extant height about 23 m.).

The city-site of Ahicchatra (district Bareilly) was extensively excavated by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit assisted by others during 1940-44, and as a result, the evolution of pottery-types in the Upper Gaṅgâ valley right from the beginning of the historical period down to medieval times was worked out for the first time.

Under Dr. R.E.M. (later Sir) Mortimer Wheeler, who introduced in India the modern 'stratigraphic' method, Taxila, Arikamedu (Pondicherry), Harappa and Brahmagiri (district Bellary) were excavated or re-excavated. At Taxila, both the Bhīr Mound and Sirkap mentioned above, were taken up and the chronology of the latter site was established on a statigraphic

basis. Arikamedu, on the east coast, turned out to have been an Indo-Roman trading centre of the early centuries of the Christian era. At Harappa, in addition to excavating the Harappan cemetery and establishing its priority to the previously known Cemetery. H, an enormous fortification wall around one of the mounds, the citadel-mound, was identified—new light was thus cast on the sociological structure of the Harappa Culture. The megalithic burial-monuments at Brahmagiri were typologically classified and dated—from the 2nd century B.C. (now believed to be somewhat earlier) to the 1st century A.D. This was the first systematic study of the South Indian megaliths, about the nature and date of which there had been a great deal of fanciful misconception before.

From about 1950 a notable feature in the archaeological activities of the country has been the coming to the field of many universities and institutions and State Departments of Archaeology, with the result that field-work is no longer the monopoly of the Archaeological Survey of India, as it virtually had been in previous years. The work of the Survey and the other organzaitions during the post-1950 period has already altered the face of Indian archaeology. Much more is now known about the Stone Age industries and the proto-historic and historical cultures. The method of narration followed above is no longer suitable for this period; instead we shall have to take the cultural periods chronologically and sum up the developments that have taken place in each. Further, as these developments are the combined results of the activities of different agencies, it is not possible to indicate precisely which of them was responsible for any particular work. Again, while so far we were freely mentioning discoveries in pre-partition India as a whole, we must confine ourselves now to the present-day limits of India.

First, the Early Stone Age. Many new sites yielding implements of this Age have been found—particularly in the Deccan, Central Kāthiāwār and South-western Rājasthān. At these sites the implements are mostly or exclusively of the bifacial (Madras) type, but in the Siwālik region in Himāchal Pradesh and Punjab have been found unifacial tools of the Sohan type, together with bifacial pebble handaxes and bifacial chopping tools. While no fossil-man has as yet been found, the discoveries indicate the spread of the earliest man on the land.

A new phase in Stone Age archaeology has been ushered in by the discovery of what has come to be known as Middle Stone Age in Central India, the Deccan and the South, characterized by smaller-sized tools, such as points and scrapers, made of fine-grained minerals. They provide a link between the Early and Late Stone Ages.

The Late Stone Age of India, evidently well within the Holocene, and assignable to *circa* 4000 B.C., if not earlier, produced microliths of non-geometric shapes (cf. finds at Bīrbhānpur, district Burdwān), such as had been previously found in Lānghnaj, Phase I of Sangan Kalla (district

Bellary), the *teris* (fossil sand duns) of South India, etc. Microliths now known to have had a long life in India, passing through the followi phases : non-geometric ; geometric, without being associated with p tery ; and geometric, with pottery, indicating the advent of agricultu Lastly, came the blade-industry forming part of the chalcolithic cultur of which we shall hear later on.

The basic neolithic industry of South India (end of the 3rd millenniu B.C. to the beginning of the 2nd) has been met with at many sites su as Sangan Kalla and Tekkaḷakoṭā (district Bellary), Utnūr (distri Mahbūbnagar), Piklihāl (district Raichūr), Hallur (district Dhārwā Nāgārjunikoṇḍā (district Guntūr), T. Narsipur (district Mysore) an Paiyampalli (district North Arcot). A new type of neolithic culture (fir half of the 2nd millennium B.C.), the authors of which were pit-dweller has been identified at Burzahom (district Srīnagar). The eastern neolithi culture is typified at Kuchai (district Mayūrbhanj) and some sites in th Gāro hills. At Kuchai the culture is preceded by one with non-geometri microliths.

Much additional information has now been gathered on the Harapp Culture itself. Apart from the discovery of a large number of sites o this culture in Punjab, North Rājasthān, West Uttar Pradesh and Gujarāt— they indicate its wide extension, some sites falling in each region have also been excavated. At Rūpar on the Sutlej (district Rūpar) the extent of the excavated area of this culture was limited, but sufficient evidence is available to show that the settlement belonged to the mature phase of the culture. The twin mounds at Kāli Banga on the dried-up bed of the Sarasvatī, district Gangānagar, both with fortification walls, reveal the interesting story of one of them having been used chiefly as a citadel including ritualistic structures and the other for habitational purposes. What is more important is that below the citadel-mound have been found the exclusive remains of an earlier settlement, which appear mixed up with typical Harappan remains in the earlier levels of the habitation-mound. Such a precedence over and intermingling with the Harappan occupiers of the site, which makes it very likely that the earlier people contributed to the make-up of the Harappa Culture, has been found at many sites in district Gangānagar and remains of an allied nature are seen in Sind and Baluchistān, thus indicating that the culture was not an isolated one.

At Lothal, on the confluence of the Bhogāva and Sābarmati (district Ahmadābād), in addition to the usual Harappan features, was found an extensive dock, perhaps connected with the Gulf of Cambay (3 kilometres away) by a channel, pointing to the maritime activities of the Harappans. Not far from Lothal is Rangpur on the Bhādar (district Jhālawār), where it is noticed that the mature Harappa Culture degenerated and transformed itself later into other cultures. This story is different

from what we find in the North Indian sites where the culture ends more or less abruptly and has a deep significance on the matrix of the later Indian civilization, for it may be mentioned that the evolved and post-Harappan remains from Rangpur have limited affinities with some phases of the chalcolithic cultures of Central India, to which we now turn.

In the second millennium B.C., the cis-Arâvalli region of Râjasthân, Central India and the Deccan, are known to have been inhabited by chalcolithic people, with cultures characterized by the use of copper-bronze objects, parallel-sided blades, often ground stone axes and painted and sometimes black-and-red ware, though it need not be assumed that the people formed a homogeneous group culturally and chronologically. Exchange of cultural ideas and equipment is perhaps evident in polished stone axes travelling from the South to the North and the tradition of painting red pottery in black in the reverse direction. East India had its own chalcolithic culture (Chirand, district Sāran; Sonpur, district Gayā; and Pāṇḍu-rājār-ḍhibi, district Burdwân) with elements reminiscent of the Banās and Mālwa Cultures.

In the North, particularly in Punjab, West Uttar Pradesh and North Rājasthân, there flourished in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. or somewhat earlier a culture characterized by the use of the Painted Grey Ware—a new ceramic element without any antecedents. Its intrusive nature is certain and it has been thought that it was the culture of the Aryans who are known to have spread over the region about this time.

Towards the end of the Painted Grey Ware culture, say in the 6th-7th century B.C., began in North India the establishment of large cities which were destined to play decisive roles in the political and economic life of the country. Coinage and an extensive use of iron came into vogue, the distinctive pottery being what is known as the Northern Black Polished Ware. Many of these cities had long lives extending to the medieval times, and a few of them have been excavated. All are characterized by enormous fortification-walls and wide use of burnt bricks, which had virtually fallen into disuse after the Harappans. The upper levels of the cities give valuable evidence on town-planning and arts and crafts of the later periods, in addition to yielding coins and inscriptions including inscribed seals which are often very valuable for political and cultural history.

Of the excavated cities that came into existence somewhat later, mention may be made of Śiśupâlgarh (district Puri) and Jaugada (district Ganjâm), the former systematically laid on the grid-pattern and with an impressive fortification pierced by elaborate gateways, and the latter, also fortified, with ground stone axes in its lowest levels. Further south, at Kâvēripaṭṭinam, a port-town renowned in early Tamil literature, was found a wharf jutting out into the waters of the Bay of Bengal, in addition to Buddhist remains.

The burials of the megalithic culture of South India have been systematically laid bare at such sites, as Maski (district Raichūr), Yeleswaram (district Nalgonda), Kunnathur (district Chingleput), Sanur (district Chingleput), Jadigenahalli (district Bangalore), Sengamedu (district North Arcot), etc., and more detailed information on the megalithic culture, particularly burial-practices, available after the excavation of Brahmagiri (mentioned above) is now forthcoming. Of the burial-monuments in Kerala, the excavation at Porkalam (district Trichūr) revealed new types of megalithic graves. In the northern part of the peninsula, the burials at Junapani (district Nāgpur) have been tapped. Further north, megaliths have been discovered and excavated in Mirzāpur and Vārānasi districts, but their relations with their southern counterparts is uncertain.

Of the Buddhist sites excavated during the period, mention may be made of Devnimori (district Sābar Kāntha) and Ratnāgiri (district Cuttack). Apart from other relics, including large-size Buddha images in terracotta, the *stūpa* at the former site yielded a unique relic-casket with an inscription of the time of Rudrasena III of the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty. Ratnāgiri, perhaps originating in Gupta times, continued to be a centre of Vajrayāna till the 13th or 14th century—long after Buddhism had disappeared in North India.

Special mention should be made of Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā where excavation in the twenties had revealed Buddhist edifices established by the Ikṣvākus in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. and brought to light a development of the Amarāvatī sculptural art. In the fifties the valley was threatened with perpetual inundation as a result of the construction of a dam across the Kṛṣṇā. The valley was therefore thoroughly excavated and it was seen that it had been continually inhabited right from the Early Stone down to post-Ikṣvāku times, through the Middle and Late Stone Ages and neolithic, megalithic and Ikṣvāku stages. Such an almost unbroken occupation of a site is rare in archaeology. Of the Ikṣvāku period more *stūpas* and monasteries, a large Brahmanical temple and many secular structures including a unique amphitheatre have been uncovered.

This in broad outline is how archaeological excavations and explorations have helped in the reconstruction of India's past from the earliest time when man made his first appearance in the country. The gaps in our knowledge are still many, but, with persistent field-work, they will be filled.

2. Epigraphy

(i) *Ancient Period*

Epigraphy is the study of inscriptions, especially old ones. It is the

life-blood of history in as much as it supplies the most authentic data, and is more reliable than tradition and literature.

Fortunately, India is rich in epigraphical material. Thousands of old inscriptions have already been discovered, and hundreds of fresh discoveries are being made every year. The spade of the archaeologist holds out a good promise for the future too. This vast inscriptional wealth is more or less evenly spread all over India. Inscriptions are found engraved on all sorts of subjects, but more commonly on those of metal and stone. The latter includes rock-surfaces, walls of natural or artificial caves, pavements, pillars, slabs, statues, and reliquaries. While instances of inscriptions on gold leaf or silver scrolls are known; copper, bronze and brass are more in evidence in the shape of plates, images and utensils. Iron, too, is represented, though on a modest scale, a conspicuous example being the famous Iron Pillar at Mehrauli near Delhi. Besides, bricks, earthenware, clay tablets, terracotta plaques, wood shells, crystal and even ivory, occasionally come into play.

Considering the antiquity of Sanskrit and its hoary literature, one would naturally expect that the earliest Indian inscriptions would be in Sanskrit; but Prākṛt is used in the earliest inscriptions so far discovered. Later, Sanskrit dominates the field and still later regional dialects have their share. Some of the Sanskrit *praśastis* incised on stone are so elaborate and so ornate in style that they rival the best in Sanskrit classical poetry.

The early inscriptions would have remained a sealed book to us but for the efforts on the part of pioneers like James Prinsep who succeeded in deciphering them, and supplying the key to the long forgotten Brāhmī script. Later researches have demonstrated that the modern scripts of India such as Nāgarī, Gujarātī, Bengali, Oṛiyā, Telugu, Tamil, Kannaḍa, Malayālam, and others as well as those of Tibet, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon have all sprung from the Brāhmī script. Kharoṣṭhī, a sister of Brāhmī, but read from right to left, was confined to the north-western regions, and was comparatively short-lived.

Hundreds of beautifully engraved squarish steatite seals of the Indus Valley Civilization rank as the most antique specimens of Indian epigraphy. Till recently they were found at the ancient sites of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, both on the Indus, and now within West Pākistān. Of late, similar sites with seals have been discovered at Rūpar in Punjab, Kāli Banga in Rājasthān and Lothal in Gujarāt and at certain other places. This discovery has changed the appellation Indus Valley Civilization tentatively into Harappa Culture.

The seals in question have short inscriptions in half-pictographic script along with animal and human figures engraved on them. For the last forty odd years, scholars all over the world have been in vain trying to decipher the script.

Decipherable epigraphy in India begins practically with a series of Prākṛt inscriptions, in Brāhmī and in Kharoṣṭhī, of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (*c*. 273–32 B.C.). They are engraved on rocks and pillars all over the country and contain Aśoka's edicts addressed to his subjects, enjoining on them the code of virtuous life. They also record the charitable deeds performed by him for the benefit of both man and animal. From some of the edicts we learn that Aśoka maintained friendly relations with the Hellenistic states of those days. The varied information called from Aśoka's edicts has settled many controversial points in history. His pillar inscription at Rummindeī in the Nepāl *tarai*, for instance, confirms the birth-place of the Buddha ; for it expressly says : *hida Budhe jāte*, i.e., 'here the blessed one was born'.

We have quite a few other Prākrit inscriptions on stone from various ancient sites in India, of about the 3rd century B.C., their number increasing from the 2nd century B.C. onwards, mostly donative in character. The script, for the sake of convenience, is designated Mauryan Brāhmī, even for later inscriptions, up to the end of the 1st century B.C. The ancient sites that have yielded such, more or less uniform, inscriptions are far removed from one another—Buddha-Gayā, Amarāvatī, Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Sārnāth and Mathurā. They throw a flood of light on the cultural and religious conditions of those times. In addition, they shed welcome light on the dynastic history of such royal houses as the Śuṅgas, Śakas, and Sātavāhanas.

Some of the early inscriptions relate to foreigners, especially the Greeks ; for instance, one in Kharoṣṭhī script and Prākṛt language belongs to King Menander, and another in Brāhmī script and Prākṛt language is ascribed to Ambassador Heliodoros.

Sanskrit inscriptions of the period 300–100 B.C. are few and far between. The most prominent is perhaps the one, in two versions, each on a slab of stone, from Nāgarī and Ghosuṇḍī in Rājasthān; they testify to the popular worship of the Vṛṣṇi brothers, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, under their earlier appellations Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva.

Supplementing epigraphy of the pre-Christian days are numerous tribal coins and seals, with their legends beautifully engraved both in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī and found in all parts of India, but chiefly in the North.

The number of inscriptions belonging to subsequent periods, beginning from the 1st century A.D., is legion. They fan out everywhere in India. The Brāhmī script also develops further. The various stages in the development are indicated by the specialists as Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī, Gupta Brāhmī, Box-headed, Arrow-headed, Acute-angled Kuṭila, and Śāradā. The one which developed in the southern parts and also went abroad across the Indian Ocean is more popularly known as *Pallava-Grantha*, owing to the circums- that this form of Brāhmī has been found used mostly in the records

of the Pallava monarchs whose glorious history is known only from epigraphy. Their earliest inscriptions are certain copper charters in Prākṛt. Later ones, both copper plates and stone, are models of Sanskrit composition in royal documents. In the North, the Junagadh rock inscription of Rudradāman, and the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, recounting his military exploits in elegant prose and poetry mixed, set an example for later ornate *praśastis* in Indian epigraphy. The variety and volume of epigraphical material relating to the early centuries of the Christian era is simply immense, and every now and then fresh additions are made. Recently in 1966, some inscriptions of Aśoka were discovered in New Delhi at Bahapur. As in the case of the Pallavas, the history of many royal houses is known to us mainly from inscriptions—the Kuṣāṇas, Maghas, Bhāraśivas, Guptas, Vākāṭakas, Maukharis, Gaṅgas, Kadambas, Kalacuris, Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Saindhavas, Śilāhāras, and others.

Inscriptions on stone *yūpas* or sacrificial posts, found mostly in Rājasthān, constitute a class by themselves. They testify to the revival of Vedic religion and to the growing popularity of Brāhmaṇical rituals in those early days.

It is no exaggeration to say that much of the history of anicent India has been based on the abundance of epigraphical data made available to us, thanks to the archaeological activities during the past century and a half.

(ii) *Medieval Period*

The Persian and Arabic inscriptions of India with the exception of ten—one from Punjab and the rest from Bhadreswar in the Kutch district of Gujarāt—date from the last decade of the 12th century. The majority of them are to be found on religious buildings such as mosques and tombs and on non-religious edifices and places like forts, fort-walls, gateways, granaries, boundary stones, shops, tanks, wells, step-wells, cisterns, school buildings, palaces, direction-stones, bridges, gardens and caravansarais. Then there are inscribed movable objects like arms, seals, signets, vases, vessels, precious stones, etc.

The majority of these records are written in Persian, a great number are in Arabic, some partly in Arabic and partly in Persian, a few, mostly of the 19th and 20th centuries, in Urdū and about half a dozen, belonging to the 17th–18th centuries, in its older form. A good number are bilingual, two are trilingual, written either in Arabic or Persian and one or two Indian languages, Sanskrit or regional. The early inscriptions are, as a rule in Arabic, which started giving way to Persian from the early 14th century, and was almost replaced in the 16th century ; Arabic was thereafter generally used for religious texts only. The diversity of scripts, apart

from producing remarkable specimens of calligraphy, reveals the artist propensities of the people of the areas of their provinces.

As contemporary and genuine documents, their main importance li in providing first-hand source material for reconstructing the history (the period. But the direct information contained in these records is le in volume than that supplied by ancient epigraphs; there being othe sources such as historical writing, *farmāns*, orders and *sanads* (grants Nevertheless, they go a long way in filling up lacunae in our knowledg of the country's past.

The evidence gained from these epigraphs relates to the history of th structure as well as the political or social status of its builder, the provincia governor and the reigning king. The data which they furnish add to ou knowledge of the political, social and religious history of the period In some cases, they are the only source to supply the missing links in the political hierarchy or chronology, ignored in historical works. The very existence of the Bengal Sulṭāns, Shamsu'd-dīn Fīrūz and 'Alāu'd-dīn Fīrūz, Bihār king Muḥammad Shāh Sūr and the Niẓām Shāhī ruler Burhān III was established by epigraphs. The political history of the Bengal Sultanate, particularly between the 14th and 16th centuries, has been reconstructed mainly with the epigraphic records. In the case of Nuṣrat Shāh Tughluq, Dilāwar Khān and Hoshang Shāh of Mālwa and Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh, the full titles are known only from epigraphs. That is the case also with the history of the minor dynasties of Auḥadīs of Bayāna and Hindaun and Khān Zādas of Nāgpur. The name and tribal affiliations of the last Sūmra chief of Sind have been finally settled by an inscription from Gujarāt which has been interpreted to indicate the whereabouts of that chief after his defeat by Fīrūz Tughluq. A large number of officials—ministers, governors, commanders, personnel of the revenue and other departments of the central and provincial dynasties, particularly Bahmanī, Sharqī, Niẓām Shāhī and those of Bengal, Gujarāt, Mālwa—and their fiefs have come to our knowledge through these records. They also throw light on events not recorded in literature, particularly with regard to areas far removed from the central or provincial capitals, and provide links in the succession lists of officials and governors ; a tentative list of the governors of Bihār under the Tughluqs, for example, has been reconstructed from inscriptional evidence.

The precise evidence of these records on the political status of a region at different times cannot be overestimated, particularly when there are conflicting accounts, as in the case of different parts of Rājasthān during the 13th to the 18th century, Bihār in the 14th to 16th century, Raichūr doāb (a bone of contention between the Bahmanīs and their successors, 'Ādil Shāhīs on one hand and Vijayanagar kings on the other), Goa in the 16th century, different parts of Madhya Pradesh and Deccan in the time of the later Mughals, and the like. Quite a few inscriptions record political

events, expeditions, campaigns, and conquests. For instance, a Quṭb Shāhī general was specially appointed to deal with the menace of robbers and dacoits infesting the roads leading to ports. In many instances they corroborate statements of historians or supply details left out by them. Another very important contribution is that they have preserved the correct names of places and persons, such as the Tughluq officials, Juljīn, Talbgha, Mul and Nānak.

Even with regard to personages known from chronicles, the epigraphs give more details about their careers and, in a few cases, about their families and their attitudes to certain matters. In a number of instances, they correct statements from other sources, original as well as secondary—the latter including gazetteers and reports, which have sometimes recorded traditional accounts as history. A number of inscriptions from Deccan, Gujarāt, Mālwa, Rājasthān and Uttar Pradesh can be cited to illustrate this. Of political as well as human interest are epigraphs through which, in most cases, the very existence of some royal personages or those connected with high families are known. We have thus Bībī Shahnāz, the Bahmanī queen-mother; Bībī Mughalī, queen of the last Syed king of Delhi; 'Ā'isha and Bībī Jān, daughters of Bahlūl Lodī; Dildār Āghācha, Bābur's wife; 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Alī, son of the Gujarāt deputy governor Malik Mufarraḥ; Kusunbel, Bībī Amān and Khunza, wet-nurses of a Lodī nobleman's son Fatḥ Khān; Akbar's foster-brother Adham Khān; and the celebrated Chānd Sulṭān of Ahmadnagar and great-grandsons of Nādir Shāh lying buried at Ahmadābād ; this list can be multiplied.

Of even greater importance is the information supplied by these epigraphs in fields other than political; there are records which supply interesting information on different aspects of the contemporary life including administration, particularly those affecting different sections of the general public, which are not usually met with in chronicles. These comprise state orders or mandates recording adjustment of public grievances through proclamations, abolition of taxes and countermanding of some unlawful levies, unofficial imposts or undesirable practices ; establishment of schools or colleges, both imparting religious or secular instruction, and endowments for their maintenance as well as for the teachers and the taught ; remission of dues or provision of facilities for the furtherance of trade ; building of new markets, weekly or regular, and ensuring their prosperity by remitting some or all categories of regular taxes, in full or in part, for a fixed period ; steps to increase agricultural output by augmentation of water supply through wells, tanks and canals, for agricultural as well as civic consumption and better communications by making roads on hills and *ghāṭs*, building bridges and providing halting facilities in the form of caravansarais ; establishing free-kitchens and alms-houses and endowing them with grants. Orders for the remission of *zakāt* included abolition of the custom of *nipūtrik*:

in certain Hindu communities the property of a person who died without leaving an heir reverted to the state. There are also orders prohibiting the imposition of forced labour on weavers who were migrating and on *kolis* ; preventing officials from compelling merchants to purchase their agricultural produce or that of crown-lands at rates higher than what prevailed in the market ; remitting grain dues during severe famine ; removing marriage-tax, birth-tax, hunter's tax, police-tax, grazing tax, tax on animal carrions and granting relief in tax on artisans like oil-pressers, tailors and barbers, grocers and farmers ; irrigation of crops by excavating channels, feeding wells, tanks and ponds, building or re-building dams, and making additional grants for cultivating waste lands. It is also on record that the queen of the last Syed king had repopulated a desolate village in Budaun region. Two epigraphs contain schedules of rates of agricultural commodities. A record of remission lists a schedule of taxes current in a port under their local names. A few inscriptions contain verbatim copies of the royal *farmāns*. All such records give indirect information about the local produce, conditions of the people, social beliefs and class prejudices.

On the administrative side, we have a number of designations and posts as were current in different regions; and also some idea of revenue divisions or sub-divisions of some parts of the country and local agencies like *mahājans* that carried sufficient weight with the local authorities. These as well as the distribution of bilingual inscriptions give some idea of the organizations of administrative units of those days. There are, besides, quite a few new names of towns and villages, which have now become obsolete.

Direct information on the social life of the people is not inconsiderable. The large list of builders furnishes an interesting study in social status and professions. The cost of buildings stated in a few cases might give some idea of the overall price structure. A deep study of religious endowments would show the pattern of investment mostly in the form of shops, gardens, arable land and wells ; this may imply the agricultural bias of the economy and irrigational pattern. There is evidence of the high social status and affluence enjoyed by freed slaves. The prevalence of bribery and harassment is attested to by some epigraphs; the imprecations indicate that corruption and misappropriation of the rent of the buildings endowed for them or other establishments were also rampant. Certain families, particularly in the coastal areas, appear to have held some sort of monopoly in trade, and, in a few cases, some official status. Some records point to the strong class prejudices.

The names of quite a few women occur as builders of mosques or of works of public utility, and they belong to all strata of society. Here we may mention the case of the scholastic achievements of a lady in an unusual field, viz., in the art of recitation of the *Qurān*. We also get new names

of poets and calligraphers, a number of whom appear to have been men of considerable talent. Particular mention may be made of a couple of epitaphs of the pre-Mughal period, one being of the 13th century, containing Persian verses composed by the deceased, which can easily rank among the best of their kind. We have some artists who have produced excellent calligraphical specimens on stone. The great scope of the calligraphy of stone-records, being somewhat unconventional as compared to that on paper, affords a comparative study of its origin and growth in different parts of the country and the basic affinity of artistic talents of the people of different regions.

A large number of records, mostly epitaphs of officials, scholars, sailors and craftsmen, show them to have been foreigners settled in India; quite a few of them, particularly in Gujarāt, both in the coastal region as well as in the interior, seem to have settled down even before the Muslim conquest and carried on trade and other activities. Certain epitaphs relate to colonies of foreigners (Armenians, for instance) established in North India at a much later period. Some throw light on the relations between different communities. They show how the Hindus, particularly the Marāṭhā chiefs, held Muslim saints in reverence or they refer to Hindus, even if such cases were rare, as having built mosques or aided in their construction. A few others present an example of toleration and veneration of a Hindu place of worship by Muslims, or of a Muslim divine using his good offices with the provincial governor to get a Jain *Pośāl* handed over to the original owners. Inscriptions also record the demolition of a temple or a mosque and communal disturbances.

Among the miscellaneous records, there are at least three which were set up as direction-stones marking the distance of places in all directions ; two contain charts showing the distance of important towns and cities in India from Lucknow ; and one indicates the boundary of the Bahmanī kingdom. Some records commemorate the visit of eminent personages ; such records of one person in the course of his single journey in one direction provide information on the trunk routes taken by travellers and people. A couple of records of Akbar's time disclose the fact, not recorded in historical works, about an embassy to Īrān.

A few records are of linguistic interest : we have, for example, specimens of the old form of the Urdū language, of the early and middle 16th, as also the late 17th and 18th centuries, not to mention a number of local terms and words. They also provide, as in the case of bilingual records, the then current forms of local dialects and languages of different regions, like Hindī, Kannaḍa, and Marāṭhī from 14th century onwards. Despite the limited number of such records, their importance cannot be overlooked.

Lastly, the inscriptions on various buildings constitute the most valuable source on the history of architecture. A few also contain, however briefly,

the history of the repairs a monument had undergone through the centuries. The inscriptions not only provided an unerring source, if carefully used, for determining the architectural style in a region at a particular period, but also seek to remove a number of misstatements made by modern reporters, compilers and authors on the basis of untrustworthy local traditions.

This period also saw the rise and fall of many Hindu dynasties both in North and South India. Amongst these dynasties may be mentioned the Cāhamānas of Raṇasthambhapura, Jālor and Sāncorā branches ruling in parts of Rājaputāna and Gujarāt, the Candrātreyas (Chandellas) of Jejākabhukti in Madhya Pradesh, the Caulukya-Vāghelas of Aṇahilapāṭaka in North Gujarāt, the later Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the Gajapati rulers in Orissa in North India, and the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Kākatīyas of Warangal, the Hoysaḷas of Dorasamudra, the Vijayanagar kings, the later Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas in the Deccan and South India. The inscriptions of these dynasties constitute the main source for understanding their history, besides throwing welcome light on the religious, social, cultural, administrative and economic conditions. These inscriptions together with the records of many other minor dynasties as well as private records and miscellaneous inscriptions run into thousands discovered in all parts of India. They are divided into two main categories according to the materials used for engraving them viz., copper-plate inscriptions and stone inscriptions, the latter predominating in numbers. Many copper-plate grants belonging to the later Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga and the Vijayanagar rulers have been found. They vary in size and contain from three to seven or eight plates in each set. Three sets of plates, each set containing five to seven plates, kept in a stone-box were discovered at Kendupāṭṇā in Orissa. The Paithan plates and the Purusottampurī plates of Yādava Rāmacandradeva contain 3 plates in each set measuring about 38 × 52 cm. and 36 × 51 cm., weighing about 26 kg. and 21 kg. respectively. The copper-plates are generally strung together with a ring passing through small holes made into each plate and attached to a seal containing the emblems of the different rulers, according to the religious faith towards which they were inclined. Thus, the seal of the Yādavas contained the figure of Garuḍa while those of the Hoysaḷas and Vijayanagar rulers had the figure of a boar, indicating their faith in Vaiṣṇavism. The earlier rulers of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Orissa were followers of Śaivism and had the figure of a bull on their seals which was, however, continued on the seals of the later kings of the dynasty, though they became the followers of Vaiṣṇavism. The seals on the copper-plates of the Pāṇḍyas in the South contained the figure of a pair of fish which was the royal emblem.

The copper-plate charters of the later Eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa are interesting in many respects. They give detailed geneological account of the ruling family, the later grants incorporating the introductory portion

of the earlier charters and adding the activities of the ruling kings. Thus, the Kendupâṭṇâ plates of Narasiṁha II contain 79 verses in the introductory portion which are found in the earlier Nâgarī plates of his grandfather Anaṅgabhīma III. Similarly, the text of the Kendupâṭṇâ plates of Narasiṁha II is repeated in the later Purī plates of Narasiṁha IV. The texts of these grants run from 150 to 250 lines. Almost all the copper-plate inscriptions are in the nature of land-grants, issued by the ruling kings in favour of individuals or groups of individuals who are mostly Brahmaṇas and whose pedigree, learning and other achievements are described in the grant portion of the records.

The stone inscriptions are found engraved on various parts of a temple, on loose prepared slabs, on pillars, on the pedestals of images, etc. The majority of these records are also donative in nature, the donation being made in favour of the temple, for its construction, up-keep or repairs, for various services in the temple, etc. There are also a number of inscriptions of secular nature recording the construction of tanks, wells, canals, water-sheds, etc. Another class of records to be noted in this connection is the hero-stones and *satī*-stones found mostly in Karṇâṭaka, Andhra Pradesh and Mahârâshtra and the Palia-stones in Gujarât. These hero-stones (called *vīragals* in Kannaḍa) consist of three or four sculptured panels depicting the fighting scenes of the hero, who died in defending his village or cattle from the invading enemy, the hero being carried to the heavenly world by the celestial nymphs and his sitting in heaven in the presence of the god. These hero-stones often contain inscriptions engraved on the panels between the sculptured scenes and supply information about the hero, the cause of his fight, the name of the then ruling king on whose behalf he was fighting, the date of the record, the name of the person who set up the hero-stone in honour of the dead hero and the reward made by the ruler on such an occasion. The *satī*-stones depict the figure of a woman or only a symbol showing her right hand raised upwards in memory of the woman dying on the funeral pyre of her dead husband, a custom which was prevalent in many parts of India for a long time. Sometimes, these *satī*-stones also contain inscriptions which furnish information about the woman becoming *satī*, the name of her husband and the occasion of his death, etc. The Palia-stones in Gujarât are the counter-parts of the hero-stones found in the Karṇâṭaka area.

The majority of the inscriptions of the North Indian dynasties are written in Sanskrit language and Nâgari or Devanâgari script. But there are also many records which are written in Sanskrit influenced by local dialects or entirely in local dialects. A copper-plate charter of Guhila Mokalasiṁha of Mewâr dated in V.S. 1431 or A.D. 1375 is couched in Râjasthânī dialect. Most of the copper-plate charters of the later imperial rulers of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa are written in Sanskrit

language while a few charters like the Purī plates of Narasiṁha IV (c. A.D. 1378–1402) are composed partly in Sanskrit and partly in Oṛiyā. The script of these charters is a mixture of proto-Bengali, Oṛiyā and Devanāgarī which has been called Gauḍī. The Bhubaneswar stone inscription of Narasiṁha, identified with Narasiṁha IV, is a composite record, one section being in Oṛiyā language and Gauḍīya script while the other section is in Tamil language in Tamil and Grantha characters. The existence of Tamil in this record is due to the fact that the *maṭha* or monastery in whose favour a donation was made had ascetics who hailed from the Tamil country. There are many stone inscriptions of this dynasty found at Srīkūrmam in Srīkākulam district of Andhra Pradesh, which are in Sanskrit language and Telugu script or in Telugu language and script or partly in Sanskrit and partly in Telugu languages. There are also some stone records which are completely in Oriyā language and Gauḍīya script.

The copper-plate inscriptions of the Yādavas, Hoysaḷas and Vijayanagar kings are predominantly in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī script, the script of the Vijayanagar grants being called Nandināgarī. There are some charters of the Yādavas from the Mahārāshtra area which are in Sanskrit and Marāṭhī ; while the stone inscriptions of this dynasty in the Karṇāṭaka region are in Kannaḍa language and script, some records in Mahārāshtra area are in Marāṭhī language and Nāgarī script. The stone inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas in Karṇāṭaka region are in Kannaḍa language and script while some records in Southern Mysore and in Tamil country are written in Tamil language and script. Some of the copper-plate grants of the Vijayanagar rulers are written in Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil languages and scripts. There are also some charters which are written in Kannaḍa language and Nāgarī script as well as in Sanskrit language and Kannaḍa script. It is interesting to note that the Śoṛaikkāvūr plates of Virūpākṣa are written in Sanskrit and Tamil languages, the script of the Sanskrit portion being Tamil. The colophon giving the name of the god Harihara, however, is in Kannaḍa characters. The stone inscriptions of this dynasty are written in Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil languages and scripts in the respective language-speaking areas.

As regards the inscriptions of the later Pāṇḍya rulers in the extreme south, the copper-plate charters like the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara contain two sections, similar to the earlier Coḷa grants—one section in Sanskrit language and Grantha script, while the other and longer section is written in Tamil language and script. But the Ramnad plates of Vīrapāṇḍya are entirely written in Tamil language and script which is also the case in regard to the stone inscriptions of this dynasty.

As regards the dating of the inscriptions, it may be pointed out that the records of the Cāhamānas, the Guhilas, the Candellas and the Caulukya-

Vāghelas are all dated in the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. The inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa are dated in the Śaka era of A.D. 78 while the regnal years of the rulers are given in what is called the *Aṅka* reckoning. According to the rule established by M. Chakravarti, 1 and all figures ending in zero (except 10) and 6 should be omitted from the number of *Aṅka* years to get the actual years of the reign. Thus, if the regnal year is given as 25th *Aṅka* year, it would be equal to 21st actual year, after omitting according to the rule, the 1st, 6th, 16th and 20th years.

The inscriptions of the Yādavas, Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar rulers are similarly dated in the Śaka era coupled with the cyclic years of the 60 Jupiter years. While the lunar months (*Caitra, Vaiśākha,* etc.) are given in the inscriptions of the Kannaḍa and Telugu-speaking area, the solar months (*Mīna, Siṁha, Makara,* etc.) are mentioned in the records of the Tamil area. Most of the inscriptions of the later Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas in the Tamil region give the regnal years of the rulers.

Besides the few inscriptions discussed above, there are numerous stone inscriptions belonging to the period under review which are in the nature of private and miscellaneous records not belonging to any of the dynasties which contain interesting details to the student of Indian history and culture.

3. Numismatics

(*i*) *Ancient Coinage of Northern India*

Numismatics was recognized as a primary source and was utilized for historiography at least in India as early as the 12th century by Kalhaṇa, the chronicler of Kashmīr. But in the modern context of historiography, it became an auxiliary science to history only at a relatively late date. It was in the era of the Renaissance, when the emergence of humanism in Europe evoked interest in antiquity, that the first great collections of coins were made. At first connoisseurs admired only the aesthetic qualities of these little masterpieces of art ; but later, particularly in the 18th century, the importance of numismatics for the study of history was also recognized.

Although the antiquity of coinage in India may go back to the 7th century B.C. on the basis of literary sources, archaeologically it cannot be dated earlier than the 5th century B.C. Gold was probably used as money during and before the time of the Buddha but no gold coins have been found. The earliest coinage of India, so far known, are in silver and copper. They are called punch-marked and cast coins because of the techniques employed in making them. They are uninscribed, and therefore,

it is difficult to identify the names of their issuers. Punch-marked coins are metallic pieces, more or less rectangular in shape, with symbols punched thereon. They are often trimmed at corners so as to scale the required weight. The cast coins, usually of copper and used along with the punch-marked currency, were made from moulds. These coins were most popularly known as *Kārṣāpaṇas* in Buddhist and later literature, but some of them were also known by such names as *Purāṇas*, *Dharanas*, *Prati* etc. The coins had their sub-multiples. For long these coins were regarded as private issues of bankers, guilds and corporate bodies or local authorities. But it is generally believed now that 'local' punch-marked coins struck by the local states of the *Janapadas* can be distinguished from the 'imperial' punch-marked coins issued by the imperial dynasties of Magadha. Punch-marked coins bearing such symbols as 'three arched hills surmounted by a crescent' or a 'peacock' are generally associated with the ruling house of the Mauryas. The wide circulation of these coins all over India testifies to the political unification during the time of Candragupta and Aśoka Maurya. The famous statement of Cāṇakya that he turned 8,000 coins into 8,00,000 in order to raise an army to liberate Magadha, may well be substantiated by the discoveries of silver-coated punch-marked coins.

The earliest inscribed coins dating from the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C. or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. are the main sources for the reconstruction of the dark period of Indian history after the disintegration of the Mauryan empire. These post-Mauryan coins on the one hand consist of five double die struck coins of the Indo-Greeks and their successors of foreign origin who followed the Mauryas in the north western parts of their empire, and on the other they consist of 'hot-stamped' (making an incuse thereby) and die struck, mostly single die, and of crude workmanship in copper—coins of the local monarchial and non-monarchial states of indigenous origin who rose to power on the decline of the Mauryas in the northern and central parts of their empire.

That a new power was born in Bactria is well illustrated by the coins bearing the name of Antiochus (II), but having the bust and type of Diodotus, soon to be followed by coins of Diodotus himself, the name of Antiochus vanishing in the final stage. That a Demestrius was the first among the Indo-Greeks to encroach upon North-western India is illustrated by certain bilingual coins, both of silver and copper. The large variety and wide distribution of the coins of Menander give the undoubted impression that he was the most powerful king of the Yavanas. The recent discovery of an Attic tetradrachm of Menander is sufficient to confirm the testimony of Plutarch that he controlled parts of Northern Afghānistān. That Strato ruled for about sixty years, with a possible break, and that he was a minor under the regency of the Queen Mother Agathocleia,

may be inferred from the joint-coinage of Strato and Agathocleia and that of Strato alone showing him at various ages ranging from that of an immature youth to that of an old man with sunken cheeks and toothless jaws. The discovery of a single hoard in Kundūz has disproved the hitherto accepted theory that Heliokles was the last Indo-Greek ruler over areas north of the Hindu Kush. Out of thirty eight kings and two queens of the Indo-Greeks known from coins, only two are mentioned in inscriptions and seven in literary sources.

Likewise, out of some fifty kings with Śaka-Pahlava names, hardly more than a dozen are known from sources other than coins. That the Scytho-Parthian kings, Vonones, Spalirises, Azes I, Asilises, Azes II and Gondophernes, succeeded in this order can be safely inferred from their coins alone. The transition of power from the indigenous rulers to the Śakas in Mathurā is again well illustrated by coins. The coins show that Rajuvula ruled over a much wider area than Mathurā, for he issued coinage other than the local type of his predecessors there ; and the scarcity of his coins of the local 'Lakṣmī and Tree' type has been taken to suggest that Rajuvula occupied Mathurā only late in his reign. The facts that Sodasa issued coins only of Mathurā type, and that his coins have been found with those of his father at Mathurā and the adjoining places but not in the Punjab, show that he ruled over a much more limited area. The political life of the Śakas of Ujjain, the dynasty of Caṣṭana lasting for about 300 years, can be arranged in geneological and chronological order only on the basis of coins ; these coins are unique in giving regularly not only the years of issue and the name and title of the issuer, but also the name and title of his father. They tell us something more : the struggles for the throne as in the case of Jīvadāman and Rudrasiṁha, the nephew and the uncle ; and the usurpation of the throne by an intruder, as in the case of Iśvaradatta Ābhira.

The history of the Kuṣāṇas would be considerably poorer if the numismatic tesimony to their power and strength was removed. The stratification of coins in archaeological excavations established the convention of placing the Kadphises group of kings before the Kaniṣka group. The occurrence of an imitation bust of a Roman king, and that of a goddess on a curule chair, approximately fixes the date of the end of Kadphises I's reign. The names of some later Kuṣāṇa kings are preserved only through their coins.

More than 25 kings with names ending in Mitra and issuing a coinage of homogenous type which circulated from the Eastern Punjab to the borders of Bihār, who have to be satisfactorily accommodated after the Mauryas, are unknown from sources other than coins except in two or three cases. And there are many such dynasties, often termed local or tribal, who appeared on the political stage of Northern India after the fall of the Mauryas and before the rise of the Guptas.

The 'Candragupta-Kumāra Devi' type with the reverse legend 'Licchavayah' may tell us something about the role of the Licchavis in placing the Guptas on the Magadhan throne ; there is no historical literature to tell us that. If there is any contemporary evidence of a later statement that Samudragupta performed an Aśvamedha, it is again his coins of the Aśvamedha type. The questions raised by the Kacha coins and by the copper coins bearing the name of a Rāmagupta, are still unsolved. The confusion created by the evidence of the Bhitari seal and Bhitari pillar inscriptions and the Sārnāth image inscriptions, seems to have been satisfactorily resolved by the convincing theory of distinguishing two Kumāraguptas after Skandagupta on the basis of their coinage. The conquest of the Śakas by Candragupta II and its date, and the tradition of Vikramāditya are elucidated by the silver coins of Candragupta II which imitate those of the Śakas and by the sudden stoppage of Śaka coins after the year A.D. 397. The political instability of the Gupta power in the later phase of their history is reflected in the fluctuation of the metrology and metallurgy of their coins.

The Kashmīr coinage, which offers an almost unique example of a coin type remaining unchanged for more than twelve centuries, has two breaks : king Harṣadeva made two innovations by introducing the 'elephant' and the 'horeseman' types copied from the coins of Karṇāṭaka and from the coins of the S̲h̲āhī kings of Kābul respectively ; but for this numismatic testimony we might have doubted Kalhaṇa's statement in this context. Similarly, the coins bearing the legend *Di-Kṣemagupta* remind us of another statement of Kalhaṇa that king Kṣemagupta was so much under the influence of his queen Diddā that he "became known by the humiliating appelation Diddā-Kṣema". But perhaps more useful for Kashmīr history is the discovery of the Pratāpāditya coins in places such as Bānda and Vārānasi in Uttar Pradesh and the existence of the name Yaśovarma on some coins of the Kashmīr series ; these discoveries may well be utilized for studying the struggles for supremacy between Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa Pratāpādityaand Yaśovarman of Kannauj. Also, useful are the coins with the curious legend *Śrī-Ja-Pratāpa*, which may be attributed either to Jajja, the usurping brother-in-law of Jayāpiḍa or to Jayāpīḍa himself.

Even the last phase of the history before the Mohammedan period has left its imprint on coinage. The coins of Maḥmūd of G̲h̲aznī struck at Lahore bear the Sanskrit legend—*Avyaktam eka Muḥammad avatāra Nṛpati Maḥamūda* (king Maḥmūd who is the incarnation of Muḥammad, the Eternal), and a circular legend *Ayam tankam Mahmūdpura-ghaṭite Hijirīyena Samvati* 418, meaning that this *tanka* was struck at Mahmudpur in the Hijra year 418.

There are two coins which mark the beginning of Mohammedan rule in India. One is the coin where on the obverse we find the 'Horseman

with lance to right and the name Śrī Pṛthivīrāja', whereas on the reverse is a 'recumbent bull' and the name *Śrī Mahamad Same*. The other coin is of the Lakṣmī type copied from the coins of Govindacandra but bearing the name of *Śrī Mahamad bin Sam* alone, as if to mark the final transfer of power.

Coins are equally good material for our knowledge of constitutional and administrative history. Among the numerous Indian coins giving the names of individual monarchs there are some which celebrate the victory of a 'republic'. It is generally accepted that coin-legends such as *Yaudheyagaṇasya* or *Mālavagaṇasya Jayaḥ* (Victory of the Yaudheya or of the Mālava 'republic') and, likewise, the legends on the coins of the Ārjunāyanas, Vṛṣṇis and others, confirms the existence of a 'republican' constitution in some parts and some periods of ancient India. Whatever may be the exact significance of the word *Gaṇa*, the fact remains that the coins of the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas and others undoutedly indicate that sovereignty and the prerogative to issue coins was vested not in one person but in many. Similarly, there are the *Negama* coins of Taxila, which bear such names as *Dojaka, Kalimata*, and *Atakataka* ; and it has been suggested that they are coins struck by cities or townships, perhaps indicating that some sort of civil autonomy was known in North-western India as in the case of the small Greek city states of Asia Minor.

The coins of the Śaka-Pahlava kings enable us to reconstruct the basic pattern of their administration. A brother or a son or sometimes a brother's son could be associated with the reigning king in running the higher administration. Vonones was associated with his two brothers Spalyris and Spalirises, and on the death of the former, with his son Spalagadames. High state officers or military governors like the Strategos Aspavarman could also be associated sometimes in the administration of a kingdom, as is clear from the coins of Azes II and Gondophernes. The Śaka coins of Ujjain again show the invariable practice of a son acting as a Kṣatrapa during the rule of his father as Mahākṣatrapa, and then succeeding him as a Mahākṣatrapa and taking his son in turn as a Kṣatrapa.

The Candragupta-Kumāra Devī type of coin of Candragupta I of the Gupta family raises questions of constitutional significance. Was Kumāra Devi a reigning queen like Queen Mary II of England, who ruled jointly with William III and whose coinage bore the names and effigies of both the sovereigns ? But is it possible to explain in the same way the Kashmīr coins where the legend reads *Di-Kṣemagupta*, standing for Diddā and Kṣemagupta ? If not, could the prerogative to issue coins be so lightly treated as to allow a queen's name to appear just because the king was infatuated by her beauty ? The question is complicated by the fact that later on Diddā struck coins in her name alone.

Coinage is also an important source of art history and iconography. Early Indian coins that contain either a combination of symbols or a human or animal figure and symbols, often present the earliest form of a particular deity. While at times the animal figures appear well-made and aesthetically appealing, the human figures are not so remarkable. The human figure gets prominence, be it of a king or of a divine being, first on the Indo-Greek coins. Some of the portraits found on Indo-Greek coinage take rank among the finest productions of portraiture art in antiquity. So realistic are these portraits that, in the absence of any other evidence, they have been often utilized by scholars with confidence to suggest family relationship between kings who bear a likeness. The art of portraiture seems to have died out with the Greeks. Their successors, the Śakas and Pahlavas, generally placed on their coins full figures of gods and kings—either seated on horseback or standing, in such a way that limitations of the space on the plan of coins did not allow such figures to be beautifully executed. With the Kuṣāṇas, however, the artistic production of coins improved. The full-length human and divine figures on Kuṣāṇa coins are of a more descriptive and iconographic nature. Figures of kings presented in battle dress and making offerings at an altar are indeed well designed. Deities are full of iconographic detail, an evidence of the imagination and skill of the Kuṣāṇa mint masters. In fact, many gods and goddesses are represented in human form for the first time on these coins. The Kuṣāṇa coins also offer important material for the study of syncretism in art and religious history.

In Western India, the Greek art of portraiture is seen in the profiles on coins, but these are not quality productions. They were issued by the Western Kṣatraps, some of the Sātavāhanas, the Guptas, and the Valabhī kings.

Artistically, the Gupta coins and especially their gold pieces are of great importance, since they present in the beginning a new development of the Kuṣāṇa coinage and then turn into a completely Indianized and idealistic production. The figures on these coins are more natural and balanced and have greater linear rhythm than ever before. The best illustrations are found among the lyrist, horseman, and the archer types. With the downfall of the Guptas, the skill of minting artistic coins seems to have degenerated. The figures on the early medieval coins are highly stylized.

The issue of coins is naturally associated with the country's economy. Accordingly, the role of coins in the reconstruction of economic history is obvious. The earliest of the punch-marked coins are usually dated around 5th century B.C. Those types of punch-marked coinage which are found in abundance over the whole of the Indo-Pākistān subcontinent, are believed to have been issued by the Mauryas. They must have controlled trade routes converging in Afghānistān and commanded a favourable

foreign trade. This accounts for the plentitude of silver. After the fall of the Mauryas in Afghânistân, supply of silver to India proper ceased. The Greeks and the Śaka-Pahlavas in the North-west and in Bactria, however, continued to strike silver coins in large numbers. The import of big quantities of Roman gold into India and the favourable foreign trade balance led to the issue of gold coins by the Kuṣāṇas and later by the Guptas. Pliny's lament on the drainage of Roman gold to India was well founded.

In early medieval times, silver issues became a rarity and the main currencies of the dynasties and kingdoms of both the North and South were either in gold or in copper.

(ii) *Ancient Coinage of Southern India*

By Southern India we mean here the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadā river and the Vindhyan mountains. Since a major part of this peninsula was ruled by the Mauryas, the punch-marked coins circulated in South India also. It is after the disintegration of the Mauryan empire and with the rise of the Sâtavāhana power that the history of South Indian coinage begins.

It is also an admitted fact that South Indian coinage, with the exception of perhaps the Sâtavâhana, presents greater difficulties to the student and offers less reward for his labours than that of the North. These monetary pieces are rare, generally very minute, sometimes weighing less than 2 grains, commonly uninscribed or containing brief and enigmatical legends. The devices are crude and indistinct.

Sâtavâhanas, who made themselves a great power in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, minted their money in four metals—silver, copper, potin and lead—the last of which predominated. Their coinage, which are generally round and sometime square, differ greatly from the northern coinage. Political contact with the Śaka Satraps of Western India, had its undoubted effect on some of the Sātavāhana coin types. It is noteworthy, however, that on the whole local conservatism supercedes political considerations in the determination of coin devices ; geographical distribution of the various types of Sâtavâhana coinage bears this out fully.

The history of the Sâtavâhanas—different versions of the Purāṇas give different genealogical and chronological lists of their kings—has to take into consideration several rulers who are known from coins alone. Sâtavâhana himself, after whom the dynasty was named, is known only from coins. That Nahapâna, the Śaka king, was defeated by Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi is conclusively known from the evidence of the Jogalthembi hoard containing a large number of Nahapâna coins overstruck by

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The occurrence of two masted ships as a device of their coinage points to the maritime activities of the Sātavāhanas.

During this period, Roman imperial coins of gold and silver were imported in considerable quantities in the course of trade and circulated freely in the country. The small copper coins bearing Roman devices and legends might have been locally produced by foreign settlers. The presence of a large number of Roman coins in South India is an important index of the economic history of the region.

Among the early coins of the South, it may be noted that after the punch-marked coins, the Pāṇḍyas in the extreme south of the peninsula issued square coins bearing a die struck type—elephant—on one side only : later, they have types on both sides. The heraldic symbols which occur on these coins along with the chief types express historical facts, and it has been suggested that the varying number of these symbols may afford data for a chronological arrangement of the coins. Gold coins bearing the emblem of 'fish' have been attributed to a period from 7th century A.D. onwards. Later copper coins show the influence of the Coḷa conquest in the 11th century A.D.

Coins of Koṅgudeśa, struck in gold and copper, bear the Cera emblem of 'bow' together with other symbols. The date of these gold coins, the chief type of which is the elephant, is limited to a period before A.D. 1019. Imitated by Harṣadeva of Kashmīr, this coinage is noticed in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*. The coins with the inscription 'Śrī Vīra Keralasya' in Nāgarī characters of probably 11th or 12th century A.D. found in parts of Kerala are noteworthy.

The Coḷa coins, which broadly fall into two classes, indicate the political greatness of the Coḷas. Coins struck before Rājarāja Coḷa bear the Cola emblem of 'tiger' in the centre with Pāṇḍya 'fish' and Cera 'bow' on either side of it. Coins issued during the reign of Rājarāja (A.D. 985 accession) are of a new type, 'king standing on obverse and king seated on reverse'. This type spread with the extension of Coḷa power over a great portion of South India, and its use was established in Ceylon as a result of Coḷa occupation of the island.

One type, supposed to be earlier, of Pallava coinage bearing ship as a reverse type testifies to the foreign trade for which the Pallavas were famous. The other type, later in time and struck in gold and silver, bear the Pallava emblem of 'maned lion'.

The copper coinages of the Cālukyas, Kadambas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Yādavas, Kākatiyas and those of the Vijayanagar empire are worth noting.

The coins of the Cālukyas, of both the branches, struck in gold and often cup-shaped, bear the emblem 'boar' and are remarkable for their style of punch-marking. It has been suggested that these are imitated from the Kadamba *padma-ṭankas*. These Kadamba coins are so called from the lotus which occupies the centre of the coin. The popularity of

the Cālukyan Gold Boar (Varāha) type earned the designation *Varāha* for these coins.

Originally the gold coin passed under the Sanskrit name *Suvarṇa* or Tamil *Pon*. Further popularization of the *Varāha* coins took place under the rulers of Vijayanagar. They were termed as Pagodas by the foreigners, in all probability by the Portuguese. Many Vijayanagar kings are known to have issued coins which are now commonly referred to either as *Varāhas* or Pagodas. Struck in golden copper, they weighed 56 grains and were issued in their half and quarter denominations also. Under the kings of Vijayanagar, these came to be the principal gold coinage of South India. It was probably due to this reason that these coins were later 'extensively imitated by scores of South Indian Kings and the European Companies.' The main devices found on Vijayanagar coins include bull, elephant, various Hindu deities, and Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa, holding elephants in beaks and claws. This coinage came to an end in A.D. 1565 after the destruction of the kingdom.

Ḥaidar 'Alī continued the Pagodas and Panoms of the former Hindu kings of Mysore. Some of his coins (Pagodas) depict Śiva and his consort Pārvatī. Tīpū issued coins of the same kind, and introduced many changes in the Mysore money. He found new names for the mint towns and minted the mohur and the half-mohur in gold, the double rupee and the rupee and its 1/2, 1/4, 1/16 and 1/32 denominations in silver. He used elephant, the type of the old Hindu kings of Mysore, on his copper coins.

The Muslim states of the South, however, struck coins on the pattern provided by the coinage of the Delhi Sultanate. This is not in conformity with the usual South Indian coinage.

(*iii*) *Medieval Coinage*

The story of Indo-Muslim coinage begins in the second half of the 11th century, when the authority of the later Ghaznavī princes driven out by the Ghūr kings was confined to the Punjab already conquered by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī during A.D. 1001–26. Here they struck small coins of mixed metal with Arabic legend in Kūfī on one side and the Indian Bull of Śiva on the other. Of the Ghaznavid coins struck in India, the most remarkable is a silver *tanka* minted at Maḥmūdpur, probably Lahore, with the *Kalimah* on the obverse and Maḥmūd's name and translation of the *Kalimah* in Sanskrit on the reverse.

But it was with the consolidation of the Muslim authority under the Mamlūks (A.D. 1206–90) that Indo-Muslim coinage received its definite character. In the first issues, the early Sulṭāns adopted the local currency with minor changes. The type of Bull-and-Horseman and Lakṣmī were retained and even some of the coin legends (names and titles) were insc-

ribed in Nāgarī script for some time. A few decades later, pictorial representation was replaced by inscriptions setting forth the *Kalimah*, king's name and titles, date and mint. The legends on the coins of the early Sulṭāns proclaimed allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphs, while Sulṭāns like Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Fīrūz Shāh also struck coins in their names. The most current coins were gold and silver *tanka* of 96 *rattis* or approximately 172.8 grains, and *jital* of billon of lesser denominations. Copper was also coined. The standard of silver to gold and copper to silver under the early period was 10:1 and 80:1 respectively. The type of a coin was determined by its shape, weight, mint, date, legend and arrangement of legend.

Among the early types, one remarkable coin has the Sulṭān's name in Nāgarī around the Bull on one side and that of Pṛthvirāj around the Horseman on the other. But the chief coins, particularly the silver *tanka* and billon *jitals*, were standardized by Iltutmish (A.D. 1211–36) who issued coins of many varieties. The standard set up by him survived until the reign of Sher Shāh, while the fabric or type of the coins continued with slight modifications till the time of Balban (A.D. 1266–87) who substituted the device of Horseman on billon coins by his name in Nāgarī ; this bilingual type was continued subsequently. Balban's coins also represent the extension of the mint system. The next appreciable change in coinage was effected by 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī (A.D. 1296–1316) who also issued square coins in gold and silver, a shape which was largely adopted by his son Mubārak Shāh (A.D. 1316–20). The gold and silver coins of the latter are perhaps the finest in the series of the Delhi Sultanate, being remarkable for variety of titles, legends, boldness of design, depth of relief, and shape.

The reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, 'the prince of moneyers' (A.D. 1325–51), is extremely rich from the numismatic point of view. Of his coins which were in various types, the most remarkable is his forced currency of brass and copper token issues. But there is nothing very remarkable about the coins of the later Tughluqs (A.D. 1351–1414) and their successors, the Syeds (A.D. 1414–51) and the Lodīs (A.D. 1451–1526). It was left to Sher Shāh Sūr (A.D. 1540–45) to remodel the coinage on a rational basis. He discarded billon, made extensive use of copper for lower denominations, established silver *tanka*, now called rupee, as the standard measure of value, along with their fractional issues, and introduced a new copper coin of weight varying between 300–330 grains which was adopted by Akbar under the name *dām*.

Sher Shāh's gold mohur and silver rupee were generally maintained in form and size throughout the Mughal period except in the reigns of Bābur (A.D. 1526–30) and Humāyūn (A.D. 1530–40, 1555–56) when broad, thin pieces of the Central Asian types in gold and silver and copper types of the later Sultanate fabric, were issued. The early coins of Akbar (A.D.

1556–1605) were old-fashioned, but in 1584 he started a new series of good workmanship bearing the *Ilāhī* era and new legends including a metrical one. Among his most remarkable coins are those with animate designs of duck, hawk and Rāma-Sītā. Under Jahāngīr (A.D. 1605–27), workmanship attained the highest level of excellence and artistic merit. The numerous varieties of his coins include the most remarkable issues, the Zodiac mohurs and rupees and a Bacchanalian mohur of Ajmer. Shāh Jahān (A.D. 1628–58) reverted to the *Kalimah* type issued in different varieties, while the coins of Aurangzeb (A.D. 1658–1707) are monotonous in character. However, with the legend on the reverse indicating the regnal year, Aurangzeb started a type that survived throughout the end of the Mughal series and series of various Indian states which issued currency in the name of the Mughal emperors.

Apart from the above, the provincial kingdoms of Bengal (A.D. 1204–1576), Kashmīr (A.D. 1339–1588), Bahmanīs (A.D. 1347–1538), Jaunpur (A.D. 1394–1484), Gujarāt (A.D. 1407–1572), Mālwa (A.D. 1401–1562) and Madura (A.D. 1334–78) issued their own series with varying workmanship and designs but basically of the Delhi fabric.

4. Literary Sources

(i) *Ancient Period*

(a) Sanskrit and Sanskritic Languages

The Vedas and the Purāṇas. It is well known that ancient India did not produce any historical work ; but even the Vedas and the Purāṇas contain some data on political history, while they are of great value for reconstructing the social, religious and cultural history of India. They have preserved not only the names of kings and tribes, but also of important events as well, as for example the *Daśarājña,* the battle of ten kings.

The *Pariplava-ākhyānas* (cyclic tales), which were recited by the lute players during the Aśvamedha sacrifice, included the *Vaṁśānucarita* or the dynastic history. The *Pariplava-ākhyānas* also contained all the elements of the *Pañca-lakṣaṇas* of the Purāṇas, and it is possible that the Purāṇas (in the Vedas this term usually occurs with *Itihāsa* or history) continued the tradition of the Vedic age, and gave the dynastic lists a permanent form by reducing them to writing. The dynastic lists are not free from mistakes, but they make useful frame-work. The practice of compiling dynastic lists persisted for a long time particularly in Nepāl and Western India.

Mahabharata. The *Mahābhārata* was possibly the earliest attempt in ancient India to write history. Its value as a source of political history

is yet to be critically assessed, though scholars agree that the basis of the epic story has a foundation in facts. It is of inestimable worth for reconstructing the social and cultural history of the period.

Prakrit and Pali. The Sanskritic languages, Pāli and Prākṛt developed an extensive literature, but there is little in it that can be regarded as historical material. The only works in Pāli which may be termed history are the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dīpavaṁśa* and the *Mahāvaṁśa*. The *Dīpavaṁśa* (History of the Island) is really a history of Ceylon from the earliest times to the death of king Mahāsena (A.D. 362). The *Mahāvaṁśa* (The Great History) is an elaborate and elegant version of the poorly written *Dīpavaṁśa;* but though prepared at the end of the 5th century, it ends abruptly with king Mahāsena. It is, however, supplemented by the *Cūlavaṁśa,* which brings the history of the island down to the reign of Parākramabāhu (A.D. 1240–75). The importance of these Ceylonese chronicles for the history of India lies in the Buddhist tradition which they have preserved, for example, the *Mahāvaṁśa* date of the Buddha's death is 544 B.C. Another important book in Pāli is Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (A.D. 100). It is possible that the large number of biographies of saints and kings and other important persons, which were written at a later age, were inspired by the *Buddhacarita.*

Besides these, there is a vast literature usually called Pāli canonical literature, which contains little material for political history but is important for the social history of the period.

Jainism also produced canonical literature in Prākṛt. It records the life of the Jina. Here, history is mixed with myths, legends and edifying fables. The most important works among the Jaina *Aṅga* (canonical) literature are the *Āyāraṅgasutta* and the *Bhagavatī*. Among the *Upāṅgas,* or the minor texts, mention may be made of the *Ovavāiyaṁ*, the *Kappiyāo* and the *Kappavaḍaṁsīyāo* which narrate the traditional Jaina accounts of Śeṇiya (Sk. Śreṇika) and his son. The Buddhist Pāli canonical literature also contains traditional accounts of these kings, but the Jaina Prākrt canons are of great help in synchronizing the dates.

The only historical work in Prākṛt of this period is the *Gauḍavaho* by Bappairā (Sk. Vākpatirāja) which gives an account of king Yaśovarman of Kannauj (*c.* A.D. 725). The title of the poem, *Gauḍavaho,* means 'the destruction of (king of) Gauḍa'; however, this event is merely alluded to at the very end, and the work really describes the other conquests of Yaśovarman in such a conventional manner that scholars have doubted the veracity of some of Vākpati's statements. The first work which can be properly called historical is the *Harṣacarita* (life of emperor Harṣavardhana, A.D. 606–47) written by his court poet, Bāṇa. The book, however, deals only with the ancestry and the early life of Harṣa, and ends with the beginning of Harṣa's reign. The work is thus more in the nature of a *Kāvya* with a historical background than genuine history.

(b) Dravidian Languages

Tamil contains the earliest literature in the Dravidian group of languages. Though it is rich in secular literature, no attempt was made in the early period to write any history. The earliest Tamil works known to us belong to the group called the Śaṅgam (academy) literature. The date of the Śaṅgam age is far from certain, though some scholars are inclined to place it between 500 B.C. and A.D. 500.

The Śaṅgam literature has little interest for the political history of the period, but is a store-house of information on social and religious history, and depicts life in the Tamil land in a vivid manner. Of the various works produced during the Śaṅgam age, mention may be made of Tiru-vaḷḷuvar's great classic, *Kuṛaḷ*, and the two great Tamil epics, *Śilappadi-kāram* and the *Maṇimekalai.*

(*ii*) *Medieval Period*

(a) Sanskritic Languages

Several historical works have come down to us from this period. For our present purpose it is better to arrange them in groups rather than in chronological order.

Calukyas of Kalyana. The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* was written by the Kashmīrī poet Bilhaṇa in about A.D. 1085. Here, a partial biography of king Vikramāditya VI is presented in a fanciful background which sometimes has little relevance to history.

Cahamanas. The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, written during the lifetime of Pṛthvīrāja, the unfortunate Cāhamāna emperor (*c.* A.D. 1177–92), is a better historical work than the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita;* but unfortunately no complete manuscript of this work has been found. The Kashmīr historian Jonarāja wrote a useful commentary on this work. The *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, written by Nayacandra deals with a branch of the Cāhamāna dynasty which ruled at Ranthambhor (A.D. 1193–1301). It derives its name from the gallant Hammīra, the last prince of the dynasty.

Palas of Bengal. The *Rāmacarita* by Sandhyākaranandin gives an account of the revolution in Bengal, its failure, the Pāla restoration under Rāmapāla (*c.* A.D. 1077–1120), and briefly mentions four of his successors ending with Madanapāla (*c.* A.D. 1144–61) during whose reign it was presumably completed. The peculiarity of the work is that each verse has two meanings, one applicable to Śrī Rāmacandra of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the other to the history of the Pāla kings. This is, however, the only account of an interesting period of the history of Bengal and seems to be authentic.

Rajataranginis of Kashmir. Kashmīr seems to have had a long tradition of historical writing. Her first known historian, the celebrated Kalhaṇa, states that he has examined eleven works of former scholars dealing with the chronicles of kings. These works are lost, and we owe to Kalhaṇa the best history written in Sanskrit, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

Kalhaṇa began this work in A.D. 1148 and completed it in the following year. Though the earlier part of the work is semi-legendary, the history improves as he proceeds and from the 7th century A.D. the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* may be regarded as a fairly reliable history of Kashmīr. It is, as its name implies, a chronicle of kings; even so, as Kalhaṇa begins to describe contemporary events, he presents to us across the gulf of time the glory of Kashmīr in her hey-day. And Kalhaṇa lived up to his precept: "that virtuous poet (i.e., historian) alone is worthy of praise who, free from love or hatred, ever restricts his language to the exposition of fact".

Kalhaṇa's example was followed by Jonarāja, who wrote the commentary on the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*. Jonarāja lived during the reign of Zainu'l-'Ābdīn (A.D. 1420–70), the famous Sulṭān of Kashmīr, and at the latter's instance wrote the second *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which carries the history of Kashmīr up to A.D. 1434, the year of Jonarāja's death. From that point the history of Kashmīr was continued by Śrīvara, Jonarāja's student, in the third *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. After Śrīvara, the work was carried on by two persons, Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka, in what is known as the fourth *Rājataraṅgiṇī*—it brings the history of Kashmīr from the early times down to the end of the 16th century. We have already remarked that Kalhaṇa's work from the 7th century onwards is fairly accurate, and of his successors it can be said that though they lacked Kalhaṇa's poetic skill, their work as history is not of an inferior quality.

Gujarat Chronicles. A large number of chronicles were written in Gujarāt, both in Sanskrit and Prākṛt, eulogizing the Caulukya kings of Gujarāt (A.D. 941–1304) and the pro-Jaina monarch, Kumārapāla (*c.* A.D. 1143–72) in particular. Several biographies of the great Jaina ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla were also written. There are a few biographies of Hemacandra, the famous preceptor of Kumārapāla and the author of the *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya*. The biographies of Vastupāla and Tejapāla always devote a canto to the history of the reigning dynasty, that is, the Caulukyas; and as Vastupāla and Tejapāla were ministers, some of their activities are of historical importance. The cantos on the dynasty are all in the nature of the *praśastis* which are usually inscribed on stone. But these cantos written with little embellishment have the virtue of brevity and particularly in the case of Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī* are of historical importance.

The main source of the history of Gujarāt is the Prākṛt *Ratnamālā* for the history of the Cāpotkatas and the *Dvyāśraya* and the *Prabandha-*

cintāmaṇi for the Caulukyas who supplanted the Cāpotkaṭas. It is difficult to assess the historical value of the *Ratnamālā*, but the *Dvyāśraya* may serve as an example of the Indian attitude towards historical writing. Hemacandra, the author of the *Dvyāśraya*, was the greatest scholar of the age. After completing his celebrated Sanskrit grammar, the *Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana*, he took up the *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya*, which means "an epic with two bases (meanings)", one of which was the history of the Caulukyas, and the other was the grammar, each verse providing one or more examples of the aphorism of grammar. The result is very poor history.

Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* was written with a view to please his readers with a collection of interesting anecdotes ; and though he succeeds in his effort it is difficult to say how far the anecdotes are true, some being apocryphal. However, Merutuṅga is the only Gujarātī chronicler who gives dates ; they are not quite accurate, but the years are generally correct.

The tradition of writing history was not lost in Gujarāt and in a later age we find the *Māṇḍalika-mahākāvya* by Gaṅgādhar Kavi, which describes the defeat of king Māṇḍalika of a principality in Saurāshtra by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begara of Gujarāt (A.D. 1459–1511). During the same period waswritten the *Rājavinoda-mahākāvyam* by Udayarāja, which is an eulogy, rather than a biography, of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begara.

Rajasthan. The tradition of writing history persisted in Rājasthān and an example is the *Rāja-Praśasti-mahākāvya* (A.D. 1667) a work in 24 cantos inscribed on stone. Other works are the *Amarasāra* (A.D. 1628) by Jīvadhara, the *Jagatsiṁha-kāvya* by Raghunātha, the *Amarakāvya-vaṁśāvali* by Raṇachoḍa Bhāṭ, the writer of the *Rāja-Praśasti* and the *Rāja-ratnākara* (A.D. 1777) by Sadāśiva.

Minor Works. Among the minor works, mention may be made of the *Pārijātamañjarī*, also known as the *Dhar Praśasti*, an inscribed drama ; the *Gaṅgādeśapratāpavilāsa* by Gaṅgādhara and the *Madhurā-vijaya* by Gaṅgādevī. The last named work has a special interest : it is the only known historical work written by a woman, and she has with pardonable pride lauded the military exploits of her husband, prince Kampaṇa of Vijayanagar, particularly his conquest of Madurai from the Muslims.

(b) Dravidian Languages

Medieval South Indian history is in the same position as the earlier period, as regards the paucity of historical works. Some works like the *Madurait-tala-Varalāṟu* of the temple of Mīnākṣī at Madurai, the *Koyil-oḻugu* of the famous shrine of Śrī Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam, the *Tirumalai-oḻugu* of Tirupati Venkaṭeśvara shrine, are

temple chronicles furnishing valuable data on comparatively later times after A.D. 1200. Works like the *Koṅgu-deśa-Rājākkaḷ-caritram* or the *Keralotpatti* have furnished more points of dispute than solutions, and are acceptable only when corroborating independent evidence is found. Ballads like the *Rāmappayyan-Ammānai* which furnish a better class of quasi-historical material belonging to this period are not too many. In the following paragraphs an estimate of the sources of South Indian history for the period A.D. 1206–1761 is given under each of the four languages of Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayālam.

The *Madurait-tala-Varalāṟu* is a Tamil chronicle written in a quaint style and gives an account of the rulers of Madurai from the capture of the city by the Muslims and the Sultanate of Madurai to the final establishment of British rule in the area in 1801. The *Rāmappayyan-Ammānai* is a popular ballad in Tamil and gives an account of the exploits of general Rāmappayyan on behalf of the rulers of Vijayanagar and the conquest of the Cera country by the Nāyaka rulers of Madurai. Stray references as are found in the verse in Tamil of Kumāra Sarasvatī celebrating the success of Kṛṣṇadevarāya over Orissa, or the *Tattvaprakāan* or *Nāgarāja Nambi* of Tiruvarur may be mentioned in passing.

Kannaḍa, next in antiquity to Tamil, furnishes a rich literature. Professedly historical works are not many but incidental references to historical events and personalities are found scattered in many works. But the *Cikkadevarāya Vaṁśāvali* of Tirumalārya, the Prime Minister of Cikkadevarāya (A.D. 1672–1704) explains the origin of the Wodeyars and their relation to the Vijayanagar rulers as well as informations on Śrīraṅga III. Another work, *Cikkadevarāya Vijaya* is a *Campū* describing his conquests. *Keladinṛpa Vijaya* furnishes information on the foundation of Vijayanagar, the origin of the Keladi family of chieftains and on the war of Rāma Rāya with the Bahmanī rulers. Stray quotations from literary works containing historical data can be furnished from several of them.

Apart from stray references, specific historical literature of some value can be found in some of the Telugu works mentioned below. *Annals of Hande Anantapuran* of the Mackenzie Mss. collection contains accounts of wars of the Rājās from the time of Bukka to the events leading to the installation of Rāma Rāya to power, after the death of Acyutarāya. Another work the *Vikramārkacarita* of Jakkaṇa contains specific references to Devarāya II. The *Rāma Rājyam* of Venkavyadeva contains an account of the achievements of Somadeva, his descendants, the successors of Rāma Rāya, Tirumala and his successors, and Venkaṭādri and his successors. The *Rāyavācaka* is an account of the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya in colloquial Telugu by an officer of Viśvanātha Nāyaka, the Madurai ruler, with an account of the campaigns and tours of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. A second work, *Kṛṣṇarāya-Vijayam*, a poem by one Venka-

ṭarāya of the court of Cinna Veṅkaṭa celebrates the victories of Kṛṣṇadevarāya and gives an account of his reign. The *Raghunāthābhyudaya* of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, celebrates the achievements of the author's father Raghunātha, ruler of Tanjore, and mentions the several members of the family and their respective relationship. *The Tanjāvūri Āndhra Rājula-Caritra* containing an account of the Nāyaka kingdom of Tanjore from its inception to its overthrow by the Marāṭhās—a manuscript of the Mackenzie collection—has been largely used in the reconstruction of the history of the Nāyaka kingdoms and Thanjāvūr and Madurai. *Velugoṭivāri Vaṁśāvali*, an account of the Velama family chiefs, also touches on their relations with the rulers of Vijayanagar like Harihara II.

Malayālam was the last of the South Indian languages to develop a separate existence with its own literature. Stray references to historical material can be found in some Malayālam work such as the *Kerala Palma* which confirms the conquest of the Kerala country by Devarāya II. The same work also confirms the conquest of the West Coast, by Narasiṁha Sāluva of Vijayanagar and his dealings with the Portuguese. This work in Malayālam is an account of the dealings of the Portuguese with the people of Malabār and Karṇāṭaka on the West Coast.

(c) Persian

The source-material in the Persian language is abundant. Ḥasan Niẓāmī's *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir* deals with the history of the Sulṭāns from Muḥammad Ghūrī to Iltutmish (A.D. 1191–1217). Minhāj-us-Sirāj's *Ṭabqāt-i-Nāṣirī* covering the early Sultanate period is written in a simple style. Amīr Khusraw (A.D. 1253–1325) was a gifted poet. His five *dīwāns*, four historical *mathnawīs* and two prose works throw light on the political, topographical, social and cultural aspects of life. His works, especially *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*, *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ* or *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* (in prose) and *Tughluq Nāmah* (poetry) contain valuable information on the political history of the reigns of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq. Ḍiā'u'd-dīn Baranī's *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (written in A.D. 1358) continues the work of Minhāj's chronicle and deals with the political history from the reign of Balban to the first six years of Fīrūz Tughluq. Baranī's concept of history was governed by practical, theological and didactic religious purposes. He had his personal fads and prejudices, and a fascination for the Turkish terminology used in the Persian literature. He had an equal interest in politico-religious philosophy of the state which found expression in his work *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī*. Fakhr-Mudabbir's *Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb wa Shujā'at* is equally valuable for the study of the medieval political thought. 'Iṣāmī's *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* (written in A.D. 1349–50) is an epic comprising the deeds of the Muslim rulers in

India from the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī to the Tughluq times (A.D. 1350). Shamsu'd-dīn Sirāj 'Afīf's *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (written in the closing years of the 14th century or early 15th century) contains biographical sketches of the Tughluq rulers Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Fīrūz Shāh—and traces the history down to the sack of Delhi by Tīmūr. 'Afīf wrote history from the theological angle. Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad Sirhindī's *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (written in A.D. 1434–35) records the main military and political events from the early Turkish period to A.D. 1435; it is the main source for the study of the history of the Syed dynasty. 'Alī bin Maḥmūd al-Kirmānī (alias Shihāb Ḥakīm)'s *Ma'āthir-i- Maḥmūd Shāhī* is an official history based on the official state-papers and documents of the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī I (A.D. 1436–1460) of Mālwa. Muḥammad Bihamad Khān's *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* covers Islāmic history from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad down to A.D. 1438–39; it is an important source for the history of the regions of Mālwa and Jaunpur. For the Sultanate period, there is a good deal of religious literature (*tafsīr, ḥadīth* and *fiqh*) which throws light on the socio-religious and cultural life of the Muslim community in India. The mystic literature comprising *malfūzāt* and the general works make an equal contribution in this respect. Of the *malfūz* literature, Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī's *Fawā'id-ul-Fuād* (A.D. 1322), Shaikh Ḥamīdu'd-dīn Nāgaurī's *Ṣarūr-us-Ṣadūr* (around A.D. 1327), Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalander's *Khair-ul-Majālis* (approximately A.D. 1356), Amīr Khurd's Siyār-ul-Auliyā' (13th century) are outstanding. A few important sources, though written during the Mughal age, deal with the Afghān period. Rizqullah's *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī*, Abdullah's *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* (written in Jahāngīr's reign), Ḥasan 'Alī khān's *Tārīkh-i-Daulat-i Sher Shāhī* (the author claims to be a contemporary of Sher Shāh), 'Abbās Sarwānī's *Tuḥfa-i-Akbar Shāhī* (written on Akbar's order), Aḥmad Yādgār's *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afāghina* (written in A.D. 1572–76), Ni'matullah's *Makhzan-i-Afghāna* (written in Jahāngīr's reign) deal with the history of the Lodīs, Sūrs and the Mughals. They give us adequate information on the administration of the Sūr dynasty.

The Mughal historical writings abound in political chronicles, biographies, itineraries, epistolary collections, *Dastūr ul 'amals* (administrative manuals), official *farmāns*, orders and correspondence of various categories. Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn Khāfī's (alias Wafā'ī) *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī* deals with just a year's (A.D. 1525–26) activities of Bābur. He also translated Bābur's Memoirs from Chaghtāī Turkish into Persian under the title of *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*. Bābur's Memoirs were also translated later into Persian by 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān. Mirzā Ḥaider Dughlat's *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* covers the history of the Mongol Khāns, the Amīrs of Kashgar, and some of the events of the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. Gulbadan Begum's *Humāyūn Nāmah*, while dealing with Humāyūn's reign, throws light on the social and cultural aspects of the early Mughal

rule. Jauhar's *Tadhkirat-ul-wāqi'āt* is a contemporary account of Humāyūn's reign. Abū'l Faḍl's *Akbar Nāmah* is a monumental study of Akbar's reign. Abū'l Faḍl widened the scope of historical writing. He collected archival data from multifarious sources and recorded facts after critical examination. *Akbar Nāmah* records not only political history but also deals with the social, economic, administrative and institutional problems of the age. Abū'l Faḍl was the first medieval historian who adopted a rational and secular approach to history. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* comprising the third part of *Akbar Nāmah* has chapters on the concept of Akbar's state and his administration, and it gives an account of the Mughal *ṣūbas*. Later, Shaikh Munawwar in his *Darj-un-Nafā'is* (A.D. 1654) made an excellent abridgement of the *Akbar Nāmah*. *Haft Aqlīm* is a geographical, historical and biographical encyclopaedia compiled in A.D. 1593. Khwājah Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabqāt-i-Akbarī* records the general history of India till A.D. 1592–93 in a clear cut and analytical manner. He also deals with the history of the different provinces in strict historical sequence. Mullā 'Abdu'l Qādir Badāūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* is written in a subjective style. He records the general history of India from the establishment of the Delhi to his own times from well-known sources. Being much less interested in political history, he records selective events and upholds his own concept of the Sharī'at against the liberal policy and administrative reforms of Akbar. Ḥājī Muḥammad 'Ārif Qandhārī's *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī* (alias *Tārīkh-i-Qandhārī*) covers Akbar's reign upto A.D. 1580. To commemorate the one thousand years after Prophet Muḥammad's death, *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* (A.D. 1588–89) was written by a board of scholars, especially Mullā Aḥmad Tattawī and Āṣaf Khān Ja'far Beg, in a simple language. Mirzā Mīr 'Alāu'd-daulah Qazwīnī's *Nafā'is-ul Ma'āthir* (A.D. 1573) deals with some of the works of the poets, writers and historical personages of Akbar's age. It also briefly covers the Mughal history from Bābur's reign down to Akbar's time till A.D. 1573. Shāh 'Abdu'l Ḥaq Muḥaddath Dihlawī's *Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī* is a brief general history of India from the Turkish period till A.D. 1596. *Tārīkh-i-khāndān-i-Tīmūriyah* by an unknown author covers the history of the Mughals from Tīmūr's days down to the 22nd regnal year of Akbar's reign. Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astarābādī (alias Firishta)'s *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (or *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*) covers the general history of India till A.D. 1606–7. Firishta has given useful information about the provincial kingdoms. As Firishta wrote from Deccan, it is all the more significant for understanding the history and view point of the Deccan kingdoms. Jahāngīr's autobiography *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* which covers the period till the 19th regnal year of his reign is extremely useful for understanding his character and the events of his time. During Jahāngīr's reign 'Alāu'd-dīn Iṣfahānī (alias Mirzā Nathan) wrote his book of memoirs, *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī*, which throws light on the Mughal conquest of

Bengal and the Mughal administration in this region. Mu'tamad Khān's *Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jahāngīrī* covers the history of the Mughals, the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr; it is an important contemporary record of the events of Jahāngīr's reign. The official historians of Shāh Jahān's time tried to emulate Abū'l Faḍl's method of writing. Muḥammad Amīn bin 'Abdu'l Ḥusain Qazwīnī (alias Amīnā-i Qazwīnī)'s *Pādshāh Nāmah* records the early history of Shāh Jahān and the first ten years of his reign. As Qazwīnī's work was not upto the mark, the task was assigned to 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd Lāhawrī who in his *Pādshāh Nāmah* wrote a detailed history of the first twenty years of the regime. Muḥammad Wārith continued the work and in his *Pādshāh Nāmah* he covered the history of the later ten years (21st to 30th years). Of the non-official histories of Shāh Jahān's reign, Muḥammad Ṣādiq (alias Ṣādiq Khān)'s *Tawārīkh-i-Shāh Jahānī* covering the period A.D. 1627–57 deserves special mention; it is a reliable account especially of the Deccan administrative problems. Muḥammad Ṣādiq's *Ṣūbh-i-Ṣādiq* (A.D. 1638) is a comprehensive historical and geographical work. 'Ināyat Khān's *Shāh Nāmah* is a mere abridgement of Lāhawrī's *Pādshāh Nāmah*. Cander Bhān Brahaman's writings make a definite contribution both in the *Inshā'* and historical literature. His *Munsha'āt-i-Brahaman* throws light on the activities of the historical personages. The *Guldasta-i-quwā'id-ul-Salṭanat* and *Chahār Chaman* serve as an important source for our knowledge of Shāh Jahān's daily routine, the working of the Mughal administration, and the geographical details of the Mughal *ṣūbas*. The letters of Shaikh Jalāl Ḥiṣārī and Bālkrishan Brahaman included in a manuscript entitled *Muktūbāt-i-Muẓaffar Khān Wa Gawāliār Nāmah* (Shāh Jahān's reign) and Mir Abu'l Ḥasan 'Ālamgīrī's *Muraqqa'āt-i-Ḥasan* (Aurangzeb's reign) throw significant light on the working of the Mughal administration. *Dabistān-i-Madhāhib* is a comprehensive work on the religions of the world (A.D. 1653–56). Mirzā Muḥammad Kāẓim's *'Ālamgīr Nāmah* (A.D. 1681) covers the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign and is written in a panegyric style. Muḥammad Ṣāqī Musta'id Khān's *'Ālamgīr Nāmah* an official history of the entire reign of Aurangzeb, was completed in A.D. 1708–10; the first ten years are an abridgement of *'Ālamgīr Nāmah* and the history of the subsequent years is recorded from the state papers and personal recollections. Of the non-official histories, Abū'l Faḍl Māmūrī continued Muḥammad Ṣādiq's work and covered the entire reign of Aurangzeb. Sujān Rāi Bhandārī's *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* is a general history of India and covers Aurangzeb's reign till A.D. 1695–96; it is very significant in its account of the Mughal *ṣūbas* and at times supplies more useful information on the topography and socio-economic life of the various regions than the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. Bakhtāwar Khān's *Mir'āt-i-'Ālam* is a general history of mankind and covers Mughal history till A.D. 1666. *Āīn-i-Bakht* forms a part of the *Mir'āt-i-'Ālam*. Bhīmsen's

Nuskha-i-Dilkushā is a valuable journal especially for the military activities and the administrative problems of the Deccan during Aurangzeb's reign. Īsar Dās Nāgar's *Futūḥāt-i-'Ālamgīrī*, Aurangzeb's own correspondence embodied in *Raqā'im-i-Karā'im*, *Kalimāt-i-Ṭayyibāt*, (collected by 'Ināyatullah Khān), *Aḥkām-i-'Ālamgīrī* and *Ramz wa Ishārahā-i-'Ālamgīrī* (collected later on) throw light on the administrative problems of the reign.

A few good chronicles produced in the Deccan cover the history of the Deccan, especially the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda. Syed 'Alī Ṭabāṭabāī's *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (A.D. 1596) dedicated to Burhān Niẓām Shāh II (A.D. 1591–95), Mīr Rafi'u'd-dīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Mulūk* (A.D. 1615), and the works of the other historians, i.e., *Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shāhī* and *Ma'āthir-i-Quṭb Shāhī* (A.D. 1616) give detailed accounts of the Bahmanīs, 'Ādil Shāhīs, Niẓām Shāhīs and Quṭb Shāhīs. Maḥmūd bin 'Abdullah Nīshāpurī brought the narrative of the Quṭb Shāhīs till A.D. 1629. Mirzā Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's *Ḥadīqat-us-Salāṭīn* is a voluminous history of the first nineteen years of the reign of 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh (A.D. 1626–72). 'Alī ibn Taifūr al-Buṭamī's *Ḥaqāiq-us-Salāṭīn fī Kalāmi-ul-khawāqīn* (A.D. 1681), though mostly a compendium of Persian poetry, contains letters written by the kings as well as nobles of India and Īrān. Apart from these chronicles, there is an important collection of *farmāns* and letters embodied in *Makātīb-i-Sulṭān 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh bā nām Dārā Shukoh Waghairah* (collection upto 1662), *'Arāi' wa Ittiḥād Nāmajāt Wa Farāmīn-i-'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh* (collection upto A.D. 1662), and *Inshā'-i-'Abdu'l 'Alī Khān T'alīqānī*. Two 18th century works, Mansā Rām's *Ma'āthir-i-Niẓāmī* and Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān's *Tārīkh-i-Fatḥīyah*, narrate Niẓāmu'l Mulk Āṣaf Jāh's relations with the Mughal state. A few other provincial histories written during the Mughal age supply very useful information. Abū Turāb Walī's *Tārīkh-i-Gujrāt* gives an authentic account of the history of Gujarāt from 1536 to A.D. 1584; it comprises the author's eye witness account of the Mughal conquest of Gujarāt. Sikandar bin Muḥammad's *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* (completed in 1617–18) records the history of Gujarāt upto A.D. 1591. Jahāngīr bears testimony to the author's thorough acquaintance with Gujarāt history. For Sind, Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm's *Tārīkh-i-Sind* covers the period upto A.D. 1599–1600, and Mīr Ṭāhir Muḥammad Nisyānī's *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* brings down the narration to A.D. 1609. Yūsuf Mīrak's *Maḥḍar-i-Shāh Jahānī* (A.D. 1634) gives a detailed administrative history of the territories of Sehwān, Bhakkar and Tatta. Shihābu'd-dīn Tālish's *Fatḥīyah-i-'Ibrīyah* contains a detailed account of Mīr Jumla's campaigns in Assam and Cooch-Behar.

During the 18th century, considerable progress was made in historical literature. *Bahādur Shāh Nāmah* is an official history of Bahādur Shāh's first two years. Irādat Khān's *Tārīkh-i-Irādat Khān* (A.D. 1714) is a good biography covering the seven years period (A.D. 1707–14).

Muḥammad Hādī's *Haft Gulshan* is a province-wise general history of India till A.D. 1719. Khāfi Khān's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb* covers Mughal history from Bābur's times to A.D. 1731. Khāfi Khān drew heavily upon Muḥammad Ṣādiq and Abū'l Faḍl Māmūrī's histories; however, his work is very significant for Mughal-Marāṭhā relations, the early 18th century politics, and the problems of the land revenue administration. Muḥammad Qāsim 'Ibrat Ḥusain Lāhawrī's *'Ibrat Nāmah* (A.D. 1722–23) records Mughal history from the death of Aurangzeb to A.D. 1721. Another author, also named Muḥammad Qāsim, traces in his *Aḥwāl-ul-Khawāqīn* the history of Aurangzeb's successors till A.D. 1739 in an analytical manner; this is a good commentary on the political and economic decline of the Mughal empire. Some of the *Inshā'* literature of this period is quite informative. Munshī Dayā Rām's *Bālmukand Nāmah* comprises important political letters from *Mir'āt-ul-Iṣṭilāḥ* (A.D. 1713 to 1720.) Ānand Rām Mukhliṣ's *Mir'āt-ul-Iṣlāḥ*, an excellent dictionary of persian terms, explains the administrative and revenue terminology with apt historical illustrations. *Tadhkirah-i-Ānand Rām Mukhliṣ* records the war history of Muḥammad Shāh with Nādir Shāh. *Safar Nāmah-i-Ānand Rām Mukhliṣ* (or *Roznām-Cha-i-Safar* A.D. 1751) and *Manshūrāt-i-Ānand Rām* (A.D. 1739) throw considerable light on the socio-economic and political activities of the times. Chatarman Kāyastha Saksena's *Chahār Gulshan* (or *Akhbār-ul-nawādir*) is a general history of India till A.D. 1759–60 and it gives a detailed topographical account of the *ṣūbas*. Shāh Nawāz Khān's *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā'* gives full biographical sketches of the Mughal dignitaries. Kanwar Prem Kishore Firāqis *Wāqā'i' 'Ālam Shāhī* (A.D. 1784) reveals excellent insight into the late 18th century North Indian politics and its impact on the socio-economic life. Ghulām 'Alī Khān's *Muqaddama-i-Shāh 'Ālam Nāmah* and Ṭabāṭabāī Ghulām Ḥusain's *Siyār-ul-muta'akhkhirīn* give a detailed history of the Mughals from Aurangzeb's death (A.D. 1707) to A.D. 1754 and 1781 respectively. Lachmī Narāyan Shafīq's *Ḥaqīqathā-i-Hindustān* (A.D. 1789–90) contains an excellent historical and topographical account of India. It also contains a detailed statement of the revenues of India.

The 18th century is equally rich in the production of provincial histories. 'Alī Muḥammad Khān's *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* traces the history of Gujarāt from the earliest times to A.D. 1761. Its supplement gives an excellent account of the topography, administrative units and revenues of Gujarāt. I'timād 'Alī Khān's *Mir'āt-ul-Ḥaqīqat* is written on the pattern of *Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī*. Mir 'Alī Sher Qānī Tattawī's *Tuḥfat-ul-Kirām* (A.D. 1766–67) is a general history of Sind, and also gives a topographical account of the region. Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm Zaidpūrī's *Riyāḍ-ul-Salāṭīn* (A.D. 1787–88) is a good general history and geographical account of the territories of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa. Rājā Kalyān Singh's *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* comprises a general history of Mughal India along with a detailed account

of the regions of Bengal and Orissa from A.D. 1760 to 1783. Apart from these well-known sources, there is an extremely important collection of Persian manuscripts of the 18th century available at the German Libraries *Universitaetsbibliothek* (University Libraries) of Bonn, and Tubingen, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Munchen (Bavarian State Library, Munich), *West deutsche Bibliothek*, Marburg, and *Staatsbibliothek* (State Library) Berlin (East). Some of the important manuscripts are, *Nuskhahā bar Kaifīyāt-i-Ṣubḥ-Bahār; Nuskha-i-majmū'āt; Sawālāt-i-mālik-i-Ḍāmin Kiyāsat az Mister John Shore; Dar-Bāb-i-Nuskha-i-Sarusa ḥukm; Tawārīkh-i-Bādshāhān-i-Hind az ibtidā-i-Shāh Tīmūr baghāyat-i Shāh 'Ālam; Majmū'a-i-Mutafarriqa; Akhbār-ul-Ṣādiq dar Kaifīyāt Darj Ast.* The real importance of these manuscripts lies in the detailed and well-documented analytical discussion on the 18th century administrative history and land revenue problems of the territories of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa. Besides, there are important 17th and 18th century *Dastūr ul 'amals* (administrative and accountancy manuals) throwing much light on the Mughal administration. The archival source-material in Persian which enriches our knowledge of the socio-economic life of the country, especially from the 16th to the 18th centuries is vast indeed. Though the Mughal *farmāns, sanads* and *madad-i-ma'āsh* (charitable land grants) documents are available at numerous places, the bulk of this valuable collection has been concentrated at three archival centres in India, the Rājasthān State Archives, Bīkaner, The Andhra Pradesh Archives, Hyderābād, and the National Archives of India, New Delhi. The Rājasthān Archives is a mine of material. They comprise various Mughal *farmāns, sanads,* news bulletins of the Mughal court (*Kāghadhāt-Akhbārāt-i-Darbār-i-Mu'allā*), pargana *atsatta* documents, miscellaneous correspondence of the provincial and pargana officials (*Khuṭūṭ-i-Ahlkārān, Mutafarriq Kāghadhāt-i-Ahlkārān*) and reports of the wakīls of the Mahārājās. These documents relate to a number of *ṣūbas* of North India during the Mughal age. Likewise, for the Deccan *ṣūbas,* the Mughal documents (*Daftar-i-Mughaliyah*) from the reign of Shāh Jahān to the Āṣaf Jāhī regime form an important part of the collection at Hyderābād. Some fragments of the Mughal archives were brought together by the British Indian Government and are now preserved with the so-called Mutiny Papers at the National Archives, New Delhi. The National Archives in its oriental collection has also preserved the *Akhbārāt* (news bulletins) sent by the *Waqā'i'-nawīs'* of the English East India Company to the Governor General in Council. These documents cover the late 18th and early 19th centuries. They are extremely useful in understanding the socio-economic and political trends of the times. Apart from the miscellaneous collection, the National Archives of India has recently acquired an important 'Ināyat Jang Collection comprising records relating to the Mughal and Āṣaf Jāhī administration of the Deccan (A.D. 1658–1774).

(d) Arabic

The commercial, political, cultural and intellectual interchange between the Indians and the Arabs received a fresh impetus with the establishment of Muslim rule in India in the beginning of the 13th century and resulted in the production of a vast literature in Arabic which can be classified into the following four broad categories : (1) Geographical works (2) Travel accounts (3) Historical works (4) Biographical dictionaries.

Geographical Works. The first geographical work, written about the middle of the 12th century is the *Mukhtaṣar Nuzhat-ul-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāqi-ul-Āfāq* of Al-Sharifu'l Idrisī (d. 562/1166), who compiled his work at Palermo under the patronage of Roger II (A.D. 1101-54), the Norman king of Sicily. Idrisī, unlike his predecessors, merchant Sulaimān and Mas'ūdī, was not a renowned traveller and never visited India. In his account of India he seems to have depended mainly on his predecessors, Ibn Khurdādhbih and Mas'ūdī, and while he amplifies with greater detail he does not offer a critical analysis. Like Idrisī, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229) of Syria too never visited India. He compiled *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān* in 621/1224. It is a geographical dictionary of place names arranged in alphabetical order and includes historical and sociological data. The portions pertaining to India clearly indicate that they are chiefly based on the account of Abū Dulaf. Yanbū'l-Yāqūt's work is, however, peculiarly interesting in as much as he is the first geographer to give us the names 'Malibar' and Ma'bar. Following Yāqūt for the most part Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283) compiled his *'Ajā'ib-ul-Buldān wa Āthār-ul-Bilād* which deals not only with geography but also with cosmography. Like Yāqūt he depends mostly on Abū Dulaf but sometimes borrows from the *Mukhtaṣar-Kitāb-ul-Buldān* of Ibnu'l Faqih.

More original than Yāqūt and Qazwīnī is Al-Dimashqī (d. 727/1327) whose *Nukhbat-ut-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib-ul-Barr wa'l-Baḥr*, while referring to the works of Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Yāqūt, makes some amplifications, as does Idrīsī, but unlike the latter he does not enlarge the points mentioned by the earlier writers. He has given totally new names of places, and accounts not to be found in any of the previous writers. His list of place names on the west coast of India is the biggest and on the whole he shows clear conception of Malabār (Ma'bar), though there is some confusion in his account of Gujarāt. Equally important is *Taqwīm-ul-Buldān* of Abū'l Fidā (d. 731/1331), the Syrian prince, historian and geographer whose compendium on world geography, completed in 721/1321, gives latitudes and longitudes of places and treats the subject matter on a regional basis. He seems to have utilized some contemporary sources for we find a lot of new information not available in the earlier works. His account of India is based on the information chiefly derived from

Ibn Sa'īd, Idrīsī, 'Azīzī and Berūnī and what he heard from various travellers.

Travel Accounts. Unlike the geographical works mentioned so far, the travel accounts contain observations and experiences of travellers who visited India and saw things for themselves. The most outstanding traveller of the period was Abū 'Abdullah surnamed Ibn Baṭūṭa (d. 779/1378). Starting from his native place Tangiers in Morocco, he travelled all over North Africa, Arabia, Persia, and Constantinople and thus came over the land route to India (734/1333) in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq who appointed him Qāḍī of Delhi, a office he held for about eight years. He then incurred the Sulṭān's displeasure and was thrown into prison. Released, he was sent as an ambassador to China but was shipwrecked on his way. Fearing the wrath of the Sulṭān he stayed in the Maldiv Island but after a year he came back to South India and took a boat to China. Next he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and returned to his country in A.D. 1349. After another short journey in Central Africa he settled down in Morocco where he dictated his experiences to Muḥammad Ibn Jwzī, who edited them under the title of *Tuḥfat-un-Nuẓẓār fī Gharā'ib-ul-Amsār wa 'Ajā'ib-ul-Afsār or Rehla.* This is a valuable storehouse of information on the political and social institutions of the period. As an independent writer, Ibn Baṭūṭa is more reliable than the historians who were deeply concerned with the favour or frown of the Sulṭān. His work, however, is not free from shortcomings. He did not know Persian well and had no knowledge of the local languages. Not unoften he lent a credulous ear to rumour and gossip and frequently mixed up fiction with fact.

Somewhat different from Ibn Baṭūṭa was the mission of the famous Turkish admiral Syed 'Alī Ra'is bin Ḥusain, known as Ra'is Kātib-i-Rūmī (d. 970/1562), who had seen service in the Mediterranean under Khairu'd-dīn Pāshā and Sinān Pāshā. He was sent to rescue the Turkish fleet from the Portuguese blockade in the Persian gulf and to bring it back to Suez but his fleet was battered by the Portuguese and driven by storms, and he had to take refuge at the court of Aḥmad Shāh III (961–68/1554–61) of Gujarāt which was then in the throes of civil strife. The Turkish admiral thought that he would not receive effective reinforcements in Gujarāt and it would not be desirable to risk a voyage in his battered ships to Suez, which was then fully under Portuguese control. So he set out on his famous trip by land through Mughal India, Central Asia and Persia, and arrived at Adrianople in A.D. 1557. He has left behind a history of his adventures in Arabic under the title of *Mir'āt-ul-Mamālik*, a very important source for the contemporary affairs in Gujarāt and Mughal India.

The Turkish admiral was followed by an Arab traveller, 'Abbās bin 'Alī al-Mūsawī, who came to India about the year 1137/1724–25 after

visiting Egypt, Palestine and Persia. After staying in India for some time he returned to Yemen where in 1148/1735–36 he completed his *Nuzhat-ul-Jalīs wa Munyat-ul-Anīs*, a sort of a diary of his observations. Of special interest to students of Indian history is the account of his experiences in Gujarāt; it throws some light on the turbulent times through which the province passed when the Mughals were losing ground to the Marāthās.

Historical Works. Among the histories of the period the first that attracts our attention is the *Kāmil-ut-Tawārīkh* of Ibnu'l Athīr (d. 630/1233). This is a voluminous universal chronicle in which the author has grouped the events into episodes within an annalistic framework. The elegance and vivacity of the work acquired for it immediate celebrity, and it became the standard source for later chroniclers. So far as India is concerned, it is chiefly valuable for its notices of the Ghaznavides and the Ghurians. More important than Ibnu'l Athīr's *Kāmil* from the Indian point of view is the *Masālik-ul-Abṣār fī Mamālik-ul-Amṣār* of Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad (d. 749/1348), a native of Damascus, who never came to India but gathered his information about the country from travellers with whom he came into contact. His account, which throws much light on the country's socio-economic life, is quite trustworthy and is corroborated by other contemporary historians. Another historian who hailed from Damascus was Ibn 'Arab Shāh (d. 854/1450), whose celebrated work *'Ajā'ib-ul-Maqdur fī Nawā'ib Tīmūr'* is the history of the famous conqueror Tamerlane.

The chronicles mentioned above were written outside India by those who had no personal contact with the country. This was not, however, the case with the *Tuḥfat-ul-Mujāhidīn* of Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn (d. 987/1579) who belonged to Malabār. The work is dedicated to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur and contains the history of Malabār's wars with the Portuguese. Further north of Malabār in Gujarāt 'Abdullah Muḥammad bin 'Umar Ulūghkhānī al-Makkī, commonly known as Ḥājīu'd dabīr (d. after 1014/1605) wrote his *Ẓafar-ul-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih* which is divided into two *daftars* or volumes. The first *daftar* contains a detailed account of the Muẓaffarids of Gujarāt while the second deals with the general history of Muslim rule in India from Mu'izzu'd-dīn Ghūri down to the accession of Akbar. In keeping with the traditions of Arabic historiography, Ḥājīu'd-dabīr furnishes us with a history of his times. His work is perhaps the only example of secular Arabic history written in India.

Comprehensive biographical dictionaries were also written in Arabic, both in and outside India. The creator of the first universal biographical dictionary was Shamsu'd-dīn Aḥmad, commonly called Ibn Khalikān (d. 681/1282) of Irbil, whose *Wafāyāt-ul-A'yān wa Anbā' Abnā'-ul-Zamān* completed at Cairo in 672/1274, comprises biographies of men of all classes including Indian Muslims of the period. The work enjoys high reputation for its taste and accuracy. Following in the footsteps of Ibn Khalikān, Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhawī (d. 902/1497), the

celebrated disciple of Ibn Ḥajār al-Asqalānī, compiled his *Al-Ḍawul-Lāmi' fī Aḥlil-qaranit-Tāsi'*. This is a biographical dictionary of the lives of Muslim scholars and savants who flourished in the 9th/15th century. Among other things the book gives some information regarding Ahmadābād, its Sulṭāns and its learned men.

The corresponding biographical dictionary for the 10th/16th century was undertaken by Muḥiu'd-dīn 'Abdu'l Qādir 'Aidrusi (d. 1037/1627–28), whose father came to India from Yemen and settled down in Gujarāt where the author was born, brought up and died. His *An-Nūrus-Sāfir-an-Akhbāri'l-qaranil 'Āshir* contains obituary notices of the learned men and *inter-alia* records the events that took place in Gujarāt during the period it covers. This series was continued by Muḥammad bin Abi Bakr al-Shilli, whose *As-Ṣahiul-Bāhir* was written in the 11th/17th century and purports to be a supplement to the biographical dictionary of Al-'Aidrūs.

Following the traditions laid down by his predecessors, Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād of Bilgarām (d. 1200/1786) compiled his *Ṣubḥat-ul-Marjān fī Āthār-i-Hindustān*. The author was a friend and constant companion of Nāṣir Jang who in 1161/1748 became Niẓām of the Deccan but was murdered two years later. Subsequently, Āzad led a retired life at Aurangābād where in 1177/1763 he completed his celebrated biographical dictionary. This is divided into four *faṣls* or chapters, as follows : (I) On the excellence and eminence of India; (II) On biographies of Indian scholars; (III) On rhetoric both Sanskrit and Arabic; (IV) On the types of lovers depicted by Indian and Arab poets. It is evident from the above survey that the Arabic sources for medieval India are both rich and diversified.

(e) Other Indian Languages

Historical works in other Indian languages, varied and rich in many respects, have contributed to the reconstruction of the past. The most interesting group of such works is the Assamese Buranjis, the chronicles of the Ahom court. Prepared under royal edicts by men who had intimate knowledge of state affairs, they were at first written in Āhom (the language of the rulers) and later in the eastern dialect of Assamese. Simple and direct in style, they are full of details about the political, social, economic, cultural and administrative aspects of Assamese life from early Ahom times down to the 19th century. Some of the Buranjis are : *Tungkhungiya Buranji, Pādshāh Buranji, Kāmrūpar Buranji, Asamar Padya Buranji, Asam Buranji, Kachāri Buranji, Jayantiya Buranji, Tripura Desar Kathā* and *Purānī Asam Buranji*. Another class of historical writing, both in prose and verse, is the *vaṁśāvalīs*. Besides recording the genealogies of different families of nobles, they also give sketches of their career. The

Darrang-rāja vaṁśāvali composed by Sūryakhari Daivajña during the later past of the 18th century is an invaluable source book for all studies connected with the early Koch rulers.

Like the Assamese works, Hindī and Rājasthānī literature is also of great help in reconstructing Medieval Indian history. About half a dozen romantic poems in Old Hindī are placed before A.D. 1300 but they have all been preserved in much later manuscripts. They deal with Rājpūt chivalry and warfare and form part of the medieval literary tradition. The earliest of them, the *Khummāṇa Rāso* of Dalpat Vijay and *Bīsalade Rāso* of Narapati Nālha (c. 1165), give an account of Bīsaladeva of Ajmer. The greatest of these poems is the famous *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso* describing the heroic career of Pṛthvīrāja Cāhamāna, the last Hindu king of Delhi. It is epic in theme, treatment and proportions and is ascribed to Canda Bardāī, his court-poet. The work enjoys some reputation as a piece of history. Recent researches, however, show it to be a good specimen of early Hindī poetry but unreliable as a historical account. Jaganika (*c.* 1173) narrates the '52 Wars' waged by the Banāphar brothers Ālhā and Ūdala in the reign of Candella Paramardideva (*c.* 1166–1202). The original poem has been lost but fragments are preserved in the form of lays sung by villagers all over Northern India. Coming to the 16th century we have a Diṁgal poem *Rāo Jetsī rā chand* (*c.* 1535) by Vithu Sujo, who describes Mirzā Kāmrān's advance upon Bīkaner and his defeat at the hands of the Rāṭhoḍa chief Rāo Jetsī. It also gives an account of Kāmrān's annexation of Bhatnair, a fort on the northern outskirts of Rājasthān. Keśavadāsa Miśra (1555–1617) composed in Hindī *Bīrasiṁhudevacarita*, which contains a laudatory account of Rājā Bir Singh Deva of Orchha, the murderer of Abū'l Faḍl. Other biographical works, *Jahāngīrajaś candrikā* and *Śivarājabhūṣaṇa*, panegyrise emperor Jahāngīr and Śivājī but they are more poetic than factual. The well known poem *Rāṭhoḍa Ratansiṁhajo rā vacanikā* describes the battle of succession fought at Ujjain in April 1658 between Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Aurangzeb. It was written by Jaggājī, a contemporary poet. In 1707, Lāl Kavi or Gore Lāl Purohit wrote the *Chatraprakāśa*, an interesting biography of Chhatrasāl, Rājā of Bundelkhand, The *Khāṅḍe Rāo Rāso* (1744) of Jadunāth Kavi throws much light on the country round about Narwar in Mālwa during 1704–1744. Sūdan's *Sujānacaritra* describes the exploits of Mahārājā Sūrajmal of Bharatpur who played a prominent role during the period of the decline of the Mughal power. Other notable works are : *Ajītsiṁhajī rā Kahyā Dūhā*; Karaṇidānī's *Sūrajaprakāśa*; Dayāladāsa's, *Rāṇā Rāso* (c 1618); Krishan Kavi's *Bhīmavilāsa*; Haridāsa Kavī's *Amar battīsī* (c 1644); Kānhā Kavī's *Rāmadāsā Kachhvāhā rī vārtā*; Mān Kavi's *Rājvilāsa* (c 1680); Kumbhakarṇa's *Ratan Rāso*; Haridāsa's *Ajītsiṁhacaritra* (c 1706); Hirām's *Rājsohāvalī*; Bāṁkidāsa's (1771–1803) *Bhurjāl-bhūṣaṇa*. The Rājasthānī sources include literary and historical works, *khyāts*

and bardic literature. But most of these collections of 'old world' legends have a good deal of fable and romance. They contain much that is manifestly superhuman and generally confused from the chronological point of view. Dates are rarely given and even the sequence of events is often inaccurate. With all these defects they contain much useful historical information and it would not be fair to disparage their value. Of the literary productions particular mention may be made of the following *Kavirāja Bāṁkedān kī vātān; Kavi Rāo's Mewār no itihāsa;* Kiśordāsa's *Rājaprakāśa*; Vīsrāl Dūdo's *Ratansī rī vel; Rāo Amarsiṁhjī rī vāt; Sūrasiṁhajī rī vel;* Hema Kavi's *Guṇabhāṣā;* Haṅsa Kavi's *Candakuṁvar rī vārtā*; Vīrabhānu's *Rājarūpaka*; Khadiyā Bakhtā's, *Abhayasiṁhajī rā dūhā; Rāo Ratansiṁha vachanikā; Rāwat Pratāp Siṁha rī vārtā; Sūryavaṁśa ; Sisod vaṁśāvalī ; Kachhvāhā kī vaṁśāvalī* and *Mertā-ādī kī aitihāsik hakīkat.* A voluminous writer was Sūrajmal Miśraṇa (b.c. 1816), a court-poet of Būndi, who wrote *Vaṁśabhāskara* in 1841. The author has woven into his work a resume of the whole history of India down to his own time. *Vīr Vinod,* a versified chronicle of Udaipur and the neighbouring Rājpūt states, was written by Kavirāja Śyāmaladāsa. Its value lies in a grand collection of *farmāns*, letters and other documents printed in its text. Next come the *khyāts* or chronicles maintained in almost every Rājpūt state. Some important *khyāts are: Muhṇot Naiṇasī-kī-khyāt, Mewār ke rājāoṅ kī piḍhiyān kī khyāt, Udaipur kī khyāt, Muṅḍhinar Ṭhikānā kī khyāt, Khyāt Bīkāner rā Rāṭhoḍārī, Bāṁkīdāsa's khyāt, Jodhpur rājya kī khyāt, Kavirāja khyāt* and *Dayāladāsa's khyāt.* Of these Naiṇasī's *khyāt* is the most exhaustive and to some extent more reliable as compared to other chronicles. The author, who was the Prime Minister of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, has modelled his account on that of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī.*

No less valuable than the above sources are the historical accounts in the Gujarātī, Bengali, Marāṭhī and Panjābī languages. The *Raṇamallachanda,* a short ballad in Gujarātī composed about 1390 by Śrīdhar, celebrates the heroic deeds of Raṇamall of Idar. Another composition, Padmanābh's *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* (1456), describes the grim struggle of the people of Gujarāt when 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī attacked and finally conquered the province in 1299 from Rāya Karṇa. The historical works in Bengali comprise Mukundarāma's *Caṇḍīmaṅgala,* Bṛndāvana-dāsa's *Caitanya Bhāgavata,* Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta,* and Jayānanda's *Caitanyamaṅgala.* Of greater interest, however, is the *Rājamālā,* a continuous official chroncile of the ruling family of Tripurā, compiled in 1586. Among the historical poems, the best known is *Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa* by Gaṅgārāma. It describes one of the worst raids in West Bengal led by the Marāṭhā chief Bhāskara Paṇḍita which ended in his assassination. *Paraśurāmācaritra,* Kṛṣṇajī Anant Sabhāsad's *Śivachatrapatichen Charitra, Jedheyanchī Śakāvalī,* Dattājī's *Qalmī Bakhar,* and *Śivapur Deśapānde*

Śākāvalī together with the vast collection of the manuscript papers in *Daftars* of the various Marāṭhā states constitute the chief original sources for the period in Marāṭhī.

The literature in Panjābī is represented by Bhagat Singh's *Gurbilās Chevin Pādshāhī*, Sukha Singh's *Gurbilās Pādshāhī Dās*, Singh Sagar's *Gur Kīrat Prakāśa*, Darshan's *Vār Amritsar Kī* and Sainpati's *Śrī Gur Sobhā*.

5. Foreign Accounts and Chronicles

(i) Ancient Period

One of the most reliable sources of ancient Indian history is provided by the writings of foreign travellers and chroniclers. Of these some visited India. Others based their accounts on information received from sources that they regarded as reliable. In this latter category, the place of honour must be assigned to Herodotus (454–425 B.C.) who is rightly called the 'father of history'. He knew of the Indians as the eastern most and the most numerous of the people inhabiting the empire of the Persian emperor, Darius I. They paid him the huge annual tribute of three hundred and sixty talents gold dust. But he knew also of Indians outside the Persian empire. And that he could sometimes be led away from the truth can be seen from his account of gold-digging ants of the size of dogs. Ktesias, (*c.* 416–398 B.C.), a physician at the court of the Persian emperor, had every opportunity of knowing the facts about India, but he has left us an account full of lies and exaggerations. It has survived only in the form of an abridgement.

The accounts of people who visited India and observed things for themselves also begin early enough. But all of them are not equally reliable. Scylax of Caryanda, who voyaged down the Indus at the orders of Darius I, seems to have drawn freely on his imagination in the description of India and its inhabitants. Much more dependable is the account of the voyage from the Indus to the Persian Gulf left to us by Alexander's admiral, Nearchus. Its original is no longer available, but extracts have been partly preserved for posterity in Arrian's *Indica*. Another of Alexander's companions was Onesicritus, the master pilot of Nearchus. His account of Alexander's campaigns, no longer extant in its original form, was highly exaggerated. Another of Alexander's companions was Aristobulus. He was a good geographer, and Arrian has utilized his account in the *Anabasis of Alexander*. Since Aristobulus began writing when he was more than eighty years old, there might have been much that he had either forgotten or the content of which he might have changed as a result of his failing memory. The account left by Kleitarchus, another of Alexan-

der's companions, was even more unreliable, for it was neither incapacity nor age but his love of exaggeration that made him invent stories about his hero.

Matter-of-fact accounts of India, particularly of the interior regions, begin only towards the end of the 4th century B.C., when Seleucus sent Megasthenes as his envoy to the court of Candragupta Maurya. Megasthenes's account has come down to us in fragments preserved by Strabo, Arrian and Diodorus. Among other things, he described (a) the geographical features of India, (b) the fertility of the country, (c) Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Candragupta Maurya, (d) the absence of slavery in India, (e) the seven castes of the Indians, (f) the rare occurrence of theft in the country, (g) Indian philosophers, and (h) the part played by Dionysus and Herakles in India. Scholars have differed in their estimate of Megasthenes's veracity. In the present state of our knowledge, perhaps it is best to say that, though Megasthenes related truthfully what he saw, there are also things that he reproduced from hearsay. Historians can give no certificate of authenticity to latter set of statements. Even Strabo had doubts of Megasthenes's absolute reliability.

Other early classical writers whose works deserve to be consulted are Arrian (c. A.D. 96–A.D. 180), Diodorus Siculus and Justin, (both of the 1st century B.C.), Plutarch, Strabo, the writer of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, and Pliny (all the three of the 1st century A.D.); and Ptolemy, Appolonius and Aelian. Arrian's *Anabasis* describes Alexander's career as a ruler. In his *Indica* he utilized the accounts of Megasthenes and Eratosthenes for an excellent description of India. The accounts of Diodorus, Justin and Plutarch, besides being useful for Alexander's Indian campaign, incidentally shed some light also on Candragupta Maurya's career. Strabo wrote on Indian geography and summarized some portions of the account of Megasthenes. The *Periplus* gives a very valuable account of Indian trade and commerce in the 1st century A.D., an account admirably supplemented and confirmed by Ptolemy. Isidor adds useful details about Parthian rulers; and Cosmas Indicopleustes writes about the Ephthalite ruler, Mihirakula.

For the reign of Aśoka we can cautiously utilize two Simhalese sources dating from the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., viz., the *Dīpavaṁśa* of unknown authorship and the *Mahāvaṁśa* by Mahānāma.

With the Gupta period the number and value of the Chinese sources increases. For the period A.D. 405–12 we have Fa-hien's *Record of the Buddhist Countries*; for the years c. A.D. 518–522, the account of the embassy of Sung Yun; and for the 7th century Hiuen Tsang's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Hwuili's *Life of Hiuen Tsang* and Itsing's *A Record of the Buddhistic Religion as practised in India and Malay Archipelago*. Itsing refers to Śrigupta, who is generally believed to have been the first ruler of the Gupta dynasty. Hiuen Tsang writes about the Hūṇa

ruler, Mihirakula (a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Bâlâditya), Budhagupta and some others who patronized the Nâlanda *vihāra*. The value of the Chinese sources for the times of Harṣavardhana is greater still ; and one may even go so far as to assert that Hiuen Tsang's account of India is the best that we have in the first millenium A.D. Nearly a century later, Hui-Chao (A.D. 727) refers to the doings of Muktâpîḍa of Kashmir and Yaśovarman of Kannauj. For the first decade of the 13th century we have the record of Dharmasvâmî, who was in Bihâr at the time.

With A.D. 712, when Muḥammad bin Qâsim conquered Sind, India came into intimate contact with the Arabs. Merchant Sulaimān visited India during the reign of the Pratihâra emperor, Bhoja I, in c. A.D. 851. He is the first to refer to the four great princes of India, the Balharâ (Vallabharāja) of the Deccan, the king of Jurz, the ruler of Tafak, and the king of Ruhmi (Bengal). Abū Zaid supplemented the account of Sulaimān. Ibn Khurdāḏhbih wrote his account before A.D. 916 ; he is the first among Arab geographers to speak of the seven castes of the Hindus. Al-Ma'sūdī (died A.D. 956) repeats the information about political conditions already given by Sulaimān, adding to it a fairly good account of the Arab principalities of Multān and Mansūra. Al-Bilāduri (died A.D. 892) describes Muḥammad bin Qāsim's conquest of Sind, the raids and conquests of Junaid and the losses suffered by the Arabs during the governorship of Junaid's successors. Al-Istakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal, both of whom wrote about A.D. 951, supplement Al-Masūdī's geographical account. Al-Idrīsī (born towards the end of the 11th century) describes the towns and ports of the western coast—the Arabs must have carried on a brisk trade with these. His account of Multān and Mansūra is fairly informative.

Of other Arab accounts and chronicles, the *Chach Nāmah* is the most comprehensive and probably also the earliest account of the conquest of Sind. Its Arabic original, now no longer extant, is believed to have been written before A.D. 753. The *Āthār-ul-Bilād* of Al-Qazwīnī, written about A.D. 1263, is based on the writings of Istakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and others. The *Ḥudūd-ul-'Ālam*, again, is a similar account of India. The *Ṭabaqāt-ul-Umam* is a Hispano-Arabic source for the history of ancient Indian sciences and culture ; its author, Abū'l Qāsim, died on July 6 A.D. 1070. Other Arab writers who throw considerable light on Indian conditions are, Shahriyār (A.D. 900), Ibn Rustā (A.D. 902–903), Ibn Nāzin (A.D. 995), 'Abdu'l Karim Shahristānī (A.D. 1153) and Muṭahhar.

The best foreign account of India, however, is the *Kitāb-ul-Hind* of Alberūnī, who came to India with Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. Based largely on his own observation and the study of works on astronomy, religion and philosophy from their Sanskrit originals, it represents Indian culture much more accurately, and luckily also much more sympathetically

than any other similar work in the whole range of early Muslim literature on India. Other contemporary foreign sources are Abū'l Faḍl Baihaqī's *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī*, 'Utbī's *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, Maḥmūd Gardizī's *Kitāb-Zain-ul-Akhbār*, Farrukhī's *Dīwān*, *Dīwān-i-Salmān* of Khwājah Mas'ūd, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's *Tārīkh-i-Fakhru'd-dīn Mubārak Shāhī* and Ḥasan Niẓāmī's *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir* ; and in many respects equally valuable, though not contemporary, are the *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī* of Minhāju'd-dīn bin Sirāju'd-dīn, *Al-Tārīkh-ul-Kāmil* of Ibnu'l Athīr, *Jāmi'-ul-Ḥikāyāt* of Muḥammad 'awfī, and *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* of Muḥammad Qāsim.

(ii) Medieval Period

Many Europeans visited India and prepared accounts of the country and its people. In the last decade of the 13th century John of Monte Carvino, a Franciscan friar, visited India on his way to China at about the same time when the famous Venitian traveller, Marco Polo arrived here on his return journey from China and visited our coasts (A.D. 1294). Then came two friars—Friar Jordanus and Friar Odoric of Pordenone (c. A.D. 1321). They were followed by a Florentine monk named John Marignolli. The accounts of these travellers are, however, not of much value for the historian of the 13th and 14th centuries.

For the 15th century the accounts of European travellers are comparatively full and important. Nicolo de Conti, a Venitian merchant, comes first in point of time. He visited Vijayanagar about A.D. 1420, and sent a detailed account of the kingdom to a Papal Secretary. He visited Tenasserim, Mrohaung and Ava also, and wrote that Pegu was "no inconsiderable port, inhabited principally by Indian dervishes." Although Nicolo de Conti's original version is lost, its Portuguese version is extant, and its abridged account in English can be read in R.H. Major's *India in the 15th Century* (Hakluyt Society, 1858). Next comes a Russian merchant from Tver, Athanasius Nikitin, who visited South India in 1470. He describes the condition of the Bahmanī kingdom under Muḥammad III (A.D. 1463–82). It is an eye-witness account and is valuable. He says that while the king, the nobles and high officials led luxurious lives and rolled in wealth, the people who were children of the soil were poor and led miserable lives. Nikitin's account can be read in R.H. Major's work mentioned above.

The only Persian of note who has left an account of his travels was 'Abdu'r Razzāq, who lived in India for several years as an ambassador of Shāh Rukh of Samarqand at the court of the Zamorin at Calicut. He visited the capital city of the Vijayanagar kingdom where he resided for a few months in A.D. 1442. He gives a graphic picture of this great city with its fortifications, palaces, temples and other public buildings.

He describes the wealth and luxurious life of the king and the nobl and of the poverty of the people.

During the first quarter of the 16th century the Italian Ludovico (Varthema (A.D. 1502–08) and the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa (A.D. 150(16) visited India. Barbosa's valuable narrative of the government and tl people also includes a detailed description of Vijayanagar. Doming Paes (A.D. 1520–22) and Fernao Nuniz, a horse dealer who spent thr years in Vijayanagar (A.D. 1535–37), have also left valuable accoun of South India.

Of particular importance are the accounts of the Jesuits whose freque contacts with the Mughal empire, especially after the encourageme extended by Akbar, gave them opportunities of observing at close quarte both the Mughal court life as well as the Indian society. Their correspor dence provides valuable information on some aspects of Indian society Among these the most well known is Father Anthony Monserrate—h came to Fatehpur Sīkri in A.D. 1580 with the first Portuguese mission whic was led by Father Aquaviva. He spent two years in the North, travellin with the emperor, and recorded his experiences in a book entitle *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius* or Commentary on the Embass to the Mughal. The Commentary throws much light on some aspect of Akbar's administration. Father D. Bartoli also came to the court about the same time and wrote the history of the first Mission. Father Pinheiro, who visited the Mughal court during the last years of Akbar and early years of Jahāngīr, was the first to take deep interest in the common man. This fact makes his account one of singular value. Father Nicholas Pimenta visited North as well as South India and recorded his impressions of Indian society. Father Jerome Xavier, who stayed for 20 years at the Mughal court (*c.* A.D. 1597–1617) was a noted Persian scholar and author, and has given an account of the Himālayas and Kashmīr. Father Botelho, Superior and Rector of Āgra (A.D. 1648–54) has left two lengthy *Relations* ; they comprise material on various aspects of the social and economic life of the people, life sketches of the princes and a description of the court. Father Pierre du Jarric of Toulouse published his *Histoire* concerning India in A.D. 1600; his account was based on Guzman and Guerreiro's *Relecam,* and is far from reliable. Father J. Tieffenthaler (A.D. 1734–85) was primarily a geographer. His travel account is a useful document. Two other important works are Du Perron's *Treatise* and J. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan.*

From about the middle of the 16th century, the range and variety of the accounts of European travellers increased a good deal. Cesar Frederick's *Eighteen Years' Indian Observations* (A.D. 1563–81) is very valuable. Ralph Fitch, the pioneer English visitor to India (A.D. 1585), has described Akbar's court, and the cities of Āgra and Fatehpur Sikri. William Hawkins came on a trade mission in A.D. 1612, and has left an eye-

witness account of Jahāngīr's daily life, the *Nawrūz* ceremony and court life. Henry Middleton (A.D. 1640) has left a detailed account of the trade and administration of the port of Surat. The travelogues of Joseph Salbancke, (A.D. 1610), William Finch, and later on De Laet, and several others who journeyed from Surat to Āgra and other places are valuable for the country's topography. Finch too gives an elaborate description of cities, towns and roads. N. Withington is known for his account of the plundering tribes of Sind and describes the relations between the Portuguese and the English. J. Jourdain gives a valuable account of the life and activities of the English merchants of the West Coast.

Sir Thomas Roe, sent as ambassador by James I of England to the court of Jahāngīr, reached the Imperial Court in A.D. 1615 and stayed in the capital for nearly three years. His description of the cities and of the Mughal emperor and princes is quite interesting. Edward Terry, appointed as chaplain to Roe, has left an interesting account of what he saw, particularly of the life and customs of the people. T. Coryat, the whimsical globe-trotter, has given a fine estimate of Jahāngīr's character.

Pietro Della Valle describes the religious ceremonies, customs and manners of the Konkan and Malabār people, and gives a vivid account of the animal hospitals of Cambay. De Laet gives a valuable description of the Mughal empire drawn from Finch and others. Another Dutchman John H. Linschoten (A.D. 1583) has left a first-hand account of Goa.

The *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East,* edited in 6 volumes by F.C. Danvers and William Foster, and the 13 volumes of *The English Factories in India* edited by William Foster, give valuable information on the life of the English factors, and on Indian merchants and their business relations.

Among later visitors to India, the English factor Peter Mundy (A.D. 1628) and Fray Sebastian Manrique have given eye-witness accounts of the local administration and of the river transport system and incidentally of the excellent inter-communal relations. Francois Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire* (A.D. 1656–68) contains a very racy though biased description of Mughal institutions, of the pathetic end of Dārā, and of the cities of Delhi and Āgra. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, an indefatigable traveller and diamond merchant, visited India five times between A.D. 1641 and 1667. His narrative is valuable for the notices of cities and towns and the contemporary trade. Thevenot has left a valuable account of towns, ports, customs, and the administrative and revenue systems. His younger contemporary J.F. Gemelli Careri, an Italian globe-trotter, has also left an account of the wonderful things he saw in India. Thomas Bowrey's *A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal*

(A.D. 1669–79) and H. Moll's *The Present State of India Proper or the Empire of the Great Mogul* fully justify the titles of their respective narratives. Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* portrays the experiences of this most amusing of foreigners who stayed in India for close on forty years during the reigns of Shāh Jahan and Aurangzeb. Another visitor was Sir William Norris, who was deputed as an envoy on behalf of the East India Company in 1699 to the court of Aurangzeb 'to secure the most favourable conditions for English Trade'. His account of South Indian towns and the Mughal court is another valuable source of information.

(*iii*) *Modern Period*

In the 18th century, soldiers and civilians poured into India to administer the possessions of the European trading companies. Churchmen and missionaries followed, spreading the Gospel of Christ among the inhabitants of the newly acquired territories. When in 1813 the Indian trade was thrown open, many traders also came to India. The country enticed many travellers to visit her rich ports and mystic towns. Many of these travellers, traders, missionaries and civil servants who came to India in the 18th and 19th centuries have left accounts of their experiences and their impressions of various parts of the country. Missionaries form the most important group among these writers, followed by the civil servants, the traders and the travellers.

Each of these groups of writers had a definite objective. Missionaries wrote to encourage their respective societies to send more missionaries into the country. Some of the civil servants were also imbued with the idea of evangelising the inhabitants of India. Sir John Shore and Charles Grant, both of whom had long served in Bengal, represented the evangelical viewpoint. Charles Grant was an important personage in missionary circles and his *Observations* had a strong influence upon missionary opinion. He urged the application of Christianity and of western education to change, in his view, 'a hideous state of Indian society'. To such men Britain was 'the only country upon the earth from which the intellectual and moral improvement of India could have been expected'. Their writings should be seen in relation to their attitude to Indian religions, particularly Hinduism.

Bishop Heber's *Journal* not only reflects on the economic conditions of the regions through which he passed but also contains a good deal of authentic information on the state of the Indian society in the 19th century. Abbe Dubois wrote his *Hindu Manners and Customs* during the period of the decline of the Indian powers and the rise of the British. The works of the missionaries are immensely useful to draw a fair picture of the social and economic life of the country in the 19th century.

Many servants of the English East India Company have left accounts of their travel. George Forster, in the year 1783, journeyed through Bengal, Lucknow, Srinagar, Nādaun, and over the mountains of Kashmir, returning to England by way of Kâbul, the Caspian sea and St. Petersburg. He travelled at a time when Northern India was overrun by freebooters, and a number of petty states had arisen on the ruins of the Mughal empire. Benjamin Heyne's *Tracts, Historical and Statistical, on India; with journals of several tours through various parts of the Peninsula* was published in 1814. It gives us a fair idea of the economic products of the Peninsula during that period. It also reflects on the moral character of the Hindus. In 1831, James Burnes published his *Narrative of a visit to the Court of Sinde;* it included a sketch of the history of Kutch and some remarks on the medical topography of Bhuj. Alexander Burnes had a political motive behind his journey. His *Travels into Bokhara; being an account of a journey from India to Cabool*, etc., was published in three volumes in 1834. The principal aim of his journey was to trace the course of the Indus. In 1842 his other work, *Cabool; Being a personal Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence in that city in the year 1836-37-38*, was published. The main theme was that "the traveller through these countries will, in some degree, have paved the way for the political enquirer". *Diary of the Travels and Adventures in Upper India* by C.J.C. Davidson appeared in 1843. *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam* (1855) by John Butler describes the habits, customs and manners of the hill tribes of Assam. In 1858 W.H. Sleeman published his *Journey through the kingdom of Oude (1849–50)* describing the political and economic condition of Avadh.

There are some very interesting works by travellers from other European countries as well.

Victor Jacquemont's *Letters from India describing a journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore and Cashmeer during the years 1828-1829-1831* appeared in September, 1835. His account of the Punjab and Kashmir and his personal impressions about the leading men in the country including Ranjit Singh are documents of real importance. Jacquemont is very critical of the English social life in India. He deprecates the Englishmen's neglect to learn the Indian languages, and their lack of sympathy with the Indians. His letters give us a vivid description of Lord William Bentinck, Ranjit Singh, Gulāb Singh, Shāh Shujā' William Prinsep, James Skinner, William Fraser and others. All these interesting personalities live before us in his letters and diaries.

Captain Leopold Von Orlich came to India in August 1842 and wrote letters to his friends, Alexander Von Humboldt and Carl Ritter. These letters were translated by H. Evans Llyods and published in 1845 as *Travels in India including Sinde and the Punjab*. The narrative gives us a good picture of the Administration, Justice and Education in India. Captain Leopold Von Orlich had dwelt on the merits of the Anglo-Indian

Army, and also on the social life of the English officers in India. Social life of the Hindus, their character and their religion, are also described.

Baron Charles Hugel travelled in Kashmīr and the Punjab. The German edition of his travels was published in Stuttgart in four parts. The English translation, *Travels in Kashmīr and the Punjab* published in 1845, includes only the first and the third parts which comprise the major part of the narrative of the journal. Baron Hugel met Ranjit Singh, and he gives us a vivid description of Lahore and the royal court. The book mostly deals with Kashmīr, 'a delightful valley', and the history of the Punjab.

In 1852, John Martin Honigberger, one time physician at the court of Lahore, published his *Thirty-Five years in the East*. In the first volume there is plenty of information which throws light on the history of the Punjab. It also contains many sketches of oriental character, and illustrations of Eastern manners, customs and intrigues.

In the last category falls the *Travels in the Himālayan Provinces of Hindustān and the Panjab; in Ladākh and Kashmīr*. etc., by William Moorcroft and George Trebeck. Moorcraft, an enterprising young man, came to India as a veterinary surgeon. He gives us a description of the chiefs and rājās of the hills of the Punjab, topography of that area and of Ladākh and the neighbouring areas. He also describes the manufactures and commerical products of the region.

These travel accounts supplement the official papers and give us an opportunity to check and counter-check the information contained in them. Altogether, they are reliable sources that help in the reconstruction of modern Indian history.

6. Archival Sources

Archives, public as well as private, form the most valuable source material for the study of Indian history. For ancient India, archives, as understood generally, are not available; hardly any original records exist for that period. Paper began to be used in medieval India for recording public business and for correspondence, but very few records of the pre-Mughal period have survived. Under the Mughal rulers paper was in general use for conducting government work. Their official records were of various types, depending on the nature of the transactions to which they related and the authorities who issued them. But Mughal archives are not available in regular series, since they were lost or dispersed during the period of the disintegration of the empire. The surviving ones are scattered among a large number of libraries and manuscript repositories in India and abroad. Their value for reconstructing the political and

administrative history of the period can hardly be exaggerated.

The available archival materials for the British period are copious and rich. These illumine, as no other source does, every aspect of Indian history—political, administrative, constitutional, economic, social, cultural, and religious—from the early days of the English settlements in India to the last days of the *Rāj*. The official records can be divided roughly into four categories, viz., archives of the Central Govenrment, archives of State Governments, records of intermediate and subordinate authorities and records of courts of justice.

Archives of the Central Government. The archives of the Government of India, mostly deposited in the National Archives of India (New Delhi), are of prime value for the study of modern Indian history. Beginning from the middle of the 18th century as records of the Government of Fort William in Bengal, this collection comes down to the present day in almost unbroken series.

The records in the National Archives of India are divided among record groups which represent various branches of the Secretariat at different stages of its development. Initially all the transactions of the East India Company in Bengal were entered in a single set of Consultations; but with the expansion of the Company's power, its responsibilities increased and subjects other than commerce had to be dealt with. In view of this growth the transaction of the Company's work was distributed among branches such as Public (General), Revenue, Secret, Political, Military, Commercial, Ecclesiastical, Financial, Judicial, Education, Legislative and so on and a separate set of records was started for each of the branches or departments.

The National Archives offers source material on varied aspects of Indian history for the past two centuries. Apart from the commerical transactions of the East India Company in the 18th century, there is abundant material on the growth of the British dominions. The conquest of Bengal, the struggle with the Marāṭhās, the annexation of Burma and other events in the long process of the growth of the British Indian empire are vividly mirrored in the mass of the original source material available in the Secret, Foreign, and Political series. The records of the Foreign and Political Department for the post-Mutiny period are indispensable for the study of British relations with the Indian Princes and the neighbouring countries and inter-imperial questions. The Indian revolt of 1857–58 is richly documented in the Proceedings of the Military Department and the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India.

The constitutional changes since the Regulating Act of 1773, the emergence of a centralized system of government and the evolution of the Company's administrative system can be studied in detail and with accuracy in the records of the Pubilc Department. In the later records of this

series is to be found valuable material bearing on the post-Mutiny constitutional and administrative changes, introduction of local self-government, organization of public services, the problem of Indianization, territorial reorganization of provinces and various other administrative problems. The Military Department records provide a detailed account of the organization and growth of the Indian army and its achievements in various fields.

The Financial records contain abundant information about the financial system of India. They are also essential for the study of the growth of modern banking and credit system in the country, currency and exchange and tariff policy of the Government of India. The economic and social changes which were brought about under the impact of the British rule find detailed and varied documentation in these records. The Revenue-records, which begin from 1834, deal not only with revenue survey and settlement questions and land policy but many other interesting aspects of the country's economic development. Among them are papers on the cultivation of tea in Assam, the Nīlgiris and Simla Hills, the early experiments in cotton cultivation, the development of sericulture, early irrigation projects, and the exploitation of the mineral resources of India.

The Famine series are of importance for an objective assessment of the nature and extent of recurring famines in India and the Government's famine relief policy and the measures adopted by it to relieve distress. Equally valuable are the records of the Emigration group which contain detailed information about the emigration of Indian labour to British colonies, their troubles and tribulations, and the Government of India's policy on this vexed question.

The social and religious policies of the Government of India can be examined with the help of the evidence available among the proceedings of the Public, Judicial and Legislative departments. The activities of Christian missions and the Government's policy towards them also find a place in these records. The Educational records form another valuable series, providing a detailed account of the educational policies of the government and of the growth of education—elementary and higher—as a result of the government's encouragement as well as private effort. The papers bearing on the emergence of the nationalist movement are to be found initially among the Public series of the Home Department records but in 1907 a new series of records—Home Political—was started to deal exclusively with political and communal questions. The Reforms Office records are indispensable for a critical study and appraisal of the constitutional developments in India from 1920 to 1937.

The old records of the Survey of India reflect fully the growth of the great organisation from 1767, when James Rennell was appointed as the first Surveyor General of Bengal, and its remarkable achievements in mapping scientifically the unknown regions of India and the bordering

lands. Apart from the right material available in them for geographical studies, the journals and memoirs of the surveyors furnish valuable information on social and economic conditions and other important historical data.

State Archives. The archives of the states are as valuable for the history of India as the records of the Union Government. The collections in the State Archives comprise the records of (1) the former British Indian provinces, (2) the erstwhile princely states merged in the Indian Union after independence, and (3) the foreign administrations other than those of the English. There also exist some records of significance of the Indian powers which were superseded by the British and their territories annexed to the British dominions. Among these records are the archives of the kingdom of Lahore, generally known as the *Khālsā Darbār* records, from 1800 to 1849, now available in the Punjab State Archives at Patiāla. These records, written in Persian, constitute a unique source for the history of the Punjab under Ranjit Singh and his successors, particularly for the civil and military administration of the Lahore kingdom. The *Peśwā Daftar*, now housed in the Alienation Office, Poona, is another significant collection of the pre-British public archives in India. This collection, which covers the period from 1729 to 1818, contains the state papers of the Peśwās' government, the correspondence of the Peśwās with other Indian chiefs and European powers or their functionaries, revenue accounts, accounts of expenditure, documents on rights and privileges, etc. The *Peśwā Daftar* forms the most valuable single source for the study of Marāṭhā history for a period of almost a century before the fall of the Peśwās.

The archives of the now defunct princely states are valuable for the history of each of these states and their relations with the paramount power. These are to be found in the repositories of the various states in which the territories of the princes have been merged. The largest and richest of this class of archives are those of the defunct state of Hyderābād. The early documents in this collection date back to the 17th century and pertain to the Mughal administration—civil and military—of the Deccan.

For an authentic history of the states of Rājputāna, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bīkaner, Udaipur and others, the archives of these states, housed now in the Rājasthān State Archives at Bīkaner, are indispensable. Apart from the political changes and diplomatic relations with other states and the British authorities, these archives offer rich material for a detailed study of the internal changes in each of the regions of Rājasthān. The revenue records and *jāgīr* papers of the states provide abundant material for a systematic study of the social, economic and administrative history of each region of Rājasthān during the last two centuries.

The history of Dogra rule in Jammu and Kashmīr state from 1846 can be studied in the valuable collection of state papers housed at

Jammu. The Baroda Record Office possesses a large body of archives of the state from 1724. The important archival collections of Saurāshtra states pertain to Rājkot, Junagadh, Jāmnagar and Bhaunagar. The other significant archives of the princely states are those of Gwalior, Indore, Rewa and Bhopāl all in Madhya Pradesh, Kolhāpur in Mahārāshtra, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin.

Among the archives of the former British Indian provinces, those of the three Presidencies—Bengal, Madras and Bombay—are pre-eminent. The early records of Fort William were lost during the sack of Calcutta in 1756, but the archives of the Presidency after the English success at Plassey have survived in more or less complete series. These are partly available in the National Archives of India and partly in the State Archives of West Bengal. When a separate government was set up for Bengal, the Revenue and Judicial records were given to the new administration; the rest were taken over by the Government of India. The Bengal Revenue and Judicial series pertain to many areas now outside the territorial limits of West Bengal.

The Bengal records from 1834 follow the same department-wise arrangements as those of the Government of India: there are groups of archives dealing with different functions performed by the provincial government. An important series of archives, available in the West Bengal State Archives, are the archival emanations of the short-lived government of East Bengal and Assam from 1905 to 1912.

The archives of Madras like those of Bengal also deal with many areas now outside the Madras state. Materials of vital significance are also available there on the history of the states of Travancore, Cochin, Mysore and Hyderābād.

The records of the Governor and Council of Fort St. George commence from A. D. 1670. Originally, when the Company had only a small commercial establishment in Madras, all the transactions were entered in one set of records which later came to be known as Public series; but as the Company's settlements grew and it became a political power, new departments and branches were formed. The records generally follow their department-wise arrangement. In these records one can find copious evidence bearing on the rise of the Company as a political power in the South and the Deccan—the struggle against the French and the war with Indian powers which it supplanted to extend the frontiers of the British dominions. The political relations with the states of Travancore and Cochin in the 19th century can also be studied in these records.

The archives of Bombay Presidency, housed in the Mahārāshtra Secretariat Record Office, Bombay, are indispensable for the history of Western India, including Mahārāshtra, Gujarāt, Sind, and the Kannaḍa speaking districts of the Presidency of Bombay which were incorporated in Mysore in 1956. The records of the English factory at Surat, which was the first

commerical establishment of the Company in India, form an important series among the Bombay records; the earliest of them is an Outward Letter Book of the Factory for A.D. 1630. The records of other factories and commerical residencies in Western India, including Sind, are also available, though not in regular series. These are all of considerable value for studies on the commerical activities of the Company and the economic conditions in Western India.

The records of the Governor and Council of Bombay are available from 1715. As in the case of Bengal, they are classified department-wise. The Bombay records are important for the study of trade and commerce as well as politics in the area. Their value for the study of Marāṭhā history is unique. They along with the records of the Poona Residency, housed in the Alienation Office, Poona, supplement in a remarkable manner the information available in the *Peśwā Daftar*. The Bombay Government records further contain valuable information on the development of the Presidency in every respect, and they constitute a primary source for the social and economic change which the different regions under its rule experienced during the 19th century.

Like the records of the three Presidencies, the archival collections of other states help in the reconstruction of the history of different regions of the country. In Uttar Pradesh, the Government records mostly belong to the post-Mutiny period as those of the North Western Province and Avadh were lost during 1857. The records of the former Central Provinces begin from 1861 and are at present held by the Government of Madhya Pradesh. The Bihār Secretariat records start from 1912 and those of Orissa from 1936 when the province was separated from Bihār. In Assam the Secretariat Record Office holds a valuable collection of original archival material beginning from 1826, a basic source for the history of the state and of India's north-eastern frontier.

Another class of public records relevant to the study of Indian history are the archives of the European possessions in India other than those of the British. The French archives of Chandernagore and Pondicherry were removed to Paris by the French authorities before they relinquished these settlements. The Dutch records of Cochin and Malabār are in the Madras Record Office and those of Chinsura in the West Bengal State Archives. The former are particularly rich in regard to information they contain about relations of the Dutch with the Indian powers in Malabār. The bulk of the archives of the Danish possessions too were removed to Copenhagen when Tranquebar and Serampore were sold to the East India Company in 1845; the remaining Danish records are now housed in the Madras Record Office. These mainly relate to Tranquebar during A.D. 1777-1845

The archives of Portuguese Goa, which have survived virtually intact, are of great value not only for the history of the Portuguese possessions

but also for the history of Western India in general. They belong mainly to the period from 1700 to 1900, and also contain a considerable collection of 17th century documents. The orders and despatches received at Goa from Lisbon and the replies and reports despatched from India to Portugal form the most significant historical material among them. The other series relate to the internal administration of the Portuguese colonies. The public records emanating from intermediate and subordinate authorities in the Indian administration, like the Boards of Revenue, Financial Commissioners, Divisional Commissioners and District Collectors, form another class of valuable source material for modern Indian history. These are available in all states either centralized in the State Archives or in the record rooms of the various authorities. Detailed evidence on local problems which is not available in archives of the Secretariats of the states is furnished by these records. The Revenue records of different authorities are of vital significance for the study of economic and social changes in India during the British rule, which can be properly studied only on regional basis. The settlement records furnish useful information for economic enquiries region-wise. The changes in ownership of land and their effects on the rural communities can be examined in detail in the village land-records, and so also the new trends in land ownership and their social and economic consequences.

Judicial Records: The archives of judicial courts constitute another class of valuable source material for Indian history. These records offer, in addition to evidence of primary importance on the development of judicial administration, significant data on the economic and social conditions of different classes of people. The earliest among the available judicial archives are those of the Mayor's Court at Fort St. George, beginning from A.D. 1689 and now in the custody of the Madras Record Office. The pre-Plassey records of the Mayor's Court at Fort William appear to have been lost; but those for the years 1757–73 are lodged in the record room of the Calcutta High Court (Original Side) along with the archives of the Supreme Court of Bengal, 1774–1861. The records of the Mayor's Court at Bombay, established in 1728, are available in the Mahārāshtra Secretariat Record Office. The same repository has the custody of the archives of the Bombay Recorder's Court and the Supreme Court. This class of record material contains, apart from the proceedings and minutes of the Mayor's Courts and Supreme Courts, copies of wills, probates, and letters of administration which are invaluable for genealogical studies and for investigations pertaining to the state of society and economic conditions in the respective regions.

The records of the *Ṣadr Courts—Ṣadr Dīwānī* and *Faujdārī 'Adālats*— of the three Presidencies are equally useful for historical research. These are preserved, though fragmentary, in the record rooms of the High Courts of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The High Court records of permanent

value are available in virtually complete series in records rooms of these courts.

Private Archives. Private archives are also essential for the study of modern Indian history. These comprise the papers of individuals and families of note who played a significant role in the development of modern India, business and industrial corporations, and institutions, societies and associations devoted to political, educational, social, religious and cultural activities. The archives of the old universities and educational bodies contain rich material pertaining to educational and cultural advancement of the country. For the study of economic changes, the archives of banks, business houses and chambers of commerce are of great value. The history of India's struggle for independence can be enriched by the use of the papers of eminent leaders of the nationalist movement and records of organisations like the Indian National Congress which are available at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

Archival Sources Available Abroad. The archival sources of Indian history available in foreign repositories are abundant. In the first place are the pre-1947 archives now located in Pākistān. The most significant archival collection in Pākistān is in the West Pākistān Record Office at Lahore which, besides the records of the Punjab Government from 1849, includes the records of the Delhi Residency and Agency from 1804 to 1857 and various Political Agencies that functioned in the Punjab in the pre-annexation period. The Record Office at Peshāwar possesses the archives of the Commissioner of Peshāwar, from 1849 to 1900, and those of the North West Frontier Province from 1901. Apart from their value for the study of regional history they furnish useful information on relations with Afgānistān, Irān and the Frontier tribes.

Sind became a separate province in 1836, but its archives go back to 1831, when Henry Pottinger was deputed to the Court of Mīr Murād 'Alī. The records from 1847, when Sind became a part of Bombay Presidency are abundant and rich in content and provide a detailed account of the history of the province.

The archival and manuscript materials of Indian interest available in European repositories are extensive and varied. The richest collections are obviously to be found in the United Kingdom. The India Office Records (Commonwealth Relations Office, London) include several important archival groups which are not available in India. Those are: (1) the Minutes of the Court of Directors and the General Court of the East India Company and various Committees appointed from time to time, (2) the Minutes and Correspondence of the Board of Control or the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India set up in 1785, and (3) the records of the Secretary of State and the India Council. Besides these, the Records Section has in its custody the archives of some of the English factories in India. The India Office Library collection of the

papers of several Viceroys, Secretaries of States and British statesmen connected with India, help much in supplementing the sources of Indo-British history.

In the Public Record Office, London, an Indian historian can find much of interest in the records of the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office. The Cabinet Papers contain many useful documents on Imperial defence, military administration, foreign relations and internal developments.

The British Museum, London, and several archival and manuscript repositories in the United Kingdom have among their holdings collections of papers of British Viceroys, Secretaries of States and other high civil and military officials who served in India. Their value can hardly be over-estimated. Of special interest are the archives of missionary societies like the Church Missionary Society of London which are full of information on the educational and social development in the country.

For the history of the French in India the rich resources of the Archives Nationale, Paris, and the Archives of the French Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Colonies and War are indispensable. In the 'Nouvelles Acquisitions' series of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, are a large number of papers of eminent Frenchmen who served in India or were otherwise connected with their possessions in this country.

The history of the Dutch in India can be written in detail with the aid of the voluminous records of the Dutch East India Company available in Rijksarchief, The Hague. These materials are also of primary value for the economic history of India during the 17th and 18th centuries. The Danish East India Company's records and those of the Danish Crown after 1777 pertaining to the Danish colonies in India, available at the Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, are the primary sources for the Danish settlements—Tranquebar and Serampore.

The importance of the Portuguese archives for a study of India's history is well recognized. The National Archives of Portugual, Lisbon, has a large collection of original letters pertaining to Portuguese India. Among the original sources of Indian history, Jesuit letters are of special significance. The 'Jesuit 'missives' from India not only provide detailed account of the evangelizing activities of the missionaries but also furnish a good deal of valuable information about the surroundings in which they laboured. The Central Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome is the most prominent repository for these letters; but they are also to be found among the manuscript collections of the Vatican Library, the National Library, Lisbon, the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo, the Public Library of Evora, and some private libraries in Europe. For the study of the Indian freedom movement abroad, the archives of foreign offices of various countries are valuable. The records of the German Foreign Office contain useful information on Indian revolutionaries in Europe. Rich source material on the activities of Indian agitators and revolutio-

naries in U.S.A. is available in the archives of the State Department and the Justice Department.

Published Archives. An account of the archival sources of Indian history will remain incomplete without reference to the important series of published records of the British period. The most significant of the archival publications are the Parliamentary Papers which include copious excerpts from the records of the East India Company and the Government of India under the Crown. An index of the Parliamentary Papers issued between 1801 and 1907 is available. The reports of the Parliamentary Select Committees appointed to examine Indian matters at different times also contain valuable material and so also the reports of various Royal Commissions appointed to investigate specific subjects like education, famines, and civil reforms. The Parliamentary Debates relating to the Indian empire are indispensable for an understanding of the British attitude towards the Indian problems.

The selections from records of the Government of India and the different provincial governments, mostly issued during the later half of the 19th century, constitute a veritable mine of information on diverse questions of public interest. The annual administration reports issued by the Government of India, the provincial Governments and other administrations form another valuable category of published archival material. Abundant information bearing on the economic and social life is available in the Settlement Reports, issued on the completion of the first survey and settlement operations in each district of British India. The proceedings of the Indian and provincial legislatures, the weekly Gazettes published by the Central and the provincial governments and collections of laws and regulations issued from time to time also serve as source material for historical research. The record publications issued by the National Archives of India and various State Archives are equally valuable for a student of modern Indian history.

PART I

ANCIENT INDIA

CHAPTER 1

PRE-HISTORIC AND PROTO-HISTORIC PERIODS

A. PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD

Pre-historic and proto-historic archaeology has been hitherto divided into the Stone Age, Copper Age and Iron Age. Such divisions have stressed only one aspect of man's life over a stretch of nearly 5,00,000 years, namely, the tools and weapons he commonly used. While these suggest the various steps by which man acquired knowledge not only of the two important metals, copper and iron, but also of the manufacture of specialized stone tools and their hafting, they do not, however, adequately indicate man's many-sided ways of life. Knowledge of man's economic and social status and his environment deserves greater emphasis. This objective calls for more data of the dim past than are available today. With the increasing aid from the various scientific disciplines, it is possible to visualize, even if faintly, some of the main milestones on man's march to civilization.

During the long Stone Age, estimated to cover over 5,00,000 years and forming part of the latest geological period, namely, Pleistocene, man was a savage, had no fixed habitation, and could not produce his food, collected plants and fruits, caught fish and hunted wild animals. Changes in environment and circumstances brought about changes in tools. From large, crude and heavy tools there developed smaller, finer, and more specialized ones; a history of man's development based mainly on the study of his tools is therefore possible. And when this is coupled with the flora and fauna deduced from the fossil plants and animals, pollen grains, soils, rise and fall of sea and river levels, solar radiation and several other factors, one gets a more detailed picture of man's life. Such terms as the Stone Age are therefore no longer adequate, the emphasis having shifted from the object to the idea behind it. The stages in man's progress are :

1. Primitive Food Collecting Stage or Early and Middle Stone Ages.
2. Advanced Food Collecting Stage or Late Stone Age/Mesolithic.
3. Transition to Incipient Food Production or Early Neolithic.
4. Settled Village Communities or Advanced Neolithic/Chalcolithic.
5. Urbanization or Bronze Age.

1. Primitive Food Collecting Stage

(a) Early Stone Age

Punjab. Since there are marked differences in environment and tool traditions between the Punjab and Peninsular India, it is better to treat them separately. Until 1939, only a part of the Punjab which now falls in Western Pâkistân had yielded definite traces of three or four Stone Age Cultures. These have been called Pre-Sohan, Early Sohan, Late Sohan and Evolved Sohan, or Chopper-Chopping and Flake-and-Blade Industries. The first four names are after Sohan or Soân, one of the important tributaries of the Sindhu, along the banks of which the first artifacts were found. The latter group is named after the functional and technological character of the tools and broadly shows man's intellectual as well as material development.

Intensive study began in the foothills of the South-western Himâlayas. These constitute the Siwâliks and the Potwar plateau. The latter is a part of ancient Pañcanada, drained by the Sindhu, Sohan, Jhelum, Râvi, Sutlej, and Beâs ; it includes Râwalpindi and other districts of Western Punjab. The various geological formations on these rivers were correlated by De Terra and Paterson with the onset and retreat of glaciers during the Pleistocene in the Kashmîr valley. This has enabled archaeologists to work out a sequence of climatic fluctuations illustrating the environment of man from the Pleistocene to the Holocene or the present times. When colder conditions (Glacial periods) prevailed in the hills and higher altitudes, the plains of the Punjab were covered with gravels and silts ; whereas under warm temperate conditions (Interglacial periods) the ice retreated from the hills to higher altitudes and caused erosion in the plains. It is against this fluctuating climatic background that man's activities are to be studied.

Man's presence was believed to have been first noticed in the Boulder Conglomerate which forms the topmost surface in the Sindhu, Sohan and other rivers. During the Second Ice Age in the Kashmîr valley, the Potwar plateau experienced very heavy rain and the rivers carried away boulders. This helped to form the Boulder Conglomerate. In this formation were found huge flakes and split pebbles of quartzite. Some of these were regarded as artifacts, as they showed traces of chipping on the side. To distinguish this industry from the later industries, it was called Pre-Sohan, but now it is thought that there are no clear signs of man's work on these flakes and pebbles. We may, therefore, say that man did not exist during the Second Ice Age.

The story then begins with the Sohan Industry. It reveals tools made of split pebbles and flakes of quartzite and greenish grey trap. These have been found at 65 and 125 m. respectively, above the level of the present

Sohan and Indus rivers in terrace I (T_1),* formed by the tilting of Boulder Conglomerate and its consequent erosion by the first rivers. This erosion was due partly to the steepening of valley gradients through mountain uplift and partly to increased water supply as a result of the melting of ice. Both in the Kashmīr valley and the Punjab plains, genial climate due to interglacial conditions seems to have prevailed. Under such favourable climatic conditions, two distinct types of stone tools have been found: the handaxe and pebble tools, and a few flake tools. The latter are so atypical and different from the former that the industry typified by them is called Chopper-Chopping or Sohan Industry. It is remarkable that both these groups of tools are found in one and the same deposit, but at different places.

When the climate changed, Kashmīr was under a mantle of ice for the third time. In the Potwar plateau the streams started fresh erosion and aggradation, spreading first fine gravel and then silt. Then followed a drier phase during which an intense wind activity began. As a result, fine silt called 'loess' was carried over great heights. These deposits formed a second terrace (T_2) in the Sindhu and Sohan valleys.

Man was present at these times and witnessed profound changes on the surface of the land. His tools differ to some extent from those previously found in the Sohan. These occur in the basal Potwar gravel and in the lower 6m. of the silt. But the cores and flakes show some previous preparation and recall not only the 'Levalloisian technique' but also a change in the mode of life, when flakes were preferred for cutting up animals such as horse, bison, camel and wolf, the remains of which occur in the Potwar 'loess'. Anyway, stratigraphically, climatically and culturally, there is a distinct change.

The entire region once again underwent a change. Interglacial conditions reappeared and a new terrace (T_3) was formed as a result of erosion, but so far no tools of man have been found in the formation. During the Third Interglacial, we have no evidence of change in the late Sohan Industry. But after the Fourth Glaciation, when a new terrace (T_4) was formed on the Sindhu and the Sohan, still finer blade-like tools are found at two localities, Pindi Gheb and Dhok Pathān now in Pākistān. This has been designated Evolved Sohan or Upper Palaeolithic Industry.

If such tools had been made in large numbers, they would have heralded a great change in Early Man's life, as they have done in Europe and West Asia. Recent excavations in the Sanghāo cave in the Peshāwar valley (ancient Gandhāra) revealed a flake-and-blade industry, said to be of Mousterian tradition, and placed in the Late Palaeolithic (Middle Stone

*Terraces are flat grounds along rivers or lakes or along the sea-shore. These are formed on account of climatic changes which involve rise or fall of the water-level. The higher the terrace, the earlier, it is. Terrace I would thus be older than Terrace 2 and so on.

Age) when the climate was very cold. It is further said that the Middle Stone Age tools in India are probably related to this industry.

The development of the handaxe is not clear. It is said to be of the same antiquity, since it occurs in the deposits of the Second Interglacial period and is believed to have a development parallel to the Sohan Industry till the Third Glacial times, when a developed Handaxe Industry is met with at Chauntrā (Pākistān) along with Early and Late Sohan tools.

So, from the outset, two distinct types of tools occur in Western Punjab, at first separately and then together. In the absence of any positive data it is difficult to say whether these imply two distinct human racial types with different modes of life.

In Eastern Punjab, recent explorations around Kāngra on the Beās and its tributaries, have also yielded evidence of industries which recall the Early Sohan and Late Sohan. Their exact relationship to the terraces on these rivers and the climatic implications have yet to be worked out.

In the rest of India, not only handaxes but pebble tools, similar to those in the Punjab, have been found from several sites in large numbers. Such a phenomenon would imply that similar conditions might give rise to similar results.

Peninsular India. The real home of the Handaxe Culture seems to be, according to our present knowledge, Peninsular India, the country south of the Gaṅgā plain. Since the type tools of this culture were first found near Madras, it is also called the Madras Axe Culture; this is a purely regional name which should be given up, as the latest researches show that the Handaxe Culture covered almost the whole of India—Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Mahārāshtra, Gujarāt, Eastern Rājasthān, and the plateau regions of Uttar Pradesh, Bihār and West Bengal—except Western Rājasthān, Sind, Kashmīr, Assam and the coastal strips of Andhra, Madras and Kerala. Such a distribution pattern may be due to geographical or ecological reasons. Assam, for instance, is so heavily forested even now that it would have been impossible for the Early Stone Age man to eke out a living. The relics of the Early Stone Age man are mainly confined to the middle reaches of the rivers, and to some distance away from their basins. Altitudes higher than 750 m. and heavily forested regions would also appear to have been avoided by man. No Early Stone Age tools have been found at Mount Abu (Rājasthān), Mahābaleshwar (Mahārāshtra) and the Nīlgiris (Madras and Mysore)—ranging from 1,350–2,100 m.

The handaxes and other associated tools first occur in the deposits of the Second Interglacial Age in Western Punjab, whereas in Peninsular India they occur in the earliest pebble conglomerate bed in the Narmadā, which overlies the basal rock or laterite. In this conglomerate are also

found remains of such extinct animals as wild elephant, wild horse, wild ox, *Hippopotamus palaeindicus* F. and C., *Stegodon insignis* F. and C., *Rhinoceros unicornis* Lim., *Sus sp.*, *Trionyx sp.*, *Stegodon ganesa* F. and C., *Emys sp.*, *Ursus namadicus* F. and C., *Leptobos frazeri* Rut, *Cervus duvancelli*. As these fauna are placed in Middle Pleistocene, the Handaxe Industry is also ascribed to this period but exactly to which part, it is difficult to say without further data. Recent studies in the Mahi and Narmadā basin indicate that this period could not be later than early Upper Pleistocene.

Elsewhere in India also the Handaxe Industry or Culture is generally considered to belong to the Middle Pleistocene. But this should not be taken to mean that Early Man appeared simultaneously all over Peninsular India.

The Early Stone Age tools in the Peninsula include, besides the various forms of handaxes, cleavers, choppers and chopping tools made out of pebbles or pebble-halves and scrapers, some with a regular, well-made place to facilitate holding, picks and a few two-ended, and beaked tools which could have been used for engraving or cutting only. The last mentioned tools occur in the Kṛṣṇā basin in Karṇāṭaka (Northern Mysore).

The handaxe was an all-purpose tool, which assumed various forms. That is true also of cleavers, which could have been used for cutting wood and chopping meat. In both, there are clear instances of a "waist" on either lateral side showing that the tools were hafted in a wood or bamboo stick and secured with a cord and some mastic.

So far, nowhere in India anything but single or groups (some amazingly large) of tools have been found. These are but assemblages which give some insight into the art and industry of their makers, but throw very little light on man and his culture as a whole. The reason, of course, is that so far man's relics, namely, tools, have been found in secondary deposits and his likely habitation sites have to be searched. It is still customary to call these assemblages Handaxe Culture. We are still in the dark about the racial type or types of the makers of these tools who roamed practically all over India, and whether they knew fire as in China or had temporary camps as in East Africa where they had big as well as small game. Except in very few cases, the association of the tools and contemporary animals is not proved, so that we can only tentatively say that certain animals whose remains have been found mostly in the Narmadā and Godāvarī valleys were hunted by man. These animals, however, suggest the environment in which man lived—comparatively thick forest, as we find around Hoshangābād and other places in Madhya Pradesh, in which teak, banyan, *pīpal*, *palās* (*Butea Frondosa*) grew in abundance. In the early stages, rain was probably heavier than today and rivers flowed in very broad beds carrying huge pebbles and even boulders. But gradually rain decreased and almost all over India

rivers began to shed their load in their beds. These rose to several metres and became cemented with lime solutions from calcareous silt which later covered these deposits.

This is but a faint picture of Early Man and his environment in the Indo-Pākistān subcontinent. In the absence of precise data, except for the two major geographical divisions (the Himālayan foot-hills which were often affected by peri-glacial conditions and Peninsular India which seems to have experienced heavier rainfall) in the middle Pleistocene with their distinct tool traditions, nothing definite can be said about various regions—their climate, flora and fauna.

(b) Middle Stone Age

While further development of the Sohan Industry has been found in the Punjab, until recently nothing definite could be said about the fate of man in Peninsular India.

Cores and flakes showing previous preparation occur in the deposits—basal Potwar gravel and silt—of the Third Glacial Age. These as well as the blade-flakes found in the deposits of the Fourth Glacial Age may be provisionally placed in the Middle Stone Age and assigned to the Late Pleistocene. Handaxes have been found in Kāngra valley in 1966–67. They belong to the lowest terrace, probably quite late in the Pleistocene. In Peninsular India, deposits containing similar handiwork of man are found resting on or against the older river deposits consisting of pebbly gravel conglomerate and silt. These were laid down like the previous ones during another cycle of wet and dry conditions. The younger deposits are rarely pebbly and coarse and generally finer and more sandy. The tools found in the deposits are, as a rule, made of fine-grained material such as flint, jasper, agate and chalcedony, though in some areas like Kurnool and Madras quartzite also was employed. They are comparatively small. A normal assemblage consists of several kinds of scrapers, points, awls or borers, small choppers and chopping tools. All these are generally made out of flakes or flake-like nodules which are flat on one or both sides. In some regions, such as Western Rājasthān and Madhya Pradesh, on the rivers Lūni and Betwa and its tributaries, there is a distinct improvement in the technique of making flakes. This is what is known as "the prepared core" or "faceted platform" technique, reminiscent of the famous Levallois method in France.

Unlike the earlier tools, the small tools are retouched along the edge which is at times fine. Since all over India such assemblages of tools are found in deposits assigned to the Middle Stone Age, it is conceivable that these tools were employed for fashioning larger tools and weapons such as spokeshaves, arrows, lances, and bows of wood, none of which

has survived, being of perishable nature.

The nature of the tools as well as the deposits in which these occur suggest a lightly wooded environment where rain was not very heavy and certainly less in intensity and duration than in the Early Stone Age. Man lived along the foot-hills where raw material in the form of veins of chert, agate and flint was easily available. Some of the older mammalian fauna such as the *Bos namadicus* and *Elephas antiquus* seem to have survived, at least in Mahârâshtra where their remains have been found in direct association with Middle Stone Age tools. In the absence of skeletal remains, it is difficult to say whether the same race of man continued to inhabit India during this period. Though he was still a hunter-fisher and a savage, a change was indicated in man's *modus operandi* by his tool-kit and the materials of which it was made.

2. Advanced Food Collecting Stage (Late Stone Age)

Though almost all over India and Pâkistân the Middle Stone Age industries are followed by still smaller tools (microliths), there is nowhere a clear stratigraphical succession corresponding to a typological evolution. In a large number of cases, the microliths are found on the surface, in sandy or barren rocky surroundings. The latter undoubtedly show that great climatic changes had taken place, but whether these changes should be related to the period when man lived in the area and manufactured these tiny tools or to a later period has not been ascertained in all cases.

The microliths, themselves insignificant, presage a great technological development—the introduction of compound tool. Instead of keeping the stone tools in his hand, man now hafted them in a bone, wooden or bamboo handle or shaft, and thus were born the prototypes of several kinds of later copper and iron sickles, arrows, harpoons and drills. This device had its origin in the Middle Stone Age, but reached its culmination in this period. Now the tools were universally very small, sometimes barely an inch or a half inch long, and so could not be used otherwise. The pressure technique by which these microliths were made was probably known earlier. Economically man was still a savage, a hunter-fisher. However, in some areas as elsewhere in the world there appeared the next great step—pottery-making with its concomitant of permanent habitation and food production.

In Eastern India, microliths generally occur on the surface of laterite plains and forests in Orissa, Bengal and Chota Nâgpur plateau, and on rocky (sandstone) hillocks in Mirzâpur. The few, small-scale excavations in these regions indicate their probable antiquity and the prevailing climatic conditions. Until recently all these areas were lightly forested. Large Sal trees still dominate the dark-red laterite plateaus and plains

in West Bengal and Chota Nāgpur plateau. In Mirzāpur, there is a scrub forest in the northern parts, while in the south there are kilometres of rice fields on the edge of low sandstone ranges, which in the past were well-forested.

Excavations at Bīrbhānpur near Durgāpur railway station on the bank of the Dāmodar river in Burdwān district (West Bengal) show that at first the climate was very wet so that laterite was formed and a dense forest covered the region. A drier phase then followed, and at that time microlith-using man appeared on the scene. He probably lived in circular huts, the walls of which, to judge from the existence of a few round postholes, were supported by round wooden posts. The tools were generally made of milky quartz, though crystal, chert, chalcedony, quartzite and fossil wood (of which large chunks have been found all over the place) were occasionally used. Typologically, the microliths are non-geometric; that is, such forms as the triangle and trapeze are absent. No pottery is found associated with the microliths. Hence, it is thought that man in this region was still a hunter-fisher and had not taken to incipient cultivation. Since the microlithic habitation layer is covered with two-thirds metre of sandy, light brown earth, one can assign fairly great antiquity to this Late Stone Culture.

The Kaimur range, at the junction of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, continues the story begun at Bīrbhānpur. These sandstone formations had provided an ideal shelter as temporary or permanent camps for men of different periods, the earliest of which seems to go back to the advanced food-gathering stage. Small-scale excavations of open air sites and rock-shelters at Morahānā Pahār and Bhaghaikhor near Bhainsaur and at Lekhaniā, 65 km. from Mirzāpur, yielded first non-geometric microliths and later geometric ones with an ill-baked ochre-red pottery. At Bhaghaikhor, only one skeleton was found. But at Lekhaniā, the occurrence of about 14 human skeletons in a deposit not more than 42 cm. in thickness suggests that owing to some calamity all these were buried in the same habitation ; or that this was the preferred burial area in the rock-shelter—whenever a person died, he or she was buried there. The orientation of the body was west-east and in all cases it was laid in an extended fashion.

Later, a people, who buried the dead in large stone-lined pits and covered them with still larger slabs, sometimes only one, and deserve the name megalithic, occupied the area. They used first copper and later iron and also pottery. Thus, a gradual development is witnessed in this region though the details are not yet available.

The Vindhyan sandstone formations which extend westwards into Madhya Pradesh have also a large number of caves and rock-shelters, many of which were inhabited. Very few unfortunately have been systematically excavated. Excavations at Ādamgarh, near Hoshangābād, brought

to light a layer containing palaeoliths at the bottom, and microliths both geometric and non-geometric, associated with a pottery, were found in the uppermost layer of black or brown soil. A few specimens of chalcolithic pottery were found on the surface. Here too, the microliths seem to antedate the chalcolithic phase and appear at a much later date than the Early Stone Age. However, their association with pottery, domesticated animals and rock-shelters undoubtedly shows settled life.

A parallel development also took place in Orissa ; at Kuchaiburi, near Baripāda (former Mayūrbhanj state), microliths were noticed below a layer yielding pottery and ground stone tools.

In the extreme south of India, in the Tirunelveli district, microliths again occur in a context which suggests fairly good antiquity but a dry climate. The coastal area to the south and north of the river Tāmraparni is strewn with fossil sand-dunes locally called *teris*. These were formed when the sea level was higher than what it is today. This was due to a dry climatic phase. Man lived on the *teris* and made microliths of chert, silicified wood and limpid quartz, material which is not available in the region. The industry includes both geometric and non-geometric elements and it is probable that the latter belongs to an older phase of the *teris*.

Slightly better data is available in Central and Northern Gujarāt, where first Langhnaj and then Akhaj in the Sābarmati basin, and Amrapur in the Mahi basin give us unmistakable association of microliths with an ill-baked pottery, debris of animal bones, and human beings buried within them.

Langhnaj and Akhaj are not solitary sites, but representative of the hundreds which dot the sandy alluvial plains of Northern and Central Gujarāt. The topography is quite different from what one sees in Eastern and Southern India. Out of kilometres of flat, sandy stretches suddenly turn up three or four hillocks of the same material. These enclose an inundation lake, which retains water for almost ten months in a year. The tops and slopes of these hillocks covered with brushwood are strewn with microliths. These as well as the river banks were, therefore, the resorts of microlith people.

Thus the dune surfaces were fixed and small inundation lakes formed by alternating dry and damp phases. The microliths appeared long after the Early Stone Age, but did not find the raw material at hand. Nodules of chert, and quartz and quartzite and chlorite schist which they occasionally used for heavy tools had to be imported from some distance. Microliths include blades (retouched and simple), lunates, trapezes, triangles, scrapers and points and a few burins. The occurrence of one ring-stone or mace-head of quartzite among heavy tools and two small ground or polished tools of chlorite schist seems to be significant. The latter—two small ground tools—seem to be symbolic only, though implying contact with or a knowledge of such tool-making centres. The former suggests either

that man had begun to cultivate with the help of a digging stick for which the quartzite ring was used as a weight; or that the ring was used as a mace-head—a powerful offensive weapon. The numerous fragments of small saddle querns of sandstone were evidently meant for preparing a paste with haematite ruddle stones, and not for grinding grain. Pottery, though extremely few, and ill-fired, is associated with microliths. This suggests that the Stone Age man in Gujarât had at least temporary camps or habitations, of which unfortunately no traces seem to have survived. But there is no evidence that he had taken to producing his own food by incipient cultivation. No animals would seem to have been domesticated, for among the masses of large and small animal remains, occur at least three species of deer—the spotted deer, hog deer, swamp deer—nilgai, the black buck and one-horned rhinoceros, but no sheep or goat.

The presence of rhinoceros implies that the environment provided by lakes and surrounding areas of scrub forests was congenial enough for such animals to flourish, or that the rhinoceros lived on the river banks, where they were hunted by men, and their carcasses brought up to the mound. Fishing also provided food, as the occurrence of pieces of carapace of tortoise and fish vertebrae show.

The dead were buried in a highly crouched posture, preferably in north-south direction, though there are instances of other orientations as well. No definite idea of the race to which the Stone Age man belonged can be formed, since a study of the 13 or 14 skeletons shows traits which are not only characteristic of the Mediterranid and the Veddid, but also of other racial groups.

The age of this culture is not yet determined. Towards the top, from one metre upwards, occur a ring-stone, small and polished axes of chlorite schist, a large copper knife, an iron arrow-head, and wheel-made pottery, the latter quite different from that found in the early deposits. This sequence definitely indicates a succession of momentous cultural changes in Northern Gujarât since this stone-using man first appeared on the scene.

In short, the *teris* of South India, Bîrbhânpur and pre-pottery, non-geometric levels in Mirzâpur in Eastern India, represent early phases of the Late Stone Age. The later phases at Mirzâpur and other sites in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh and Lânghnaj in Northern Gujarât, where pottery also occurs without any definite evidence of domestication of animals and incipient agriculture, might represent the next stage.

Elsewhere, in Madhya Pradesh, Eastern and Western Râjasthân, Saurâshtra, Mahârâshtra, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore the finds, so far, have come from surface only. Even here, microliths seem to precede the blade tools of the later chalcolithic period. So we may postulate a Late Stone Age in many parts of India, during which the climate was generally dry (with regional variations and corresponding vegetational environment) and man had not taken to agriculture and domestication of animals.

A very fine blade and burin industry has been found near Renigunta in the Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh. A microlithic industry was found above a patinated basalt flake industry and below the Neolithic industry at Sangan kalla, Bellary district.[1] This definitely proves that even in this part of India, the microliths have great antiquity, and indicate a real transition between the pure food-collecting stage and the food-producing stage.

B. PROTO-HISTORIC PERIOD

1. Incipient Food Production—Early Neolithic

A clear developmental history of the succeeding stages is not yet available from any one area. The picture has to be reconstructed or pieced together from scenes here and there.

The thread of the story interrupted at Lânghnaj may be picked up in Baluchistân. This is a transitional zone lying between the higher inland plateau of Central Asia and the low flat plains of Sind. Not only was the Quetta valley extensively inhabited in pre-historic times, but at a site like Kili Ghul Mohammed near Quetta, a cultural development is found. Here four occapational periods have been identified. During the earliest period dating back to about the middle of the 4th millennium B.C., the people lived in mud-brick houses, used chert and bone tools and domesticated sheep or goat. Some kind of crop production also existed. In the next period, a basket-impressed, hand-made ware came into use. In the third, however, we see two distinctive elements which seem to form, along with the above-mentioned chert tools, the diagnostic traits of the succeeding cultures for quite a long time. They were wheel-turned, painted pottery, and copper which, with the addition of tin, was not long after hardened into bronze.

2. The Pre-Harappan Culture of the North-West

There were other chalcolithic villages distinguished from each other

[1]Excavations at Sangan kalla, Mysore, have yielded evidence to show that in this region, microliths are of considerable antiquity, positively before the Neolithic or Polished Axe Culture or the beginning of agriculture. Since the microlithic desposit underlies the Neolithic and overlies that of an earlier Stone Age industry, it is truly Mesolithic, as in Western Europe. Further, its association with a sticky black-brown soil indicates climatic conditions when much more rain fell in the region, which is semi-arid today.

Thus, a real transition between the pure food-collecting stage and the food-producing stage can now be postulated in serveral parts of India.

mainly on the basis of pottery, and sometimes also supported by other artifacts like terracottas and tools. Encompassing the Baluchi hills were four principal culture-groups : Zhob, Quetta, Nāl and Kulli.

Named so because of its association mainly with the Zhob valley, but extending southwards into the Loralai district as well, the Zhob Culture is characterized by a red ware painted over in black pigment, now and then supplemented by red, and terracotta female figurines with a grim goblinlike face. Also in use were blades, points and leaf-shaped arrow-heads of flint, and needles of bone ; the use of copper is proved by the occurrence of a rod and a ring at one of the sites (Periano Ghundai). Houses were made of mud-bricks set on boulder-foundations. There is also evidence of fortification at one of these sites (Moghul Ghundai). Cremation of the dead is indicated at some of the Zhob sites.

The Quetta Culture is distinguished by a buff ware painted over in black pigment, mostly with geometric designs including 'stepped' motifs. Amongst other aspects of this culture are chert blades, bone points, saddle querns, alabaster cups and clay figurines.

South Baluchistān shows two noteworthy cultures, named after their type-sites, Nāl and Kulli respectively. Of these, the former is characterized by a buff ware, usually white-slipped, with attractive polychrome paintings, the basic black or sepia being supplemented by red, green, yellow and blue. Houses were built of stone rubble or mud-brick or both. Flat axes, elongated bar-celts, saws and spearheads of copper were used and fractional burial practised. Associated with the culture were also beads of semi-precious stones, a copper stamp-seal and a perforated stone weight.

Typical of the Kulli Culture is a pinkish-buff ware painted over in black pigment, occasionally augmented by red, with designs of an elongated humped bull, its rounded eyes set within a horizontal panel of landscape. The terracotta female figurines depicted only down to the waist have a pinched face (profile), hold their arms akimbo and are heavily decorated. The animal figurines, mainly the bull, have black stripes. Houses were built usually of stone, though mud-brick was also occasionally used. Other objects associated with the Kulli Culture were chert blades, saddle querns and mullers of stone, and compartmented pots of chlorite schist, the exterior decorated with incised designs. The Kullians cremated their dead—a practice in marked contrast to that followed by the Nāl people or the Harappans.

3. Proto-Harappan Cultures in Sind, the Punjab and Rajasthan

Traces of culture or cultures preceding the Harappan had been obtained first at Amri and then at Harappa itself. But it is only now, during the

last 10 years, that something definite can be said about these cultures which we may call 'Proto-Harappan', because in some respects they are really ancestral to the Harappan. The earliest of these seems to be the Amri Culture. It was first discovered by the late N.G. Majumdar in 1929 in Sind. Amri is situated one mile west of the Indus, in Dadu district, 300 miles north of Karāchi. Later excavated by Jean Casal (1959–62), these excavations have revealed four Phases in the Amri Culture numbered IA, IB, IC and ID. Except burial jars at two levels, very few traces of houses remained in Phase IA*. The pottery is largely hand-made, with seven kinds of designs and grafftis on a few of them. But the few wheelmade bowl and rimless pots have thin walls and a pale cream coloured fabric. There is a scrap of copper, many chert blades, stone balls and few terracotta beads and bangles of shell and terracotta. In Phase IB, appear mud-brick houses, and the pottery shows a few changes, the most important being a dish-on-stand and a few bone points. During Phase IC, the entire mound was occupied and four structural levels are visible on Mound A** and three on Mound B. The houses are rectangular, though of various sizes with doors and mud-floors. The pottery improves in technique and decoration, 55% being wheel-made. In Phase ID occurs a large house with partition, and pottery shows further improvement with bichrome element. Animals are represented for the first time and these as well as other features indicate contact with Baluchistān and Afghānistān. The Harappāns arrived at Amri in Period II.

Kot Diji, situated 15 miles south of the Khaipur Division has given a slightly different picture.

It has revealed traces of a defensive wall and well-aligned streets and houses with large communal fire-places and highly sophisticated, wheel-made pottery along with tools and weapons of stone, some of copper and bronze, artistic toys, some very artistic, and cakes and balls. Thus, with the exception of writing and long stone blades, the Kot Dijians had everything that Harappans are known for. There was planning and organization as well as skill of the artist and craftsman.

There is plenty of evidence to show that this proto-Harappan civilization at Kot Diji, which existed according to one Carbon-14*** determination in 2471 ± 141 B.C. was destroyed by fire, possibly caused by the Harappans who were there by 1970 ± 134 B.C.

*Usually, when habitational Phases/Periods are assigned lables like A, B, C, etc., A is the earliest. Periods are bigger cultural divisions numbered I, II, III, etc.

**Mounds A and B are parts of the same site. These have been named differently because of the present confliguration of the area, which shows these off separately.

***This is a method of dating the past, and is based on the fact that Carbon-14, a radioactive form of carbon, is being continuously produced in the atmosphere and absorbed by all living organisms.

One more important thing at Kot Diji is that the foundations of the fortification wall and houses are of stone, probably because stone is very easily available, the medieval fort standing on a rock.

Kali Banga (Sothi Culture). Proto-Harappan settlements were not confined to Sind and the Punjab only. They are found in Northern Rājasthān (former Bīkaner state) also and possibly extended further westwards into the Gaṅgā plain. A large number of sites have been discovered, of which Sothi and Kāli Banga are well known. The pottery from Sothi in the ancient Dṛṣadvatī valley discovered by Shri A. Ghosh was so distinctive that he designated it as representative of Sothi Culture. Now we call it pre or proto-Harappan from the evidence at Kāli Banga (also called Kāli Banga-I).

Kāli Banga is situated on the ancient Sarasvatī, now called Ghaggar. Since the Harappan city overlies the earlier Proto-Harappan, clear house plans of the earlier city are not available. But in some houses we have evidence of ovens and the well-aligned lane between a row of houses. There is also evidence of mud-brick fortification exposed on the southern, western, and northern sides of Kāli Banga.

It is interesting that like Amri and Kot Diji Kāli Banga should also yield stone blades which are not only small but made on agate and chalcedony; some are serrated and baked.

Copper was known, as it is attested by copper-bead as well as a celt and few other objects. The existence of wheel conveyance is proved by a cart-wheel having a single hub. The pottery has six fabrics, all wheel-made, as at Kot Diji, but unlike Amri, where in the lowest levels, the majority was hand-made. Of the six Carbon-14 determinations available so far, only one TF–155 dates it to 2245 ± 115 B.C., others are later by 75, 100 or even 200 years.

It has been observed by the excavators that the pottery fabrics and forms found at Amri and Kāli Banga show a close affinity with the early Baluchistān and Īrānian pottery. Other objects show a similar genetic affinity to the Chalcolithic Cultures of the area, but are different from and inferior to the corresponding Harappan objects, though the author of the excavations at Kot Diji thinks that they are superior.

Amri pottery is quite distinctive. In fact, it was this feature which enabled the first discoverer, over 40 years ago, to postulate the existence of a separate, pre-Harappan Culture. In brief, the fabric is comparatively thin and not so well made as in the Harappan, and in early phases, largely handmade. The bowls are rimless and other vessels have a very low neck. Externally, the surface is pale red or creamy and bears painting in black—commonly a black band round the neck—and occasionally also in red. The painted designs include pot hooks or crooks, horizontal bands with solid triangles, sigmas, sun design, and later animals. Intentional rustication or roughening of the lower surface is also a special feature of the

Amri and other pre-Harappan pottery.

Though not Carbon-dated, on comparative grounds, the Amri Culture is placed before 2,500 B.C.

Pottery from Kot Diji shows many similar features, though it is all wheel-made. The fabric is thin, the ground colour varying from red to pinkish. This is decorated by fugitive bands, red, sepia, or black round the neck of globular pots as well as bowls and dishes.

These as well as other features, for instance, a grey ware with dish-on-stand, bowl and basins, appear in the pre-Harappan at Kāli Banga, which has, as mentioned above, six distinct fabrics.

Many more sites have been reported and it appears that this proto-Harappan or pre-Harappan Culture extended far into the Gaṅgā valley, where it was destroyed by a gigantic flood with the result that everywhere—Rūpar, Hastinâpur, Atranji-kherā and other sites, the pottery is rolled and was, therefore, described as ochre-coloured pottery. But the recent examination of the pottery from Atranji-kherā showed that it was similar to or identical with the pottery at Sothi having a black-band at the neck, and some pottery having beautifully incised decoration. Since there is evidence of town-planning and fortification and good pottery from all the three excavated sites, it is evident that the beginning of civilization was reached by the forerunners of the Harappans. However, the Harappans succeeded in building up an empire and in effacing all smaller regional cultures, because they alone, of all these cultures, could seize the flint quarries of Sukkur and Rohri. The long blade tools and weapons made from this material were far more efficient than the compound tools made by their predecessors. However, this was a slow process. Even co-exixtence, for instance at Kot Diji, was not ruled out. And it is believed that the Harappan occupation in the region was in fact shorter than the pre/proto-Harappan.

4. The Indus Civilization (Urbanization)

In marked contrast to the localized village-cultures is the Indus Civilization, also known as the Harappa Civilization or Harappa Culture after the site in the Punjab where it was first identified. Explorations in progress are likely to throw fresh light on the full extent of this civilization; but even as we know it, the area covered by the civilization was much more than that covered by the contemporary civilizations in the Nile or Tigris-Euphrates valleys in the west or the Yellow River valley in the east. From Sutkagendor in Southern Baluchistān to Ālamgīrpur in the Meerut district of Uttar Pradesh, the known western and eastern limits of the Indus Civilization, it is a distance of over 1,550 km. From north to south, it extends over 1,100 km. between Rūpar in Punjab and Bhagatrâv in the

Kim esturary in Gujarât.

Although it flourished over a vast area, the Indus Civilization presents little variation. Whether it is Harappa or Mohenjo-daro, Kâli Banga or Lothal, the most striking character is systematic town-planning; the streets oriented north-south and east-west, produced a grid-pattern. Flanking the streets and similarly oriented lanes and by-lanes were well-planned houses, which in the case of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro were almost invariably made of kiln-burnt bricks. Elsewhere in the contemporary world, mud-bricks and wattle-and-daub were the usual building materials, and burnt-bricks were altogether unknown.

A house comprised a central courtyard, three to four living rooms, a bath and a kitchen, while the more elaborate ones contained even up to thirty rooms and were often two-storeyed. Many of the houses were provided with a well; and there was an excellent underground drainage system.

Town-planning went further. At Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and Kâli Banga, there are two blocks of mounds—the large one on the east and a smaller one on the west. While the large block was the 'lower' city with its houses and streets laid out in the manner described above, the other seems to have been a citadel enclosed by a thick (13 metres at Harappa) mud-brick wall, externally revetted with burnt bricks, corner towers and occasional bastions built along the length. The fortifications at Kâli Banga are being studied. Although no separate fortified mound has been found at Lothal, the conception of an acropolis seems to have existed, as may be inferred from the presence of a huge platform over which are situated the more important and large structures.

At Mohenjo-daro, there lay in the citadel a 'college', a multi-pillared 'Assembly Hall', a public bath (the Great Bath) and a large granary consisting of a podium of square blocks of burnt-bricks with a wooden superstructure. Such blocks in mud-brick have also been found on the citadel-mound at Kâli Banga and on the acropolis at Lothal. At Harappa, the interior of the citadel has not been adequately excavated. But in the shadow of the citadel has been found a granary consisting of twelve oblong blocks in an area of over 800 sq. m., as at Mohenjo-daro. At Harappa, between the granary and the citadel, have also been found a series of circular platforms, probably for the pounding of grain, and two rows of workmen's quarters.

The commodious houses, knit into a system of rigid town-planning, the public buildings, large granaries and the citadel, all combine to present the picture of a prosperous people, controlled by a firm yet beneficent authority.

The extensive use of burnt-bricks, for the firing of which plenty of wood was needed, and the frequent depiction of jungle fauna like the tiger, rhinoceros and bison on the Indus seals suggest that in those days

there was perhaps more rainfall in the area than today. Today at Mohenjo-daro even 10 cm. of rainfall a year is rare. Besides, the rivers, which have shifted their courses slightly away, seem to have skirted the towns: the Indus, Râvi, Ghaggar, Sutlej and Bhogâvar (Limrikobhogâwo) skirted Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Kâli Banga, Rūpar and Lothal respectively. Adequate water supply and rich alluvial soil favoured agriculture. There were bumper crops of wheat and barley, besides peas, melons and bananas. There was cultivation of cotton for textiles—a crop unknown in those times even in Egypt. To the dietary were added fish, fowl, mutton, beef and pork. Besides the cattle, both humped and humpless, cats, dogs and probably elephants were domesticated. The evidence regarding horse and camel is inconclusive. On a potsherd from Harappa is found a person wearing a *dhoti;* shawl as an upper garment is suggested by the well-known steatite statuette from Mohenjo-daro, supposed to be of a priest. The occurrence of needles and buttons proves that at least some items of dress might have been stitched.

Life seems to have been gay and happy as shown by the various ways in which the womenfolk dressed their hair and bedecked themselves with necklaces, bracelets, finger-rings, ear-rings, girdles, and anklets. There were diversions, such as dice or hunting wild animals. The young played with marbles, rattles and toys. The bull with a mobile head, and the monkey going up and down a string, show ingenuity.

The terracotta figurines, animal as well as human, and the black-on-red pottery rich with designs, show that even the common man had a taste for the beautiful though his buildings seem to have been drab. The progress which the Indus people had made in the plastic arts is borne out by the two sandstone statuettes from Harappa in which human anatomy is depicted. These figures could well have been the envy of the Greeks, renowned for their sculptural art, two thousand years later. Metal sculpture too was far advanced as shown by the pose and facial expression of the bronze statuette from Mohenjo-daro. The seal-cutter's art seems to have reached its zenith. The Brahmani bull, with its swinging dewlap, pronounced hump and muscular body, bears a standing testimony to the skill of the Indus craftsman.

From the inscriptions on the seals, pottery and other objects, it is clear that the Indus people knew reading and writing, while the use of weights (in a binary system) and measures (as shown by a scale found at Lothal) proves that they knew arithmetic as well. The script has not been deciphered so far, but overlaps of letters on some of the potsherds from Kâli Banga show that writing was *boustrophedon* or from right to left and from left to right in alternate lines.

The Indus people lived in full-fledged Bronze Age, although chert blades continued to supplement the tool-repertoire. Bronze objects for domestic use included knife-blades, saws, sickles, chisels, fish-hooks,

pins, tweezers, mirrors, and a variety of pots. Spears, axes, arrow-heads and short swords might have been used either in self-defence against wild animals or in warfare. For the warfare, however, one would have expected better weapons.

While copper might have been obtained from Khetri in Rājasthān and gold from Kolār, lapis lazuli, jade and turquoise seem to have come from Badakhshan, the Pamirs and Khorasān respectively. Imports could have been matched by exports as revealed by bales of cloth from Umma in Mesopotamia bearing the imprint of an Indus seal. The find of seals of Indus style at Ur, Lagash, Susa, Tell Asmar and other places suggests that perhaps some Indian traders were living in Mesopotamia. That this trade was at least partly sea-borne is proved by the discovery of an ancient dockyard at Lothal, connected through the Bhogāvar river with the Gulf of Cambay. One can visualize Indian ships, depicted on a seal and a potsherd from Mohenjo-daro, cruising up and down the Arabian Sea.

But who were the prime authors of this mighty civilization cannot yet be said with certainty. The skeletal remains in the burials show that the population comprised Mediterraneans, Alpines, Proto-Australoids and Mongoloids[1]. This cosmopolitan character is reflected in the several religious practices. Some worshipped the Mother Goddess, so popular in contemporary West Asia. On some seals is found a horned, three-faced figure surrounded by animals and believed to be the prototype of Śiva in the form of Paśupati. There are also several objects identified as *lingas* and *yonis* and fire-places with central stole, found recently at Kāli Banga. Trees, animals, streams and spirits also seem to have been worshipped.

[1]After a critical appraisal of the changing concepts in physical anthropology and the nature of the skeletal material from excavations at Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Chanhu-daro and Lothal, all the four important sites of the Harappan Civilization in Punjab, Sind and Gujarāt, Dr. D. K. Sen rejects the old view as outmoded and says that at the most we may say that "the Harappans were long-headed and high-domed groups, the sexes not differing markedly in these characteristics. They had medium-high faces and orbits of medium dimensions." The population was markedly broad-nosed as a whole, and reasonably homogeneous.

The sample size from Mohenjo-daro is so small as to be useless for broad-based conclusions. However, long-headedness and fairly good height is indicated in the males, and medium noses in females.

The Lothal sample, all male, exhibits broad-headedness, broad noses and a fairly tall group.

Broadly, at each of these sites the population was homogeneous, with regard to head-shape, nose-shape, and stature. Whatever their original composition, the populations at these sites belonged each to a single biological group and not recognizable as belonging to several races with distinctive characteristics. This population was broad-nosed or chamaerrhine, tall and long-headed in the Punjab and Sind with somewhat rounder heads in Gujarat.

It is, therefore, inferred that the population in India during the Harappan times descended from earlier populations in the same region, and perhaps the Harappan Culture or Civilization is autochthonous.

That there was a belief in 'the other world' is shown by the fact that with the dead were interred a large number of pots and toilet objects such as mirror, antimony rod and mother-of-pearl. The body was usually placed with the head to the north and lay supine and extended. One at Harappa was found wrapped in a reed shroud and placed in a wooden coffin. Since this was uncommon in the Indus Civilization but usual in contemporary Mesopotamia, it is probable that there lay buried a man from the west. Until recently the main evidence for fixing the date of the Indus Civilization was the seals found in West Asia in levels ascribable to the reign of Sargon of Akkad i.e., around 2300 B.C. On the assumption that the period of large scale trade contacts was also the heyday of the Indus Civilization, its date was fixed at *c.* 2500–1500 B.C. Recent Carbon-14 determinations, however, indicate a shorter duration, namely, *c.* 2400 to 1700 B.C.

The end of the Indus cities is still obscure. The discovery in the upper levels of Mohenjo-daro of human skeletons lying pell-mell, with a skull having a cut-mark, points to invasion and massacre, but this interpretation has been rightly challenged. It may be noted that the Cemetery H Culture, found at Harappa and at two sites in the former Bahāwalpur state, has been associated with invaders. This H Culture, represented by jerry-built walls, black-on-bright-red pottery and two successive burial strata (the lower and upper characterized respectively by complete inhumations and fractional pot-interments) had a clear stratigraphic break from the Harappa Culture itself, signifying a time interval.

Another theory ascribes the end of Mohenjo-daro to heavy flooding, for some traces of recent alluvium have been noticed on hillocks in the lower Indus basin. Traces of flood-havoc have been noted at Lothal also. The excavations in progress at Kāli Banga, however, have not so far yielded any evidence either of invaders or of floods, nor are there traces of a general decline such as have been found at Mohenjo-daro itself. Here perhaps the drying up of the Ghaggar, owing either to climatic fluctuations or to a diversion of the waters, might have led to the desertion of many sites.

It may be surmised that while individual cities may have been deserted on local or regional considerations, the civilization as a whole did not meet with a sudden and violent end. The devolution of Harappa Culture at Lothal and the Punjab lends support to this view.

5. The Post-Harappan Cultures of Sind and Baluchistan

A few words may be added on the proto-historic cultures that followed the Harappa Civilization in the Indus valley and Baluchistān. Besides the Cemetery H Culture, already referred to, there are in the Indus valley

two important post-Harappa Cultures, named after their type-sites Jhukar and Jhangar respectively. At Chanhu-daro, both these cultures occur in succession above the Harappa Culture. The Jhukar Culture is distinguished by a buff or cream-coloured pottery with designs executed in a purplish-black pigment, often augmented by red. Among other associated objects mention may be made of a bronze shaft-hole axe, pins with decorated heads, also of bronze or copper, and 'compartmented' seals of faience and pottery. Most of these have parallels in West Asia.

The Jhangar ware is grey or greyish-black. It bears incised patterns which include chevrons and hatched triangles. No other trait of the culture is known; nor has it been possible to date it precisely.

In Baluchistān, there are two principal proto-historic cultures of the post-Harappan times, besides some stray tools of bronze which also seem to have cultural significance. One of these cultures is represented by a cemetery at Shahi Tump, dug into the ruins of a Kulli Culture mound. The burials were complete inhumations, the body lying on one side with flexed legs. Comprising the grave articles were, besides pots of grey to yellowish-buff ware painted over in black or reddish-brown pigments, a spearhead, a shaft-hole axe and compartmented seals, all of copper and suggesting, as already stated above, West Asian affinities.

Another culture is that represented by the burial-cairns at Moghal-Ghundai, Jiwanri, Zangian and elsewhere. Associated with it are, besides a red ware, horse-bells, rings, bangles and a tripod jar of bronze or copper, which, again, have parallels in West Asia.

Lastly, there is a bronze sword from Fort Munro and a trunnion celt from Shalozān, the former recalling prototypes from Talish in Caucasia and Luristān in Persia while the latter has several parallels not only in West Asia but also in Europe.

Most of these post-Harappan cultures of Sind and Baluchistān point to lively contacts with West Asia, if not to an actual influx of people.

6. The Upper Ganga Basin

The story of the Upper Gaṅgā basin is somewhat different from that of the Sindhu. Here the earliest proto-historic culture seems to be that represented by 'Copper Hoards'. They comprise, besides ordinary, shouldered and bar-like celts, hooked spearheads, antennae swords, harpoons with a hook or hole for hafting, rings and 'anthropomorphic' figures, the exact use of the last named is not clear. The more noteworthy sites in the basin yielding this class of tools include Bahādarābād, Rājpur Pārsu, Bisauli, Fatehgarh, Sarthauli, Bithūr, Pariar and Sheorājpur. However, the tools, individually or in groups, have been found even outside this region: for example, at Pondi Kalān and Gungeriā in Madhya Pradesh, Hami

and Baragunda in South Bihâr, Tamajuri in the hilly part of West Bengal, Dunria and Bhagrapir in Orissa, Kallûr in Mysore and even at Lothal in Gujarât, if the fragmentary specimen found at the site is a part of an 'anthropomorphic' figure. Although it does not comprise the more characteristic types like the harpoon or the 'anthropomorphic' figure, a hoard from Khurdi in Râjasthân has also been taken by certain scholars to belong to this class. The Copper Hoard Culture in the basin had contacts as far south as Andhra Pradesh. Most of the objects have been secured from dealers or in chance diggings. It is, therefore, not yet possible to say with certainty what ceramic industry went with them. At Bahâdarâbâd, however, there is some reliable circumstantial evidence. Here, engineers working on an irrigation project found beneath a 2–3 m. sterile deposit of clay and sand a large number of tools belonging to this category; and archaeologists, following the clue, obtained from the same context a red ware, occasionally with greyish core resulting from indifferent firing. Although most of the specimens do not show any slip and their surface rubs off easily leaving an ochrous substance on the finger, there do occur slip-patches on a few sherds. For want of a more suitable name, the ware has provisionally been labelled 'Ochre Colour Ware'. Prior to the digging at Bahâdarâbâd, the Ochre Colour Ware had been obtained in explorations at Râjpur Pârsu and Bisauli, at spots from which the Hoards had been recovered earlier. This suggests a cultural association between the Ware and the Hoards.

At Hastinâpur, Meerut district, Uttar Pradesh, sherds of this Ware were found below the Painted Grey Ware, with a clear break in between. This gives to the Ochre Colour Ware a date prior to *c.* 1200 B.C. If the Lothal fragment is what it is surmised to be, the Copper Hoard Culture should be deemed to have coexisted at least with a late stage of the Indus Civilization; probably as its variant.

At Rûpar in the Punjab and at Âlamgirpur in Uttar Pradesh, the Painted Grey Ware Culture is found to overlie the Harappa Culture, with a break in between. It may broadly be placed between *c.* 1100 and 600 B.C. The upper limit of this bracket seems to be confirmed by a Carbon-14 determination (1025–110 B.C.) of a charcoal sample from Atranji-kherâ, district Etah.

The Painted Grey Ware, as the name indicates, is grey in colour and is painted in black pigment. The commoner types are bowls and dishes. The painted designs include simple bands, groups of vertical, oblique and criss-cross lines, sigmas, *svastikas*, chains of short spirals, rows of dots and dashes, concentric circles and semi-circles.

The main concentration of the Painted Grey Ware seems to have been in Southern Punjab, Northern Râjasthân and Western Uttar Pradesh. There are, besides, examples at Lâkhiyo Pir in Sind, Ujjayinî in Madhya Pradesh, Sohâgaurâ in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Charan in the Punjab.

Among the more important sites in the region of concentration, mention may be made of Ahicchatra, Ālamgīrpur, Atranji-kherā, Bāghpat, Bairāt, Barnāwa, Hastināpur, Indraprastha (Purāna Qila at Delhi), Kurukṣetra (Kurukshetra), Mathurā, Pānīpat, Rūpar, Srāvastī and Tilpat.

Available evidence shows that the Painted Grey Ware people lived in houses of mud or wattle-and-daub. There is no evidence of kiln-burnt brick; and even that of mud-brick is not very satisfactory. Agriculture and cattle-breeding seem to have been the main occupation of the people. At Hastināpur, there is evidence of rice, impressions of which occur at Lothal in pottery and in charred remains at Nāvḍāṭoḷi. To the dietary were also added mutton, beef and pork, as suggested by the occurrence of charred bones with sharp cut-marks of sheep, goat, cattle, buffalo and pig. As for other domesticated animals, particular mention may be made of the horse (*Equus caballus*), the presence of which in the Indus Culture is somewhat doubtful.

The Painted Grey Ware people belonged to a full-fledged metal age—there is no evidence of any lithic tools like microliths or polished stone axes. At Hastināpur have been found an arrow-head, nail-parer and an antimony rod of copper; and although the earlier digging had yielded only slags of iron from the upper strata, subsequent (1962) work has brought to light a few iron artifacts as well. At Ālamgīrpur and Atranji-kherā, iron objects have been reported to occur right from the beginning of the Painted Grey Ware occupation. They comprise barbed arrow-heads, spearheads, nails, etc. Ālamgīrpur has also yielded a few terracotta animal figurines with incised decoration and an oblong die of bone. From Hastināpur come bangles of bone and glass, a whetstone of slate and cylindrical objects of chert and jasper. On the basis of evidence from other sites, the last mentioned ones would seem to be ear-studs, probably with a covering of gold foil. Pointed tools of bone might have been used either as arrow-heads or for weaving. They have often been called *styli*, but so far no inscription has been found in the Painted Grey Ware levels.

The Painted Grey Ware occupation at Hastināpur came to an end because of a heavy flood in the Gaṅgā, which washed away a considerable portion of the settlement. Signs of this devastation are left on the mound in the form of an erosional scar, while some of the washed-away material has also been encountered in the river bed at a depth of about 12 m. below the sub-soil water level.

The story of Hastināpur seems to have been continued at Kauśāmbī, further down the valley. Here occur massive mud defences externally revetted with burnt-bricks, as also a stone-built palace. A first century inscription found in a monastery area at Kauśāmbī identifies the spot as Ghoṣitārāma where the Buddha is known to have stayed during his visit to king Udayana's capital.

7. Rajasthan

Rājasthān comprises two major geographical units, marked off from each other by the Arāvalli range running south-west to north-east. The north-western region may further be divided into the northerly area comprising the now dry valley of the Ghaggar, and the southerly part consisting of the Thar Desert relieved in the southernmost sector by the Lūni river. The Arāvalli is a classic example of the saying: 'rivers unite and mountains divide.'

In the Ghaggar valley, the pre-Harappan Chalcolithic Culture at Kāli Banga is the earliest proto-historic culture. Whether it had any relationship with the microlithic industries in the same valley, is a matter for further investigation. It is yet to be ascertained how far this pre-Harappan Culture contributed to texture of Harappa Culture. Of the latter, quite a few sites have been explored along the valley, amongst which, in addition to Kāli Banga, Tarkhanwala-Dera may be noted for its size.

The next cultural phase in the Ghaggar valley is represented by the Painted Grey Ware, the more noteworthy sites being Chak-86 and Sardārgarh. An interesting point here is that the Painted Grey Ware people were fond of 'breaking new ground', in contrast at Rūpar or Ālamgīrpur, they settled on deserted Harappan mounds.

The proto-history of the Thar Desert is not known. In the hilly tracts of South-eastern Rājasthān, the Banās is the principal river. On its banks, as also on those of some of its tributaries, has been discovered a proto-historic culture characterized in the main by a black-and-red ware painted in a pinkish white pigment with linear and pseudo-geometric patterns. Important sites of this culture are Ahar and Gilund, on the outskirts of Udaipur and in the Bhīlwāra district respectively. The culture is known after Ahar, the site where it was first identified and also, after the principal river, the Banās.

At Ahar, two main periods have been identified. They belong respectively to the proto-historic Ahar Culture and to early historical times. On the basis of pottery, the former period is further divisible into three subperiods, IA, IB, and IC. While the characteristic white-painted black-and-red ware continued throughout the period, subperiod IA was distinguished by the presence of buff and cream-slipped wares, the latter disappearing in IB, when a highly-fired, chocolate-coloured ware came into existence. In IC, the bowl in the white-painted black-and-red ware showed distinctive carination, and there also occurred a few sherds of the lustrous red ware typical of the post-Harappa Culture at Rangpur in Gujarāt. It is, therefore, clear that in its last stages the Ahar Culture outlived the Harappa Culture. Carbon-14 determination places the middle levels of subperiod IA in 1725±140 B.C.

The inhabitants of Ahar lived in large houses made of stone-rubble

or wattle-and-daub, with occasional use of mud-bricks. One room is 9 x 4.5 m. At Gilund, however, the houses are mostly of mud-bricks and there is also a structure of kiln-burnt bricks. Mention may be made of a series of parallel mud-brick walls, the intermediary space stuffed with sand; it is likely that they represent the podium of a granary, the superstructure being that of wood. Hearths, single or composite (the latter having as many as five units), and clay-lined storage pits have also been found. The use of copper is proved by the discovery at Ahar of five celts, besides bangles and rings. The absence of stone tools suggests that the Ahar Culture is of the Copper Age. Other objects associated with the Banās Culture are saddle querns, mullers of stone, animal figurines, gamesmen and spindle whorls of terracotta, many of them with incised patterns.

8. Central India

By the beginning of the second millennium B.C., parts of Central India, in particular the valleys of the Narmadā and Chambal, had entered the food-producing stage. Where exactly it began is not yet known. Excavations at a few sites—Maheshwar and Nāvḍaṭoḷi on the Narmadā, Āwra and Nāgda on the Chambal and Eran on the Bīna—have revealed the existence of people among whose lithic blade tools may still be found a small percentage of microliths. They were farmers, living in settlements with mud-wall fortifications as at Eran, or open and nucleated villages as at Nāvḍaṭoḷi. The houses at the latter site consisted of one or two rooms made by closely set wooden posts. These were further enclosed by a bamboo screen, plastered with clay from inside and outside and coated with lime. The roofs were presumably flat or conical depending upon the plan of the hut, and made with reeds and mud laid on a bamboo screen. There were vessels for cooking, eating, drinking and storing and querns for grinding grain, and several types of mullers for pounding. Small, round, ball-like, stones might have served as sling stones, and others with a flatter base as weights. Except a few small and large storage vessels and huge plates for kneading dough, the pottery is painted. The black-on-red pottery predominates, but there is a small proportion of white-on-cream or yellow and white-on-black surface. The last two occur in Phases I and II, but the former continues throughout the life of the settlement, which on several Carbon-14 determinations lasted for at least 500 years (1700 B.C.–1200 B.C.). Some of the pottery shapes—the stemmed cups, channel-spouted bowls and small water vessels (*loṭās*)—become rare later and have a graceful outline and design. Nearly 500 of these have been listed. There were two kinds of *cūlhā*, single-mouthed and multi-mouthed, the latter having surprisingly low walls and lime-plastered foreground.

The early farmers grew two kinds of wheat, a small variety with blunted ends and a longer one with pointed ends. There were five kinds of legumes —*masūr* or lentil, *urd* or black gram, *muṅg* or green gram, *maṭar* or green peas and *lathyrus* (*rawan*), besides four other unidentified leguminous seeds. Food was probably cooked with linseed oil, as is done even today in parts of Uttar Pradesh. Rice enters the dietary of the inhabitants in Phase II (*c*.1500 B.C.). This is the earliest occurrence of rice as well as lentil, linseed and *urd*.

How these grains were cultivated is not known, for no remains of plough have been found. A large number of stone rings, if not used as mace-heads, might have served as weights for digging sticks.

The stalks of wheat were cut probably with sickles of wood set with chalcedony teeth; likewise knives for cutting and slashing were made with similar small blades of identical stone, thousands of which have been found at Nāvḍaṭoḷi.

While vegetarian food formed the principal part of the diet, the presence of the remains of cattle, pig, sheep or goat in the house debris shows that animals were domesticated and also eaten, at least by a part of the population.

The early farmers of Mālwa were apparently fairly well off and perhaps quite self-sufficient, though probably dependent for copper which was used sparingly and occurs in small quantities as flat axes, fish-hooks, pins, rings and daggers or swords with raised mid-rib. Contact with Rājasthān, Saurāshtra and the Deccan is indicated by the presence of a black-and-red ware painted in white, lustrous red ware and a fine matt-ware respectively.

Whatever be the final date for the disappearance of this Chalcolithic Culture in Mālwa and elsewhere—Eran, Nāgda, Āwra and Maheshwar—it was succeeded by a culture characterized by a plain black-and-red ware, a few sherds of the Northern Black Polished Ware, punch-marked coins and iron. Probably this Iron Age was ushered in by the rise of Ujjayinī, which according to tradition and literary evidence, was the capital of Pradyota, a contemporary of the Buddha. Like Kauśāmbī, Ujjayinī was one of the *Mahājanapadas* of the North and had formidable defences. The fact that it had iron in its earliest phase is confirmed by archaeology.

9. Eastern India

Eastern India falls into three geographical units: the sub-Himālayan region of Assam, the alluvial plains of the Gaṅgā, and the Chota Nāgpur plateau merging with the hilly tracts of Orissa.

Except for small polished stone axes, the sub-Himālayan region of

Assam is *terra incognita* as regards pre-historic and proto-historic periods.

At Kuchai in the Mayūrbhanj district of Orissa, the spade has revealed a Neolithic Culture, overlying but separated from the non-geometric microlithic industry of the Bīrbhānpur type. This culture is characterized by polished stone axes having usually a rectangular or trapezoidatal cross-section, as opposed to the oval cross-section of their southern counterparts. As no specimen of the highly polished shouldered adze with a South East Asian bias has been encountered, it is difficult to say if and where this type fits into the complex; it could have appeared on the scene at a late stage. Found along with the axes at Kuchai was a coarse, brownish-red ware, occasionally slipped and incised. There is at present no evidence to date this culture precisely, but *c.* 1000 B.C. may not be far wrong.

The more noteworty findspots of the Copper Hoard Culture are Hami and Baragunda in Bihār, Tamajuri in West Bengal, and Bhagrapir and Dunria in Orissa. Although the 'bar' and 'shouldered' celts are represented in both stone and metal, there is no stratigraphic evidence to determine the relationship between the Copper Hoard and the Eastern Neolithic Cultures.

Unrelated to either of the cultures is the one found in the lower levels of Pāṇḍurājār-ḍhibi, in Burdwān district, West Bengal. It is characterized by white-painted black-and-red and black-on-red wares which, though not the same as their counterparts at Ahar and Nāvḍāṭoḷi, may not be altogether unrelated to them. And the difference is perhaps accounted for by the time factor, for Carbon-14 determination places the Pāṇḍurājār-ḍhibi Culture in the last quarter of the second millennium B.C. The people lived in houses of wattle-and-daub and used copper tools, rings and bangles. Evidence regarding microliths is doubtful. The occurrence oi a few small-sized polished stone axes testifies to their use, though in a limited degree. Fully extended inhumations as well as fractional pot-burials were in vogue.

The Pāṇḍurājār-ḍhibi evidence indicates that a culture, probably a synthesis of Ahar and Central Indian Chalcolithic Cultures, spread eastwards across the Central Indian and Chota Nāgpur plateaus, along the radiating river-systems. The same pattern of culture-movements may explain the presence of a white-paintd black-and-red ware in the middle Gaṅgā valley, for example at Prahlādpur in Vārānasi district, at Chirand in Sāran district, Bihār, and at Sohāgaurā, in Gorakhpur district, Uttar Pradesh. It is not unlikely that the unpainted black-and-red ware occurring in the earliest levels at Sonpur in Southern Bihār may also be the relics of such a diffusion.

At Sonpur, the black-and-red ware is followed by the Northern Black Polished Ware and iron, and a few specimens of polished stone axes which may be stray survivals. The Northern Black Polished Ware phase brings us to the middle of the first millennium B.C. when Vaiśālī and Rājgīr, both in Bihār, vied with each other as capitals of the respective

kingdoms. A more or less contemporary site in West Bengal seems to have been Tamluk on the mouth of the Rūpnārāyaṇ river, which, at the beginning of the Christian era, became the foremost Indo-Roman trading station in Eastern India.

10. Gujarat

It is not known what happened to the Lānghnaj people. However, the next phase in Gujarāt seems to be that represented by the Harappa Culture found at Rangpur, Lothal, and Rojdi.

The Harappa Culture in this region has certain peculiarities—white-painted black-and-red ware; it has therefore been termed as 'Saurāshtra' or 'Kāthiāwār' Harappan Culture. Contemporary with the Harappan, was a culture identified at Somnāth and a few other coastal sites, and distinguished by bowls of greyish-buff ware with linear and geometric designs on the exterior in a chocolate-to-reddish pigment.

A change in the Harappa Culture at Lothal had set in at the beginning of the 19th century B.C. Harappan painted designs decreased and new pottery-forms came into being. Chert blades were replaced by those of chalcedony and jasper. This was continued at Rangpur where towards the end of Period II, a lustrous red slip began to be applied to the pottery. In Period III, this Lustrous Red Ware became the most dominant ceramic industry. With the Harappans disappeared their town-planning and kiln-burnt bricks.

The Lustrous Red Ware phase was followed by that of plain black-and-red ware, associated with iron. Not long after, the Northern Black Polished Ware also appeared, bringing the story well into early historical times.

11. Northern Deccan

After crossing the Narmadā, one comes across two twins of chalcolithic sites: Prakāsha and Korat on the northern and southern banks of the Tāptī respectively, and Bahāl and Tekvāda located on the banks of the Girna, a tributary of the Tāptī. In each case, the first site represents a settlement and the other a burial-ground.

Further south, in the upper Godāvarī valley, a somewhat different culture-complex seems to have been evolved. At Daimabād, Ahmadnagar district, the occupational strata fall into three subperiods. In subperiod A, the inhabitants used microliths, polished stone axes and a coarse grey ware with incised and applique decorations, there also being a few black-on-red sherds. The black-on-red ware, however, became dominant in the following subperiod—some of the painted designs were similar to those

from Prakāsha and Nāvdāṭoli. There was also a piece of the channel-spouted bowl in the Mālwa ware, leaving little doubt about trans-Narmadā contacts. But during this subperiod also occur a few examples of the tubular spout, which, together with the carination at the waist of bowls, became the distinctive feature of the pottery in subperiod C. The ware with these typical shapes and a matt, red surface, has been found at many other sites in the Deccan, including Jorwe, Nevāsa and Chāṇdoli.

The Jorwe or Northern Deccan Chalcolithic people lived in houses of mud or wattle-and-daub and used, besides the above-mentioned pottery, blades, points, borers and scrapers of jasper and chalcedony, polished axes of fine-grained basalt, celts, rings, and bangles of copper and beads of semi-precious stones, shell and steatite. From Chāṇdoli, comes a copper spearhead, with the tang bifurcated for hafting. The disposal of the dead presents some interesting features. Children would seem to have been exposed first and then placed in urns and buried underneath the house floor or close by. Urns or big jars were used in the case of adults who, however, were placed full length. In certain cases as many as three to five jars were used for adults; there were also adult burials without any jar. Alongside the dead were placed one or more of spouted vases and bowls, probably containing drinks and edibles. From Nevāsa comes a necklace of a child, the copper beads of which were strung with silk and cotton threads. In a similar case at Chāṇdoli, flax was used.

The Northern Deccan Chalcolithic Culture has some features not met with in the Central Indian one e.g., polished stone axes and urn-burials. The Godāvarī valley received these elements through contacts with South India. In return, perhaps the Northern Deccan Chalcolithic Culture passed on to the Southern Neolithic Culture, the black-on-red pottery and copper. While further details including the early stages of this give-and-take yet remain to be worked out, it ought to be noted, as a significant fact, that the region between the Tāptī and the Upper Kṛṣṇā, was the meeting point of the cultures of the North and the South.

Carbon-14 determinations from Nevāsa and Chāṇdoli place the Northern Deccan Chalcolithic Culture in the second half of the second millennium B.C. How late and in what form the Culture continued is difficult to say at the moment. However, those who re-occupied Nevāsa later had totally given up the painted-pottery tradition. Instead, they used the black-and-red ware along with a scattering of the Northern Black Polished Ware. A system of coinage had also come into being and iron too was in use. This picture of the second settlement at Nevāsa is not dissimilar to that encountered in Central India during the early historical times.

12. South India

Very little is known of what followed the Microlithic Culture represented at the *teris*. However, in the later half of the third millennium B.C., when the Harappans were dominating the North-west, we find South India occupied by people who used polished stone axes. Made of fine grained basalt, these axes had usually a splayed-out cutting-edge, pointed butt and oval section. Along with the preponderance of lithic blade tools, true microliths, probably survivals from an earlier cultural substratum were also in use. It was at a later stage that copper entered the tool-repertoire.

People preferred to live on or around granitic hills, which are a conspicuous feature of Central and Lower Deccan. Their houses were either round or rectangular, some of the recently excavated ones being 2.4–6 m. wide. The walls largely made of wattle-and-daub, were supported inside by 7½ cm. thick wooden posts and a bamboo screen. The roof was either conical or flat, made of bamboo strips and reeds and covered with dry leaves and clay.

Huge and burnt dung heaps, masses of cattle bones in their habitation debris, and paintings and bruisings of bulls on flat rock surfaces, give visible proof of what an important part cattle played in the life of these people. They were mainly pastoral people, though the occurrence of charred grains of *kulath* and boat-shaped querns in their houses indicate incipient agriculture. But in the absence of ring-stones, it is difficult to visualize how this was carried on. The other main activity of the people was felling of trees and dressing of wood, for which a large number of varied types of ground or polished tools (axes, chisels, adzes) of fine grained basalt and diorite, were made. For cutting plants and vegetables and boring holes in bone and wood, small blades, some beautifully denticulated, points and awls of chert, jasper and chalcedony, were used. Penknife-shaped blades or asymmetrical points and lunates could have been employed as teeth for harpoons and sickles. Small round balls of stone were probably used as sling stones. Extremities of cattle bones were also ground into bone tools such as chisels and spatula.

Pottery—burnished grey, buff, pale red—had highly sophisticated shapes. Besides the usual bowls and dishes, it included tea-kettle like spouted vessels for pouring liquid, strainers and cups with three or more legs and hollow pedestals. For ornaments, as elsewhere, only beads of agate, carnelian and steatite were used. Three gold ornaments have been discovered at Tekkaḷkoṭā recently, proving that the local gold deposits and gold-bearing river sands were exploited.

The dead were buried in the habitation area itself. Infants, usually placed in foetal position, were buried in urns, while adults were given an extended burial in an oblong pit. With the latter, several pots were

also placed. A spouted vessel in one instance and a footed cup in another, placed near the head, suggested some kind of ritual.

The more noteworthy sites of this culture are : Brahmagiri, Sangankalla, Tekkalkoṭā, Piklihāl, Maski and T. Narsipur in Mysore state and Utnūr and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Andhra Pradesh. Some of these sites have yielded, in the later phase of this culture, black-on-red ware with paintings in white on the inside. This could perhaps be ascribed to contacts with the Northern Deccan Chalcolithic or even Central Indian Chalcolithic Cultures.

The Neolithic-Chalcolithic amalgam, which seems to have been round about 2000 B.C. as Carbon–14 determination from Utnūr, in Mahbūbnagar district shows, is continued up to about the middle of the first millennium B.C.; it was then overlapped by the Megalithic Culture. The latter is characterized by the use of iron swords, spears, arrow-heads and axes, black-and-red pottery and fractional burials with lithic appendage. The noteworthy burial types include cists, dolmens, dolmenoid cists, pit-burials, urn or sarcophagus-burials, 'umbrella', 'hood' and stones and menhirs, etc. While fractional burial with stone accompaniment was usual, there are instances of fractional burials without the stone component as also of full burials, extended or crouched, with or without the lithic part. On the basis of the resemblance of some shapes in the black-and-red ware from Brahmagiri with those in the black-and-red ware found at Bahāl in a chalcolithic context, it is surmised that the latter might have given rise to the former. We still lack adequate data to trace the origin and development of the Megalithic Culture. It may, incidentally, be added that the megalithic burials find an echo in the Tamil literature of the early centuries of the Christian era.

About the beginning of the Christian era, the Megalithic Culture was overlapped by what has been called Andhra Culture on account of the occurrence of Andhra coins. The distinctive pottery of the period was a white-painted reddish-brown ware known as the Russet-coated Painted Ware. This is also the time when South India had a large volume of trade with the Roman world, as shown by the occurrence, at numerous sites, of Roman coins, glass-work, and pottery, the more noteworthy in the last item being the arretine and the amphora.

13. Kashmir

The valley of Kashmīr has something unique to offer. Here lived, at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C., a people for whom underground pits were residence and bone and antlers among the principal tool-materials as shown by excavations at Burzahom near Srīnagar.

Cut into the *karewa* beds, the dwelling-pits were roughly circular and

had a narrow mouth (1–2½ m. in diameter), tapering sides and a wide bottom (2–4½ m. in diameter). They were fairly deep (1½ to 4 m.), there being landing steps in the deeper ones. Sometimes two neighbouring pits were interconnected with a tunnelled passage. The presence of post-holes along the periphery of the mouth in certain cases suggests thatched roofing. This arrangement was dictated by extreme cold in the region.

Their tools of bone and antler comprised unilateral and bilateral harpoons, points, awls, chisels, needles and burnishers, polished stone axes, harvesters, rings and pounders. The presence of polished stone axes and the absence of any metal from the early levels at Burzahom, make it Neolithic Culture.

In Phase II of Burzahom, the inhabitants began to use copper, though in a limited degree. Their dwellings were either of wattle-and-daub or of mud-brick. In Phase III, the structures were made of stone rubble. To this Phase belong menhirs which seem to have had a funerary association.

Belonging to Phase II and III and lying within the habitation area itself were human and animal burials. The human burials were characterized by the reclining posture of the body, use of red ochre on the bones and the trepanning of the skull. The buried animals included dog, wolf and ibex. In one instance, there were as many as five wild dogs along with antlers.

Characteristic of this culture is a burnished grey ware with mat-impressed designs on the exterior of the base. From Phase II onwards there is burnished black ware also.

How long this culture, inclusive of the metallic phase survived, is difficult to say. For, at Burzahom there is a gap between the last phase of this culture and the next occupation which, with its red-ware industry and iron implements, is ascribable to the early centuries of the Christian era.

The North-western Neolithic Culture has no parallels in India. One may have to look beyond the frontiers, perhaps towards Central Asia, for tracing the origins of the culture.

14. Retrospect

As time passed, elements of organized civic life became apparent : planning of the entire township ; a regular drainage system ; standardization of weights and measures and a system of writing came into being. Arts and crafts began to develop. By the second half of the third millennium B.C., there emerged in the north-western part of the subcontinent a civilization far more advanced than its contemporaries in other parts of the world.

But the greater part of the subcontinent was at a low level of culture. In South India, people were using microliths and polished stone axes ; there were no towns not to speak of 'town-planning'. Central and Eastern India were more or less in a similar state.

By about 1700 B.C., the great Indus Civilization faded away. But it left a legacy to the regional cultures of the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. in Rājasthān and Central India.

Stone and copper or the latter alone continued to be the materials for tools throughout the 2nd millennium B.C. and it was only about the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. that iron came on the scene. The use of iron spread fast, and far and wide, and before the middle of that millennium, a full-fledged Iron Age had emerged—swords, lances, arrow-heads and axes. About this time, in Northern India, the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* came into being. The capitals were fortified, and within the fortifications were located large-sized secular and religious buildings, made of kiln-burnt bricks. At Kauśāmbī, the excavators have indentified a stone-built palace. A system of coinage (punch-marked and cast copper coins) came into being. Even the common man's items, for example, pottery, show a great uniformity throughout Northern India. The Northern Black Polished Ware, while greatly concentrated in the North, has been found as far south as Chebrolu in Andhra Pradesh, as far north-west as Udegram in Afghānistān, and as far east as Candraketugaṛh in West Bengal. This is the time when, prior to the Christian era, the maximum cultural synthesis had been achieved in the country.

On the present evidence it is difficult to, say which of the cultures has early Aryan content. It cannot be the Indus Civilization as the horse, the animal *par excellence* of the Aryans, is absent. The Indus seals do not represent it. Nor has Cemetry H Culture any strong claim as it is confined to Harappa and two sites in Bahāwalpur state, whereas the Aryan Culture was widespread. Besides, at Harappa there is a stratigraphical gap. The claim of the Copper Hoard Culture is also unsubstantiated as its typical objects, harpoon and anthropomorphic figures, have no parallels in West Asia through which the Aryans came. Nor can the Chalcolithic Culture be called Aryan, even though its pottery types—stemmed chalice and channel-spouted bowls—have their parallels in Irān through which the Aryans came. The remains of the Chalcolithic Culture should, if it is Aryan, be found in North India where the Aryans settled first. But it is not so.

The claims of the Painted Grey Ware Culture to be that of the early Aryan are supported by two facts : the region where this Culture is found—Southern Punjab, Northern Rājasthān and Uttar Pradesh—is precisely the one first occupied by the early Aryans from the Vedic to the Purāṇic times ; and the accepted date-range of this culture (last quarter of 2nd millennium B.C. to 700 B.C.) is also the early Aryan period

in India. Terracotta figures of the horse, as also the bones of horses found at Hastinâpur tell the same story. The Mahâbhârata War took place in 10th century B.C. and the Painted Grey Ware belongs to this period and is found at the sites of the war—Hastinâpur, Indraprastha and Kurukṣetra.

While doubt might exist about the use of iron by the *Ṛg-Vedic* Aryans, the consensus of opinion is that by the time of the *Atharva Veda* the Aryans were fully acquainted with the metal and sharply distinguished *śyâma* or black iron from *lohita* or red copper or bronze. Of the four cultures mentioned above, the Painted Grey Ware Culture alone can claim the use of iron. From the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. to the 1st century A.D., there flourished in South India—the region where the Dravidian languages are spoken today—a Culture known as Megalithic. Tamil (*Śaṅgam*) literature refers to the various types of Megalithic burials. Their archaeological predecessors were the Southern Neolithic people, who by *c.* 1000 B.C. had acquired a few traits from their northerly chalcolithic neighbours. There is no inscription of the Neolithic people and the few symbols that occur on megalithic pottery are still undeciphered.

C. FUSION OF CIVILIZATION

A cardinal feature of Indian history is the influx of successive streams of peoples and cultures, all merging in the calm levels of the Indian lake. As Rabindranath Tagore observes :

"No one knows whence and at whose call came pouring endless inundations of men rushing madly along to lose themselves in the sea : Aryans and non-Aryans, Dravidians and Chinese, Scythians, Huns, Pathans and Moghuls—all are mixed, merged and lost in one body."

The Indo-Pakistân subcontinent which lies along the southern fringe of the Eurasian land-mass, was one of the four great centres of culture in the ancient world, the others being Egypt, West Asia and China. Between them lay the great arid or semi-arid land-mass of Central Asia, whence nomads often sallied forth in all directions leaving fire and destruction in their wake. While other centres of civilization lay athwart great international highways which became the channels of cultural exchange, India was virtually cut off from the rest of the world by the lofty Himâlayan ranges. Her isolation would have been complete if there had not been a feeder route running via Gandhâra and the Kâbul valley. The main trans-continental communication connecting West Asia and China ran across the Hindu Kush and Pamirs and along the valleys of Syr-Daria and Amu-Daria and the shores of the Caspian Sea. All the routes met in Bactria. While the feeder route to India brought in invaders, the lofty

mountains of India cut them off from the outside world once they had entered India, as a result of which they lost their identity in the main stream of Indian culture. The rhythms of Indian civilization have always been slower and its pulsations less violent than in West Asia. We do not have the quick and brilliant flowering of the Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Assyrian and Achaemenid art. Each phase of cultural development tended to overlap the next, thus lending a modicum of continuity and permanence.

In India there has been a harmonious adjustment of the physical and cultural environments. Each wave of immigrants into the country was faced with three alternatives : absorption, isolation and extinction, and the physical features within the subcontinent facilitated the co-existence of higher and lower cultures. The latter sought refuge in remote areas, uncongenial to a civilization based on agricultural economy. These refuge areas of lower cultures, which may be described as the areas of isolation or retardation, have played a vital role in the historical geography of India. They have become buffer zones separating the main foci of the regional cultures of India. The three main refuge areas are as follows :-

(i) The largest single area is the Vindhyan complex, comprising the Sâtpura, Vindhya, Mahâdeo hills, Gāwīlgarh, Maikala range, Hazāribāgh range, and the plateau of Chota Nāgpur, Singhbhūm and Mânbhūm.

(ii) On the west, and running at right angles to the Vindhyan complex, is the Western belt beginning with the Arāvalli, and the long chain of the Western Ghâts running down to the southern tip of the Peninsula.

(iii) The third system connects the great eastern forest belt and runs parallel to the coast up to 13° N.latitude and deflects westwards to meet the Western Ghâts below the plateau of Mysore.

The culture-regions of India are best defined on the basis of physical and cultural buffer zones. Bounded by the Arāvalli and the desert of Rājasthān in the east and the Sulaimān and Kīrthar ranges in the west, is the Indus basin, draining the Central Himālayas. This can be divided at the point where the desert and the hills converge near the Bugti country, giving rise to the Punjab and Sind. The Gaṅgā basin begins from the Indo-Gaṅgā divide and extends eastwards. Its delta forms the deltaic Bengal. The valley of the Brahmaputra constitutes Assam. The triangular area forming the southern flanks of the Gaṅgā basin, drained by the rivers Chambal, Banās, Śiprā, Śoṇa and Narmadā (linking Central India with the Arabian Sea), is Mālwa and its eastern appendage, Bundelkhand. Lying south of the Vindhya range and constituting the upper basin of the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā, is Mahārāshtra. The lower basins of these two major rivers constitute Āndhra. The rocky triangle formed by the Eastern and the Western Ghâts and comprising the southern

basin of the Kṛṣṇā is Mysore or Karṇāṭaka. The southern littoral from 13° N.latitude, and beginning from the constriction of the Nagari hills and the Pulicat lake, is Tamilnād. The small coastal plain, on either side of the Pālghāt gap in the Western Ghāts, is Kerala. The valley of the Mahānadī is Orissa. The northern part of the western littoral and the peninsula of Saurāshtra constitute Gujarāt. The semi-arid area to the north of Gujarāt, occupying either side of the Arāvalli, constitutes Rājasthān.

The communication system is regulated by physical features. One line of communication runs from the openings in the north-west, across the upper courses of the Sindhu and its tributaries and along the Gaṅgā to its delta. The second ancient highway (now called the Great Deccan Road) runs from the Central Gaṅgā basin (ancient Magadha) to the West Coast along and across the Vindhyas. The third highway links the West Coast with the East Coast and skirts the Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā. Lastly, the Tamilnād is connected to Andhra Pradesh and Karṇāṭaka by the Nallamalai hills. These four highways constitute the four arms of what is called the "Z" pattern. This pattern, so well demonstrated by Indian history and archaeology, isolates regions like Assam, Kashmīr, Gujarāt, and Orissa. In these areas of relative isolation occurs a curious pattern of survivals and cultural developments. Gujarāt is an instance of the area of relative isolation. It received maritime influences first and continental influences later. Thus the Indus Civilization with its maritime character survived in a pure form in Saurāshtra for a longer period than in the rest of India.

The physical features of the subcontinent and the communication system conditioned by them help us to understand the cultural diversity within the subcontinent. The main river basins constitute the areas of attraction, and the tribal areas are those of retardation and isolation. Between them lay the areas of relative isolation.

Such is the geographical framework in which the great synthesis has been taking place throughout Indian history. Various peoples and cultures that moved into this subcontinent were subjected to the dynamic factors imposed by her geography, primarily in her relation with the rest of Eurasia and secondarily also within the country. There was access by land from the west (Khyber and Bolān passes) and from the east and north-east (Burma and Tibet). The other main line is maritime. Taking the fundamental concept of areas of attraction, relative isolation, and isolation, primarily based on geography, we can define the pattern of development of civilization in India as the horizontal expansion of the higher cultures, leading to a contraction and isolation of the lower cultures in different parts of the country, at different periods and at different cultural levels.

From the close of the Second Ice Age in the Punjab and Kashmīr and its corresponding phase in the Peninsula, India seems to have had

during the Early Stone Age two stone tool-making traditions. So far no remains of the men who made those tools have been found. It is therefore difficult to say whether these different traditions belong to distinct racial groups or the same racial stock. If there were two separate racial groups, the subsequent development within the Early Stone Age would represent some kind of fusion, either of the tool traditions only or of the two racial groups as well.

The next stage in man's development, the Middle Stone Age, poses similar problems. The tools are different in type and raw material from those of the Early Stone Age. But the basic techniques remain the same. Although there are no skeletal remains of the Middle Stone Age Culture, it might be taken to represent new immigrants under whose impact the old culture changed.

The last phase of the food-collecting stage, which we have designated as Late Stone Age, was in many ways more advanced than the two earlier stages. Beginnings of agriculture and domestication of animals might have taken place during this time or towards its close. The distribution of the remains of this Stone Age shows that at one time the entire Indo-Pākistān subcontinent, or large parts of it, were occupied by these food-gatherers. Later, the expansion of the food-producers pushed them into hilly and forested areas. Some scholars think that the primitive tribes in India like the Kādars of Cochin and the Cencus of the Godāvarī basin are residual elements of this cultural stage.

In view of the general typological affinity of the microlithic industries of the Indo-Pākistān subcontinent, the basic similarity of its environments with those of Africa, West Asia, Ceylon and Australia, the admitted earlier existence of such cultures in these countries and the suspected Veddid strain (Australoid) in some of the present tribes and the skeletal material from a few sites like Lānghnaj and Nevāsa, would seem to show that even this Stone Age Culture is in some way indebted to the influence of the adjoining regions.

It is now known where and how in India the transition to a higher way of life took place—a life marked by permanent settlements, ground or polished tools, domestication of animals, the beginnings of agriculture, and the first use of copper tools. Surveys have brought to light several areas, each with some special features : painted pottery of a red fabric in the north-west and west, and then of a grey fabric also painted ; preponderance of polished tools from Central Deccan up to Salem district of Tamilnādu, and on the flanks of the Vindhya range in Madhya Pradesh and along the Kaimur hills of Uttar Pradesh. In Assam and Orissa, these polished stone tools are of a different character (square shouldered).

The considerable regional differentiation is partly due to the availability of raw material and nearness to continental highways, and partly to the arrival of new peoples or new ideas. The Indus Civilization is essentially

"Indian" in character. Several European scholars, however, argue that its painted pottery tradition might have been initially derived from Īrān, while the idea of town planning might have come from Irāq, both preceded by the advent of food-production in the submontane zone of Irāq. We have here an excellent synthesis of the West Asian and Indian (Indus) venture in urbanization.

Within India itself, the early food-producing communities on the Narmadā, Chambal and Banās, Godāvarī, Pravara, Tāptī and Girna seem to represent a distant echo of the movements of peoples and ideas, again from Īrān and West Asia. Two items of these cultures, pottery types and their decorative motifs, and cereals like lentil and linseed point to West Asian origins. Penetration of West Asian influences, by whatever cultural and racial names we might call them, is postulated for the Central Deccan Neolithic, though some scholars would connect one of its chief elements, the ground or polished stone axe, with South East Asia. There is little doubt that South East Asian contacts were responsible for the introduction of the square shouldered axe in Orissa and Assam. This may be roughly assigned to the first millennium B.C.

Towards the end of this period another large movement of peoples bearing the Painted Grey Ware is evident in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab, the Punjab and the Sarasvatī valley in Rājasthān. The juxtaposition of several Painted Grey Ware sites with many of the towns and villages mentioned in connection with the Kaurava-Pāṇḍava story in the *Mahābhārata* is cited to show that in all probability the bearers of this pottery were a branch of the Aryans, who are believed to have entered India a few centuries earlier.

If so, the ochre-coloured pottery which is now found in still earlier deposits from Chandīgarh in the north to Vārānasi in the east and at one or two sites where previously copper hoards had been found, should belong to a still earlier branch of the Aryans or some pre-Aryan people. Likewise, we shall have to attribute a fine black-and-red pottery, occasionally painted in white on the inside and found at a number of sites in the ancient Magadha and Kosala to some Aryan or pre-Aryan tribes, spreading eastwards from Eastern Rājasthān.

Whether we call it a fusion or synthesis, there is little doubt that it is the authors of some of the above mentioned cultures (strictly speaking, pottery industries) who later get a habitation and a name in the Vedic literature, Purāṇas and early Jaina and Buddhist texts.

But a common, generalized pattern of material as well as linguistic culture which brought about the Mauryan empire in the North and the Āndhra empire in the Deccan effacing various regional or local manifestations is now documented by archaeology, in particular by the spread of iron all over India, and certain types of pottery fabrics, beads and other items of material culture. The same process further south seems to have

started a few centuries earlier, as the distribution of the megalithic monuments and the Dravidian languages show.

Further fusion of cultures took place with the spread of Sanskrit or when Sanskrit became a court language both in the North and the South. With that were adopted, with great modifications at times, Brahmanic gods and goddesses and a variety of practices which are best described in the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*.

Archaeological and linguistic evidence points to the evolution of Pan-Indian culture. Behind this is the main agency of this fusion—the man himself. The geographic isolation of this subcontinent and its distinct personality have led to the emergence of an ethnic conglomerate which may be described as "Indian". According to the latest system of classification, India can at best be conceived as having a single race with varying substocks or at best two races. The synthesis is the result of millennia of conflict and interaction of the various groups of people who migrated into this country. This struggle and the consequent instability of racial conditions can be ascribed to the physical diversity and the favourable geographic factors resulting from the areas of retardation and isolation of cultures. Thus the earlier elements that could not get adapted to the new culture and technology protected themselves by retreating to the forests and hilly areas. This struggle was economic and also social. Socio-anthropologists have shown that the aboriginal tribes in India represent the residual substrata or a "primitive isolate" in their transformation to a peasant and higher culture. The question whether all these are autochthonous or only the Australoid group as such and the rest due to migrations from the East and West is not yet answered.

Several attempts have been made to isolate the contribution of each of these elements without any convincing evidence. For example Negrito elements are supposed to have given us the worship of the *pipal (Ficus religiosa)*, while the emergence of Kṛṣṇa as the supreme god symbolizes the synthesis of several non-Aryan and Aryan concepts and practices.

A study of the existing main language groups, viz., Sanskrit (Indo-Aryan) ; Tibeto-Burman ; Austro-Asian ; Dravidian and their geographical distribution shows that considerable admixture has taken place between these groups. Today it is not possible to trace back all the original elements from each of these language groups. However, studies of Jules Bloch, Burrow, Chatterji, Przyluski, Sylvain Levi and Schmidt, and lately by Tolstov indicate that though Sanskrit and its offshoots—the regional languages—now dominate most of Northern India, examples can be cited of borrowings by Sanskrit from the other three groups. This fact together with the present distribution of these languages is suggestive of the original spread of the languages within India and the great fusion that has taken place in course of the millennia. Non-Aryan and pre-Aryan words, phrases and even sentence patterns have been adopted by Sanskrit

and made its own.

Racial and cultural synthesis is also reflected in our myths and legends narrated in the Purāṇas and other literature. A comparative study of the early and late Vedic literature points to their advance first eastwards into Magadha, from the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab and then southwards. This conquest was not only geographical but also cultural. Yet it was not a one way traffic. When Bihār and parts of West Bengal were being Aryanized, the Aryans absorbed some of the local culture (myths and practices). This is well illustrated by the story of the Veṇa, and the Niṣādas; the recognition of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages by the Dharma Śāstras ; the Purāṇic division of the human race (in India) into three main stocks, Manavas, Ailas and Sudyumna[1]; and the tracing of fictitious genealogies by such distant dynasties as Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas from Manu through Turvaśas. Indianization of extra-Indian myths had started much earlier and is documented in archaeology by the Indus seal where a Gilgamash-like hero stands between two tigers instead of lions as in Sumer, and in literature by the Flood legend.

Horizontal expansion of the Aryans in space, as also mention of the non-Aryans and miscegenation of myths singly and cumulatively, illustrate the continuous process of cultural fusion and synthesis.

This synthesis did not stop with the dawn of the historical period. It is a continuous process like the ever flowing Gaṅgā. Right at the beginning came the Persians, then the Greeks and later the Śakas, Kuṣāṇas, Hūṇas and Gurjaras. Archaeology—monuments and inscriptions of the first thousand years (500 B.C.—A.D. 500) bears enough testimony to the impact of these newer people, from the West and Central Asia. Hardly had the fusion and synthesis of these peoples been completed when the others came, first the Arabs, then the Turks, Afghāns and Mongols. This gave us the fine flowering of Indian Culture under the Mughals. Its decline ushered in the Europeans from the West ; and they gave birth to the Indo-Anglian Culture. But this is not all. Within India, the partition uprooted millions in the east and west and the fresh arrival of Panjābīs, Sindhīs and Bengalis and of Tibetans in a different context, has set in motion a new cultural synthesis.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL PERIOD—EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA UPTO A.D. 1206

Aryan Immigration. Some time in the 2nd millennium B.C., a new race generally called Aryans or Indo-Aryans entered India. The word Aryan is borrowed from *Árya* in Sanskrit or *Airyan* in Zend, which means 'of good family'. There are many theories about the origin of these people. The most accepted view is that they lived in the great steppe land which stretches from Poland to Central Asia.[1] They were semi-nomadic people. In the 2nd millennium B.C., they started moving from their original home and migrated westwards, southwards and eastwards. The branch which went to Europe were the ancestors of the Greeks, Romans, Celts and Teutons. Another branch went to Anatolia. The great empire of the Hittites grew up from the mixture of these people with the original inhabitants. One branch of Aryans remained in their original home. They were the ancestors of the Slavonic people. Those who moved southwards came into conflict with the West Asian civilizations. The Kassites, who conquered Babylon, belonged to this stock. In the excavations at Boghaz-koi in Asia Minor, which date about 1400 B.C., inscriptions are found containing the names of deities like Indra, Varuṇa and Nāsatya. These gods are also mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda*. To the same period as the Boghaz-koi, belong the clay tablets with cuneiform script discovered at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt where references are found of princes of Mitanni in North-west Mesopotamia, bearing Indo-Aryan names.

In the course of their journey to the east or south a group of Aryans had settled in Īrān and developed a civilization of their own. Later, one branch of them crossed the Hindu Kush and entered India through Afghānistān. They occupied the Punjab after defeating the original inhabitants and ultimately conquered the greater part of Northern India.

The Aryan invasion or rather immigration or penetration into India was not a single organized action but one extending over centuries. They came in wave after wave at short intervals, and hard struggle ensued with the indigenous people of the land. There are passages in the *Ṛg-Veda*, which indicate the severity of the struggle. The Aryans destroyed many cities of the enemies and though most of the conquered natives were ultimately reduced to slavery, they were assigned a place in society as a separate class. The exact course of Aryan expansion in India cannot be traced due to lack of archaeological evidence. It appears that after the

[1]Some Indian scholars believe that India was the original home of the Aryans, from where they migrated to different parts of Asia and Europe.

fall of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro the urban civilization of these centres came to an end. The Aryan settlements consisted of small villages with dwellings of wood and reed, which perished long ago. The history of the period between the fall of Harappa and the settlement of the Aryans in India is very little known but recent archaeological excavations are of great help in forming a general view. The dates of Aryan movements, suggested above, should, however, be regarded as provisional.

1. Rg-Vedic Civilization

Veda, the sacred book of the Aryans, is the only literary source from which we know about the Aryans in India. It is not a single individual work of a particular time. It had grown in course of centuries and was orally handed down from generation to generation. The *Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā* is the earliest literary production of the Aryans, constituting the source for the earliest phase of the Vedic civilization[1].

Social Life. Some scholars hold that the caste system, which has been a characteristic feature of Indian life, dates back to the age of the *Ṛg-Veda*. They argue that the word *varṇa* (colour) which later denoted caste, occurs in the *Ṛg-Veda*. Vedic Aryans inherited the triple or quadruple division of society as an heirloom from the Indo-European or at least the Indo-Irānian period. The word *varṇa* is used in the *Ṛg-Veda* with reference only to Ārya and Dāsa having respectively a fair and dark complexion, but never with reference to Brāhmaṇa or Rājanya (Kṣatriya), although these frequently occur in the *Ṛg-Veda*. Ārya and Dāsa differed not only in the colour of their skin but also in their worship and speech. The difference was racial and cultural. Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya and Vaiśya constituted the Ārya *varṇa* as opposed to the non-Aryans, the Dāsa *varṇa*.

Another argument advanced is that in the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, a part of the *Ṛg-Veda*, it is stated that Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra sprang respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the Cosmic Man *(Puruṣa)*, and these names later signified the four castes. But the *Puruṣa-sūkta* is a later interpolation. Other hymns in the earlier stratum refer to Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya and Vaiśya, but there is nothing to show that the classes had become hereditary. They were merely functional.

Though the professions of priest and warrior occupied a position well above the common people (*viś*), they were neither exclusive nor

[1]Rg-Vedic civilization flourished in what are now Afghanistan, the Punjab, parts of Sind and Rajasthan, North West Frontier Province, Kashmir and Eastern India up to the Sarayu (Ghaghara); Later Vedic civilization flourished in the whole of India to the north of the Narmada and some regions to the south of it.

hereditary. Priests went to the battlefield and Rājanyas performed sacrifices for others. There are instances of marriages of Brāhmaṇas with Rājanya women and of the union of Āryas and Dāsas. Further, there was no ban on taking food cooked by the Śūdras nor was there any trace of untouchability.

So in the *Ṛg-Veda,* there was a clear distinction between the Aryans and the aborigines, while there was no difference between the three classes among the Aryans with regard to heredity or exclusiveness.

Family, which was the foundation of the social and political organization, was of the patriarchal type, matriarchy being unknown. There is indisputable evidence of joint family which comprised parents, grandparents, wife, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, cousins, nephews, nieces, sisters-in-law and sometimes also the mother-in-law. Common residence, food and worship forged strong bonds of kinship among the members.

The patriarch was the head of the family. He had, in theory, absolute power over the life of the children and full control of the family property which he could divide in any way he liked. In practice, these powers were exercised judiciously. On the father's death or physical incapacity, the management of the household devolved on the eldest son.

The Aryans in India had ceased to be nomads and had taken to settled life, so that families resided in fixed dwelling houses of a primitive type, made of wood and bamboo. There were also removable houses built of wood which could be taken in parts and refixed at different sites. Though bricks were used to build fire-altars, there is no evidence of their use in other structures. Houses contained several rooms, besides a sitting room and apartments for ladies. Several such houses, built near each other for purposes of mutual defence, constituted the village ; there is no trace of city life.

Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food were taken. Wheat and barley were probably the principal foodgrains, rice was introduced later. References are found to preparations such as sweet cakes and bread. There were also milk, butter, ghee and curd as also sugar-cane, fruits and vegetables. Fish, birds, goats and sheep, horses and cattle formed part of the non-vegetarian menu, the food being cooked in earthen pots or roasted on pits. Some Indian scholars, however, hold the view that the *Ṛg-Vedic* Aryans were vegetarians. Drinks included *soma,* the exhilarating juice of a hill plant, its use being restricted to religious ceremonies and *surā,* a mild intoxicating drink. In some verses of the *Ṛg-Veda,* the drinking of *surā* was not looked upon with favour. It was, however, condemned in later times.

The dress normally consisted of two or three garments—an undergarment, garment, and overgarment or mantle. Garments were usually made of wool or skin, and coloured yellow and red. Gold ornaments, such as necklaces, ear-rings, anklets and bracelets were worn by both men and

women. Hair was combed and oiled. Women wore it in plaits, while men sometimes had it done in coils. Men put on turbans and grew beards, though shaving was not unknown.

Women would seem to have enjoyed equal status with men. *Upanayana* (initiation) was performed for girls also and they received education and observed *brahmacarya* like boys. Women studied the Vedas, and we hear of several women 'seers' composing Vedic hymns. They followed the profession of teaching upto the Sūtra period and even spinsters enjoyed the right to perform Vedic rituals.

There is no indication of seclusion of women which characterized Indian society of later days. Women moved freely and participated in public life.

Marriage was, as it is now, sacred and inviolable and not a secular contract, but a religious bond. Child marriage was unknown; girls had freedom of choice and there are instances of girls settling their own marriages. Monogamy was the general rule, though polygamy prevailed among the rich and the ruling classes. Polyandry and the custom of *Sati* were unknown. The wife occupied an honoured place and participated with her husband in religious ceremonies.

Economic Condition. Though the Aryans had passed the nomadic stage before the Vedic age, great importance was attached to herds of cattle which were used for agricultural labour and drawing carts; horses were employed for drawing chariots; sheep, goat,ass and dog were domesticated animals; the dog was used for hunting, guarding and tracking cattle and for night watch. It is not certain whether the Vedic people were familiar with the cat and the camel[1]. Among the wild animals, lion, elephant and boar were known but not the tiger.

Agriculture, the mainstay of economic stability, was considered respectable. There are references to several stages of agricultural operations such as ploughing, sowing in furrows, cutting of corn, making bundles of sheaves, threshing and winnowing. The plough was drawn by six, eight, or even twelve bulls. Canals were dug for irrigation.

Prayers for success in trade are common in the *Ṛg-Veda*, but Vedic Aryans were not expert traders. There were no good roads. Bullocks, pack-horses and perhaps camels provided the means of transport. There was both river and marine navigation. Although barter was practised, money and markets were known. Cows and gold ornaments (*Niṣka*) of fixed value were the media of exchange. There are no references to silver or copper coins.

Specialization in industry had already begun and several professions including those of carpenters, smiths, tanners, weavers, potters and grinders of corn are mentioned.

[1]It is not definite whether *ustra* meant camel, as in later Sanskrit, or buffalo.

There are numerous references to the physician's skill, feats of divine healers of diseases and experts in surgery. In the cure of diseases, charms and spells enjoyed equal rank with healing herbs and drugs.

Political Organization. Family (*kula*) served as the basis of both social and political organization. Starting with family, the hierarchy in the ascending order was village (*grāma*), clan (*viś*), people or tribe (*jana*) and country (*rāṣṭra*), indicating the evolution of Vedic polity[1]. Several families knit together by bonds of kinship, and living under a common head, formed a clan. A number of clans constituted the people (*jana*). The country (*rāṣṭra*) embraced a number of tribes (*janas*), several of which are mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda* and later Vedic literature; but their administrative organization varied.

• In a patriarchal community, engaged in constant warfare against both Aryan and non-Aryan foes, kingship was the natural and normal form of government, though non-monarchical organizations are also suggested by *Gaṇapati* or *Jyeṣṭha* as the head of *gaṇas*. Some tribes had a sort of oligarchy, with several members of the royal family ruling jointly.

The State (*rāṣṭra*) was normally ruled by the king (*Rājan*). Kingship was normally hereditary and generally descended by primogeniture. Elective monarchy was perhaps not altogether unknown, but there is no clear reference to it in the *Ṛg-Veda*.

Nor does the *Ṛg-Veda* give much information about the king's ministers. The *Purohita* (domestic priest) was the foremost among officials. The sole associate of the king as his preceptor, friend, philosopher and guide; he accompanied the king to the battlefield and gave him support by prayers and spells. There were also the *Senānī*, the leader of the army, and *Grāmaṇī*, the head of the village in civil as well as military matters.

• The army comprised foot-soldiers and charioteers. Weapons were made of wood, stone, bone and metal. Bow and arrow was the usual weapon. Arrows were tipped with points of metal or poisoned horn. Lances, spears, daggers, axes, swords and slings were weapons of offence. Leather-guard, coat-of-mail and helmet were defensive weapons. References are made to the "moving fort", and a machine for assaulting strongholds.

• Protection of the life and property of the people, maintenance of peace, and defence of the realm against external aggression appear to have been the main duties of the king. He was the military commander as well as religious head. He was also the upholder of the established order and moral rules (*dhṛtavrata*).

As checks on the king's arbitrary exercise of power, there functioned

[1]The exact significance of the terms *grama*, *vis* and *jana* and their inter-relation is not quite clear; sometimes these terms are used almost as synonyms.

two popular assemblies, *Sabhā* and *Samiti*, which expressed the will of the people on important matters.

To administer justice and punish the guilty were among the principal duties of the king, the *Purohita* assisting him in the discharge of the former. From the time of the later Saṁhitās, the *Sabhā* too functioned as a court of justice. Theft, burglary, highway robbery, cattle-lifting and cheating are among the crimes recorded. There is no reference to ordeals. Loans and usury were well understood. The debtor was required to serve his creditor, and tying the criminal to a stake was the common punishment. It is debatable whether the system of *wergeld* (monetary compensation to the relatives of the person killed) was in force.

Full individual ownership of movables, cattle, horses, gold, weapons and slaves was recognized. Though land was owned by families and proprietorship vested in the father as the head of the family, it is a moot point whether sons had any share in the ownership. *Dāya* in the *Ṛg-Veda* means "reward", but in the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas it signifies inheritance. The son inherited his father's property, but the daughter, only when she was the sole issue. The right of adoption was recognized, though not favoured.

Religion and Philosophy. Essential elements of religion in the age of the *Ṛg-Veda* were :

(1) a belief in numerous gods and goddesses who were nothing but personifications of whatever was noble, splendid or striking in nature.

(2) a belief that they possessed powers of doing good as well as evil to the people, that they must be satisfied by offer of food and drink in order to get boons from them, and avert the evils they are capable of doing to men.

(3) kindling a fire and throwing choice articles of food and drink into it, uttering at the same time hymns of praise to the god to whom articles thrown into the fire were to be carried by the fire itself which was regarded as messenger for this purpose.

They were deeply impressed by the great phenomena of nature which they conceived as alive and usually represented in anthropomorphic form. They believed in a complex and varied host of gods who were 33 in number. According to much later tradition, they were classified under terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial groups. Agni, Indra, and Varuṇa were the respective chief deities. The chief deities in early days grew out of personification of natural phenomena, such as the sky (*dyuḥ*), earth (*pṛthivī*), sky god (Varuṇa), god of thunderstorm (Indra), morning and evening stars (Aśvins), and goddess of dawn (Uṣas). With them came the domestic deities including the fire god (Agni) in his three forms (sun in heaven, lightning in atmosphere, and domestic fire on earth), and *som a* (drought of immortality, sometimes identified with the moon). Later on, abstract deities like Dhātṛ (Establisher),

Vidhātṛ (Ordainer), Prajāpati (Lord of creatures), Śraddhā (Faith) and Manyu (Wrath) made their appearance. Sometimes gods were conceived as animals, but there is no trace of animal worship. The Vedic Aryans, thus, worshipped a host of gods; but each in turn was worshipped as the highest god.

The religion consisted of worship of gods with simple ceremonials mentioned above which were known as *yajña* or sacrifice. The worship comprised primarily oblation and prayer. Sacrifice consisted of offerings of milk, ghee, grain, flesh and *soma*.

These developments gave rise to a profound philosophy which boldly questioned the multiplicity of gods, and maintained the ultimate unity of the universe as the creation of one God known by different names.

The *Ṛg-Veda* offers no consistent theory regarding life after death. The dead were either buried or cremated, and according to some passages, dwelt in the realm of Yama, the king of the dead.

2. Later Vedic Civilization

The expression "Later Vedic Civilization" comprises the changes and developments that took place in the religious, social, economic and political conditions of the people during the period when the later Saṁhitās —*Atharva*, *Yajuḥ* and *Sāma* and the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras were composed.

Religion and Philosophy. There was a remarkable development in the domain of religion and philosophy. The simple ceremonial of worship gave place to elaborate sacrifices, a complicated procedure requiring the services of as many as seventeen priests. Some old deities like Varuṇa and Pṛthivī passed into insignificance while new ones like Rudra and Viṣṇu rose to eminence.

In the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas sacrifice dominates the scene. The doctrines of *Karma*, *Māyā*, transmigration, identity of individual soul with the Universal Soul, and *Mukti*, which are the foundations of the different systems elaborated by later writers and are accepted as the main tenets of Hinduism, find their first expression in the Upaniṣads.

Social Life. The necessity of a trained class of persons who could perform accurately the elaborate and complicated ceremonial of the *yajñas*, led to the growth of a distinct body of learned men who came to be known as Brāhmaṇas and gradually, with increase in number, formed a distinct class in society, highly respected on account of their association with religious duties. The expansion of the Aryans further to the east and south led to the emergence of a group of persons who had to devote their time wholly or mainly to fighting with the original inhabitants and administering the territories conquered from them.

Thus arose another class known as the Kṣatriyas who had the supremacy in temporal affairs as the Brāhmaṇas had in spiritual matters. It was inevitable that these two would come to be regarded as occupying a much higher position than the remaining Aryans who therefore formed a separate class known as the Vaiśyas (from *viś* or people). The non-Aryans formed the fourth class in society and came to be known as the Śūdras. These divisions were not very rigid at first, for one could change the occupation and thus secure admission into another class. But gradually the classes became hereditary and the Vaiśyas were subdivided into numerous occupational classes which also tended to be hereditary; birth became the sole criterion of one's class and it became converted into caste. It is difficult to say when this caste system reached the final form as we find it in the later Hindu society.

In general it may be said that the power and prestige of the priestly caste (Brāhmaṇas) was on the increase though their claims to supremacy were successfully contested by the Kṣatriyas. In consequence, the two castes enjoyed special privileges denied to the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Different modes of address were prescribed for the four castes. The rise of numerous arts and crafts as a result of cultural advance resulted in the creation of subcastes based on occupation. Several intermediate castes were also evolved.

Change of caste, though very unusual, was not as yet impossible. The higher castes could intermarry with the lower ones, but marriage with Śūdras was not approved. The idea of pollution by touch finds expression. Śūdras were denied the right to perform sacrifices. There were still no prohibitions against inter-dining and the caste system had not acquired the rigidity it did in the period of the Sūtras.

The earliest clear reference to the four *Āśramas* of the student, householder, forest hermit, and recluse, is found in the *Jābāla Upaniṣad.* The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* clearly refers to the first three *Āśramas*. The stages of the student and the householder fall within the general social life while that of the recluse pre-supposes the existence of an organized ascetic life.

There was little change in other aspects of social life. While the previous style of dress continued, clothes were also made of silk and were dyed with saffron. The tendency against the eating of meat was gradually gaining ground under the influence of the theory of *Karma* and transmigration.

There was deterioration in the position of women. A daughter came to be regarded as "a source of misery". Women could not attend the *Sabhā*; they were excluded from inheritance and, along with Śūdras, could not own property; whatever was earned by women became the property of their husbands or sons.

The later Saṁhitās refer to the *upanayana*, and its description in the

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa shows that it possessed all essential features of the sacrament elaborately treated in the Gṛhya-Sūtras. The list of subjects for study shows a wide range of knowledge embracing, not only Vedas, Itihâsa, Purâṇas and grammar, but also astronomy, military science, dialectics, and knowledge of portents. Development of character constituted the aim and moral training, the backbone of the educational system. The Upaniṣads testify to the high intellectual development brought about by the system. There were several competent Kṣatriya teachers as also women teachers.

Economic Condition. Progress in agriculture and pastoral pursuits was steady and continuous. The plough became large and heavy, having a sharp point and a smooth handle and sometimes required as many as 24 oxen to draw it. Manure was known. Different varieties of rice, barley, beans, sesame and wheat were grown. Fruit trees were cultivated. Two crops were harvested in a year. Among dangers to crops are mentioned drought, excessive rains and pests.

Industrial life witnessed remarkable development and a variety of new occupations—those of fishermen, hunters, fire-rangers, charioteers, washermen, dyers, door-keepers and footmen, among others—came into existence. Specialization had gone very far, distinction for instance was made between the chariot-maker and the carpenter, the tanner and the hide-dresser and the maker of bows and the maker of arrows. Women worked as dyers, embroiderers and basket-makers. Some sort of drama seems to have come into existence, for we have reference to "actors".

There was advance in the knowledge of metals. In addition to gold and *ayas* (variously translated as copper or iron) found in the *Ṛg-Veda,* there is mention of tin, lead, silver and iron.

References to corporations (*gaṇas*) and aldermen (*Śreṣṭhins*) indicate the organization of merchants into guilds. *Niṣka, Śatamāna,* and *Kṛṣṇala* were used as convenient units of value. *Niṣka* was probably a lump of gold of a definite weight, while *Kṛṣṇala* weighed one *rattī.* It is, however, doubtful, if these represented coins.

Political Organization. Kingship became the normal form of government. There were also speculations about the origin of kingship. It is stated that having been continuously defeated by the demons, the gods elected Indra as king and were victorious in the end. Elsewhere, Indra is said to have been installed as a king by Prajāpati and other gods on account of his vigour, strength, valour and perfection. At another place Varuṇa is said to have gained the honours by proving his superiority over others in strength and leadership. It is thus clear that the stress of war gave rise to kingship. "Kingship originates in military necessity and derives its validity in consent", or it originated in election based on possession of the best qualities. That hereditary succession continued to be the normal mode, is indicated by expressions like "kingdom for ten generations".

The growth of king's power, arising out of the increase in the size of the states and the replacement of old nobility by official hierarchy, was further augmented by the widespread acceptance of the divinity of the king. The king claimed to be the absolute master of all subjects except the Brāhmaṇas. The commoners (Vaiśyas) could be oppressed at will and the Śūdras were liable to be expelled and slain at will. As suzerain, the king controlled the land of the tribe but was not its owner. The theory of the king being the visible emblem of Prajāpati was propounded to explain how "while being one he rules over many".

There arose a new type of nobility based on official duties rather than birth. With the growth of royal power came the administrative machinery. Later Saṁhitās refer to the *Ratnins* (members of the council of advisers), consisting partly of the king's relations, partly of his courtiers, and partly of heads of main departments of administration who assisted the king. There are references to the priest (*Purohita*), commander-in-chief (*Senānī*), charioteer (*Sūta*), treasurer (*Saṁgrahītṛ*), and tax-collector (*Bhāgadugha*), and others who were heads of departments. There were also the members of the royal court who included the crowned queen (*Mahiṣī*), chamberlain (*Kṣattṛ*), and the game companion (*Akṣāvāpa*). The village headman (*Grāmaṇī*) was in charge of the village. To the earlier list, the Brāhmaṇa texts add among others the governor or chief judge (*Sthapati*), the huntsman, the courier, the minister (*Saciva, Amatya*), etc.

That the new official nobility exercised great power and influence would appear from the designations "king-makers" and "chief supporters of the king" applied to most of them, as also from the fact that the king at coronation had to visit the houses of these officials.

Both monarchy and popular assemblies were looked upon as divine institutions, vested with political rights and privileges. The king always sought the good grace of the assemblies, and losing their favour or support spelt dire disaster for the king. It is, however, surprising to find that the *Samiti*, which gradually began to disappear from the time of the later Saṁhitās, completely faded out in the later Vedic age. *Samiti* in the Upaniṣads denotes only a learned body, sometimes presided over by a king. *Sabhā*, instead of being a popular village assembly, continued as the king's court, or privy council, or a judicial assembly.

The literature of the period throws further light on judicial matters. The king took a very active part in the administration of criminal law. The killing of an embryo, homicide, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa in particular, stealing of gold, and drinking *surā* (wine) were included among serious crimes. Treason was a capital offence, but practically nothing is known about the actual procedure. In civil law, as already

stated, women were denied inheritance and the right to own property.

3. Political History from Early Times to the 6th Century B.C.

Traditional History. Sufficient material is not available to paint even a broad and general picture of the political history of India before 6th century B.C. Vedic literature, which is our only source of information for the period, refers to states, both big and small, tribal as well as territorial, and gives the names of a number of kings who attained fame by their achievements. Detailed accounts of the kings and states and their struggle for supremacy leading to the establishment of big empires are given in the Purāṇas which were written at a much later period, but had evidently access to old records and traditions of the Vedic period. But they suffer from two defects. They do not set the political events in chronological framework, and events happening at long intervals and distant places are lumped together. Though the Purāṇas name several dynasties and give long genealogical lists of ruling kings, there are obvious discrepancies between the lists given in different Purāṇas, and even in the different manuscripts of the same Purāṇa. Several modern scholars, notably Pargiter, have made serious attempts to draw up an intelligible scheme of historical narrative on the basis of the Purāṇic accounts, but the very serious differences in their reconstruction of history indicate that little reliance can be placed on the results of such labour.

While, therefore, it is not possible to write the political history of India during the Vedic and Later Vedic age, mention may be made of some interesting but isolated historical facts. From the *Ṛg-Veda*, we know the names of a number of powerful tribes which established important principalities during the Vedic age. Among these may be mentioned the Bharatas, Matsyas, Krivis, Tṛtsus, and the well-known group of five tribes—the Turvaśas, Yadus, Pūrus, Druhyus and Anus. There are allusions to a confederacy of tribes. A famous incident mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Atharva Veda* is the battle between king Sudās and a confederacy of ten kings. Imperialism was the dominating factor in Indian politics before the end of the Vedic age, and it was symbolized by the time-honoured *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions no less than twelve kings who "went everywhere, conquering the earth, upto its ends, and sacrificed the sacrificial horse". Three of them, as well as several other kings, are stated in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* to have performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifices.

As the Aryans pushed forward from the Punjab towards the east and and south, we find the names of new tribes or peoples, many of whom were probably formed by the amalgamation or reorganization of the

older tribes. Among these may be mentioned the Aikṣvākus of Ayodhyā, Haihayas of Central India, and Kurus and Pañcālas, who lived side by side in Eastern Punjab and Western Uttar Pradesh. Special importance attaches to the Kurus whose history forms the central theme of the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*. According to this epic there was a Great War between the Kurus and their kinsmen the Pāṇḍavas, in which all the important kings in India took sides, and after eighteen days, fighting at Kurukṣetra and the slaughter of almost all the kings and princes who took part in it, the Pāṇḍavas emerged as the victors and their leader became the undisputed master ruling from his capital at Hastināpura.

Although the *Mahābhārata*, as we find it today, was composed at a much later period there seems to be some truth in the story of this Great War, known as the Bhārata War throughout the ages. It was looked upon as a great landmark in the history of ancient India which saw the end of one cycle and ushered in another. Modern scholars, while generally agreeing about the historical character of the War, assign different dates to it and the most reasonable assumption is to place it at about 1,000 B.C.

According to the Purāṇas, the Great War of Kurukṣetra left the Pāṇḍavas the supreme political power in India. The Pāṇḍava heroes who fought the War retired shortly after it was over, leaving the throne to Parīkṣit, grandson of the third of the Pāṇḍava brothers, Arjuna. The Purāṇas reckon Parīkṣit as the founder of a new dynasty, the Paurava, and give the list of thirty kings belonging to it. Parīkṣit and his son and successor Janamejaya loom large in the *Mahābhārata*, and the latter is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* as one of the twelve universal sovereigns. But the glory of the Pauravas did not last long. During the reign of the fourth king after Janamejaya the capital was washed away by the Gaṅgā and the Pauravas shifted their capital to Kauśāmbī—its ruins lie near the village of Kosam about 48 km. from Allahābād. Other calamities befell the Pauravas and their power and prestige declined to a considerable extent. But they continued to rule for a time side by side with some other old dynasties. Among these may be mentioned the Aikṣvākus of Kosala with Ayodhyā as their capital, the Bārhadrathas of Magadha ruling at Girivraja or Rājagṛha (modern Rājgīr in Patna district), and several other less powerful families ruling in Pañcāla, Kāśī (Vārānasi) and other localities. The great Bhārata War, according to the *Mahābhārata*, was fought with a view to bringing the whole of India under one political authority, and this was successfully accomplished by the decisive victory of the Pāṇḍavas. But this political unity did not last long. During the centuries that followed, India again presented the spectacle of a congeries of states fighting with one another for supremacy. It seems to have been the normal political condition, with the occasional rise of a great king

who successfully founded an empire which his successors lost again in a short time.

4. Political History from the 6th Century to the 4th Century B.C. Foundation of the Magadha Empire

For the first time, the Buddhist scriptures give us a definite picture of the political condition of India at a given period—the years when Gautama Buddha lived. This may be roughly taken as the 6th century B.C. It appears that there was no paramount ruler and North India was divided into a number of states, both big and small. Sixteen of these are referred to as *Mahājanapadas* in Buddhist literature. Some of these were ruled by hereditary monarchs but others were republican or oligarchical states, ruled either by the representatives of the people as a whole or by the nobility. Four of the kingdoms which played an important role were Magadha or South Bihār under the Haryaṅka dynasty; Kosala or Avadh, ruled by the Aikṣvākus of old; Vatsa under the famous Pauravas; and Avantī or Mālwa under the Pradyota dynasty with its capital at Ujjayinī. Among the less important kingdoms were those of Kāśī, Matsya (Jaipur), and Kuru Pañcāla (Western Uttar Pradesh), which are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.

Of the non-monarchical clans the most important was the Vṛji confederacy of eight clans, the most powerful of which were the Licchavīs ruling from their capital at Vaiśālī (Basārh in Muzaffarpur district in Bihār). Among others may be mentioned the Śākyas of Kapilavastu (in Nepāl *tarai*), and two clans called the Mallas with their respective capitals at Pāvā and Kuśīnagara. The latter has been identified with Kasia, 56 km. to the east of Gorakhpur. There were two cities called Pāvā, one near Kuśīnagara, and the other was the famous place of pilgrimage near Rājgīr in Bihār. These clans had no hereditary ruler ; administration was in charge of an assembly helped by an executive council and a chief elected by it from time to time.

There were matrimonial relations between the rulers of the four kingdoms. But that did not prevent them from fighting with one another for supremacy. Pradyota, king of Avantī, for example, fought with his son-in-law, Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī. But they had to retire from the contest, leaving the field to the kings of Kosala and Magadha. Prasenajit, the Kosala king, conquered Kāśī, and his son afterwards destroyed the Śākya state of Kapilavastu. Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, conquered Aṅga (Bhāgalpur) and his son Ajātaśatru defeated the Licchavīs. But though Bimbisāra had married the sister of Prasenajit, Ajātaśatru, his son by another queen, had a long-drawn struggle with Kosala from which Magadha emerged as the strongest power and, under an able line of

rulers, soon developed into a mighty empire. The kings mentioned above were contemporaries of Gautama Buddha, who died in the eighth year of the reign of Ajātaśatru.

While Magadha was seeking to establish political hegemony in North India, the border regions on the west—the Punjab, Sind and Afghānistān—were divided into a large number of states. Two of these, Kamboja and Gandhāra (a part of Kashmīr and former North West Frontier Province) alone, are included in the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures. During the lifetime of Gautama Buddha, the powerful Achaemenian emperor of Persia, Darius (522–486 B.C.), conquered a portion of the Punjab and Sind. The extent of the Persian dominion in India cannot be exactly determined; it formed the twentieth Satrapy of the empire of Darius, and contributed an annual revenue in gold dust amounting to more than a million pounds sterling.

But unaware or unconscious of the danger of this foreign invasion in the distant front on the west, Mahāpadma Nanda, who had founded a new ruling dynasty in Magadha, defeated and destroyed the remnants of the old kingdoms and on their ruins built up an empire which included the whole of North India except Kashmīr, the Punjab and Sind, as well as Kaliṅga and probably some other parts of the Deccan. Thus was founded the first great historical empire in North India. Mahāpadma Nanda, a Śūdra, completed the task begun by the Kṣatriya rulers Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

Invasion of Alexander. Shortly after the death of Mahāpadma Nanda India was invaded by the famous conqueror of the ancient world, Alexander the Great of Macedonia, in May, 326 B.C. He was welcomed by the Indian king of Takṣaśilā (Taxila, 32 km. north-west of Rāwalpindi now in Pākistān), and this ignoble example was followed by a few other Indian chiefs, but most of the Indian kings and non-monarchical clans offered a stiff resistance. To the east of the Sindhu, the ruler of a small state between the Jhelum and Chenāb rivers, whom the Greeks called Porus (probably the Greek form of Paurava), put a resistance the like of which Alexander had not faced in the entire expedition. Porus was defeated and captured with nine wounds on his body, but received honourable treatment from his great adversary. Alexander's triumphant progress was halted on the bank of the river Beās beyond which lay the empire of the Nandas. The ostensible reason of Alexander's retreat from this point was the unwillingness of the Greek soldiers to proceed further, but it is not unlikely that the great risk in fighting a big organized hostile force, with an army exhausted and depleted by long marches and battles weighed with Alexander in coming to this decision. On his return journey he had to fight powerful tribes like the Malloi (Mālavas) and the Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas).

Alexander left India in 325 B.C. and died at Babylon two years later.

Before leaving India, Alexander had made arrangements for the administration of the Indian territories conquered by him. He posted several Greek Satraps at different centres and appointed Porus as ruler of the entire territory between the Jhelum and the Chenāb. The kings of Taxila and Abhisāra, who had submitted to Alexander without a struggle, were made rulers respectively of the territories to the west and north of the dominion of Porus. But these arrangements broke down partially even during Alexander's lifetime and completely after his death. At the time of the second partition of Alexander's empire by his generals in 321 B.C. the Indian provinces to the east of the Sindhu regained independence and no trace of Greek rule in India was left, though some Greek garrisons maintained themselves in isolated localities for a few years more. Alexander's invasion opened up communication between India and the Western countries and this had important consequences ; but otherwise there was nothing to distinguish it from the successive foreign invasions of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Tīmūr or Nādir *Shāh* of later times. For, according to the testimony of the Greek writers themselves, Alexander carried on devastation and massacre on a large scale. He slaughtered the inhabitants of captured cities, sparing neither women nor children. During his campaign of the lower Sindhu valley alone, 80,000 Indians were killed and a large number sold as slaves.

5. Political History from the 4th Century B.C. to the 4th Century A.D.

Maurya Empire. The exact circumstances which led to the breakdown of Macedonian rule in India are unknown. The Greek writer Justin gives the credit of liberating India to Sandrocottus, the Greek form of Candragupta, the founder of he Mauryan dynasty according to Indian tradition. According to another Greek writer, Plutarch, Candragupta met Alexander, but this is doubtful. It usually happens that myths and legends gather around the names of great persons, and Candragupta has been no exception. It is not, therefore, easy to give an account of the early career of this hero. Indian tradition represents him as the son of the king of Magadha of the Nanda dynasty by a woman of the Śūdra caste named Murā, and hence his family name was Maurya. But a more probable version is that he belonged to the Kṣatriya clan called Moriya—a well-known non-monarchical clan of the time of Gautama Buddha. We need not believe in the long account of his early life spent in poverty and his gradual rise to greatness. But there is probably some truth in the unanimous tradition that he derived considerable help from the counsel of a Brāhmaṇa named Kauṭilya, known also as Viṣṇugupta or

Cāṇakya. His two great achievements were the expulsion of the Greek Satraps from the soil of India and the conquest of the Magadhan empire by defeating the last ruler of the Nanda dynasty, probably a son of Mahāpadma Nanda. But it is uncertain which of these two preceded the other. He ascended the throne of Magadha about 322 B.C. and consolidated his political authority over the vast region stretching from the river Sindhu to the mouth of the Gaṅgā. This must have been the result of a number of successful military expeditions, but we have no detailed account of them. Nor can we definitely say whether his empire included any part of the Deccan and South India. Some ancient Tamil texts refer to the invasion of the Tamil country by the Moriars from the North. These Moriars may refer to the Mauryas and the epithet 'Vamba' (newly risen) applied to Moriar may indicate Candragupta ; but none of these conclusions can be regarded as certain.

While Candragupta was busy extending his empire, the Hellenic world in the west was passing through a crisis caused by the struggle between the generals of Alexander for the possession of the great empire left by him. Ultimately, the generals made themselves masters of different parts of the vast empire, and the eastern territories fell to the share of Seleucus. Having settled his affairs with the rival generals, Seleucus proceeded to reconquer the lost Greek dominions in India. He reached the banks of the Sindhu about 305 B.C., but far from recovering any territory in India, he ceded to Candragupta the three rich provinces of Paropanisadai, Arachosia, and Aria and also Gedrosia, or at least a part of it corresponding to the regions round Kābul, Kandahār and Herāt. The only gain of Seleucus was the present of 500 elephants from Candragupta. It is, of course, absurd to regard this as a fair price of the ceded provinces, as some Greek writers have suggested. The inexplicable silence of the Greek writers about the details of the expedition and the cession of territories by Seleucus lead to the conclusion that he fared the worst.

There is also a tradition that Candragupta married the daughter of Seleucus, but of this we have no positive evidence. It is, however, certain that there was an alliance between the two monarchs and Seleucus sent an ambassador named Megasthenes to the court of Candragupta. Megasthenes wrote an account of India and this would have been a very valuable source of information about contemporary India, but for the fact that the text of this book has reached us in fragments i.e., a few passages quoted from it by later writers.

Megasthenes gives an interesting description of the capital city Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna). According to him Pāṭaliputra was the greatest city in India, being about 14 km. in length and 2km. in breadth. It was surrounded by a wooden wall which had 64 gates and 570 towers. The wall was protected by a moat around it, about 182 m. in breadth and 18 m. in depth. Other Greek writers have referred to the palace

as one of the finest in the world, having gilded pillars adorned with golden vines and silver birds.

Candragupta maintained a vast army consisting of 6,00,000 infantry, 30,000 horsemen, 36,000 men with 9,000 elephants, and 24,000 men with nearly 8,000 chariots. There were six boards of five members each, four of which supervised the four divisions of the army, and the remaining two looked after the admiralty and transport *cum* commissariat.

According to a Jaina tradition of a very late date, Candragupta in his old age abdicated the throne, became a Jain ascetic, and in true Jain fashion, fasted unto death in a place called Sravana Belgola in Mysore.

We do not know much about Bindusāra, the son and successor of Candragupta except that he carried on friendly correspondence with the Syrian king Antiochus I Soter. There is, however, no doubt that during the period of about half a century, covered by the reigns of Candragupta and Bindusāra, the Magadha empire extended from the Hindu Kush to Mysore in the south, with the exception of the eastern coastal region known as Kaliṅga (Orissa, with adjacent territories to the south).

Bindusāra's son and successor Aśoka who ascended the throne about 273 B.C., is by common consent regarded as one of the greatest kings in the history of the world. Some of the numerous records which he got engraved on rocks and pillars are still extant, and they give us an authentic and a very interesting account of his reign and personality. Indeed, he is the most familiar figure in ancient Indian history and still evokes the highest admiration both as a man and as a king.

The records which give us information about him may be classified as follows :

I. *Fourteen Rock Edicts* : A set of fourteen edicts or inscriptions incised on rocks at eight different places in Peshāwar and Hazārā districts in the north-west and Uttar Pradesh, Gujarāt, Bombay, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

II. *Minor Rock Edicts* : An edict incised on rocks at fourteen different places, the southernmost being three in Chitradurga district in Mysore. Five of these are accompanied by a supplementary or second edict. Another Minor Rock Edict has been found at Bahapur (New Delhi) in 1966. The site of the inscription probably envisages the existence of an important highway of the Mauryan times connected with the contemporary settlement at Indraprastha, the antiquity of which has already been proved by the cultural remains of 1st millennium B.C. and later.

III. *Seven Pillar Edicts* : Six edicts engraved on fine monolithic pillars, one of which contains also a supplementary seventh edict.

IV. Inscriptions of a miscellaneous character engraved on rocks, pillars and walls of caves.

All these inscriptions, except the two sets of Rock Edicts in North West Frontier Province are written in an alphabet, known as Brāhmī,

from which all the modern Indian alphabets have been derived. The two Rock Edicts in North West Frontier Province are written in Kharoṣṭhī. Two inscriptions written in Aramaic script have been found, one in Takṣaśilā and the other in Jalālābād district, Afghānistān. A bilingual inscription, written in Greek and Aramaic, and another only in Greek (containing the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th Rock Edict) have been discovered near the old city of Kandahār in Afghānistān.

These inscriptions are the only reliable data for reconstructing the life and reign of Aśoka. The first and the most important event to which they refer, is his military campaign against Kaliṅga, obviously undertaken to round off the boundaries of the empire. The Thirteenth Rock Edict begins with the statement that 'Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga in his 9th regnal year and in course of the campaign 150,000 people were carried away captive, 100,000 were slain and many times that number perished.' This was regarded by the emperor, who probably led the campaign in person, as a great catastrophe, and the inscription describes in touching phrases the remorse felt by him for the miseries he had inflicted upon the people of Kaliṅga. Henceforth Aśoka eschewed the very idea of war and embraced Buddhism which preached non-violence as its cardinal doctrine. He was formally initiated into the new religion by a monk named Upagupta and spent the remaining years of his long reign of 41 years in propagating the moral teachings of Buddha which were expected to elevate the character and personality of every person, irrespective of the religious sect to which he belonged. Thus he preached obedience to parents and teachers, kindness to all, charity, non-violence or non-injury to men and animals, truthfulness, continence, self-restraint, purity of thought, and similar moral precepts. He propagated these among the people by personal tours and asked his officers to do the same. In particular, he appointed a special class of officials called *Dharmamahamātras* for this purpose, and engraved the teachings on rocks and pillars in prominent places where they would attract notice. He also organized shows and processions to impress, by visible means, the moral teachings upon the hearts of the people at large. In short, he propagated these moral teachings by all possible means, and also organized a network of missionaries to preach the new doctrine both in his own kingdom and beyond it. In the Thirteenth Rock Edict, Aśoka declared that in contrast to military conquest, such as that of Kaliṅga, he regarded the conquest through *Dhamma (Dharma)* as the 'chiefest conquest'. He also gave a list of countries outside his dominions where he achieved such conquest. This comprises the kingdoms of the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas in South India, and five states ruled by Greek kings, namely, Antiochus II Theos of Syria (261–246 B.C.), Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285–247 B.C.), Magas of Cyrene (*c.* 300–*c.* 250 B.C.), and two others who are probably to be identified with Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (278–239 B.C.), and Alexander of Epirus (272–255 B.C.)

We further know from Buddhist literature that Aśoka sent missionaries to Ceylon and Suvarṇabhūmi, which is usually taken to refer to Burma but may also include or designate other parts of South East Asia, notably Thailand. Inside India, missionaries were sent to all parts including the Himālayan regions of Kashmīr and Gandhāra. The immediate result of these missionary activities cannot be determined with any degree of certainty, but there can be hardly any doubt that they were primarily responsible for the wide spread of Buddhism in Asia. To Aśoka belongs the chief credit for converting a local sect into a world religion.

Aśoka practised what he preached. In the Seventh Pillar Edict, he refered to his works of public benevolence, such as planting banyan trees on the roadside for shade to men and beasts, growing mango orchards, causing wells to be dug at every eight *kosas,* and building rest-houses and watering sheds. He added that he did all this with the intent that "men may follow the practices of *Dhamma.*"

But though absorbed in religious activities, Aśoka was fully alive to his duties and responsibilities as a king, of which he had a very high conception. "All men are my children", said he, "and just as I desire for my childern that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness, in both this world and the next, so also I desire the same for all men." In the Sixth Rock Edict, he declared his readiness to do official business for the good of his people at all hours and at all places. And he looked upon all these exertions as merely a discharge of his debt to the people. It is not every age and every country that is blessed with a king with such lofty ideals.

Aśoka ruled over a vast empire which was bounded on the south by approximately a line drawn from Nellore to the mouth of the Kalyāṇapuri river on the Western Coast. With the probable exception of Assam, nearly all of India and Pākistān, together with Afghānistān, was included in his empire. One writ in the same language and script ran from the Sindhu river to Mysore. Nothing like it has ever been witnessed since; and it stands, indeed, as an ideal and despair even in modern India.

The Lion Capital of one of Aśoka's stone pillars has been adopted as the national symbol of free India. The earliest written record and also the earliest specimen of fine art belong to Aśoka's reign.

Aśoka died about 232 B.C., and with him departed the glory of the Mauryan empire. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives the names of his seven successors, but with no details. Internal dissensions and foreign invasions to which reference will be made later, destroyed the power and prestige of the Mauryan empire till Bṛhadratha, the seventh king in succession from Aśoka, was killed by his Commander-in-Chief Puṣyamitra who ascended the throne about 187 B.C.

Śuṅga and Kaṇva Dynasties. Puṣyamitra was a Brāhmaṇa of the Śuṅga family, and hence the royal dynasty founded by him is known as

the Śuṅga. Although a regicide, Puṣyamitra must be given the credit of defending the Magadhan empire against the invasion of the Bactrian Greeks and restoring its old power and prestige to a considerable extent. He performed two *Aśvamedha* sacrifices in course of which his valiant grandson Vasumitra rescued the sacrificial horse from the Yavanas (Greeks) after a bitter fight on the banks of the Sindhu river. Ultimately, the Punjab and Sind were lost, but the Magadhan empire claimed at least nominal allegiance over a large part of North India. However, several regions gradually asserted their independence and Devabhūmi, the tenth king of the dynasty, was killed at the instance of his minister Vāsudeva, about 73 B.C.

The Kāṇva dynasty founded by Vāsudeva comprised only four kings who ruled for a period of 45 years, and was overthrown by the Āndhras.

Greeks and Sakas. It has been related above that Seleucus, the general of Alexander, took possession of the Asiatic dominions of his master. The centre of his empire was the kingdom of Syria and the distant provinces were ruled by Governors. About 250 B.C. two of these provinces revolted and seceded from the Seleucid empire. In Parthia, south-east of the Caspian Sea, there was a revolt of the people who established an independent state. In the other province, Bactria, lying further to the east and north of the Hindu Kush mountains, it was the Greek Governor who successfully declared his independence and founded a royal dynasty. The Seleucid kings made strenuous but unsuccessful attempts to reassert their supremacy and about 208 B.C. virtually acknowledged the independence of both Bactria and Parthia. The Seleucid king Antiochus III, who led the last campaign against Bactria but failed, married his daughter to Demetrius, the son of the ruling king. Free from the menace of Seleucid invasion and with the added prestige of matrimonial alliance with the Seleucid emperors, the Greek rulers of Bactria became very powerful and cast longing eyes on the fertile plains of India. Demetrius, the king of Bactria, invaded India about 190 B.C. and wrested a considerable part of the Mauryan empire in the north-west. This indirectly caused or facilitated the rebellion of Puṣyamitra ending in the death of the last Mauryan king.

The success of Demetrius in his Indian expeditions may be judged from the fact that the Greek writers refer to him as "king of the Indians". But while he was busy in India the throne of Bactria was usurped by one Eucratides and the fight between the two presumably helped Puṣyamitra to recover some of the territories conquered by the Bactrian Greeks and to restore the prestige of the Magadhan empire. The Greeks had to face other troubles also. This was due to a tribal movement in the north-west corner of China which had repercussions on the history of India. Some time about 165 B.C. a nomadic tribe called the Yueh-chi, living in Kansu in North-Western China, was driven west by another nomadic tribe,

later known as the Hūṇas. The Yueh-chi, marching west, fell upon the Śakas who lived in the territory north of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) river. Ousted from their homeland, the Śakas crossed the river, occupied Bactria and destroyed the Greek power in the valley of the Oxus, about 120 B.C. The Greeks of Bactria now took shelter in their dominions to the south of the Hindu Kush, i.e., Afghānistān and the Punjab where they ruled for more than two hundred years. Several Greek states fought against each other, but occasionally some great kings established their supremacy and even proceeded far into the interior of India. Such a king was Menander, who adopted Buddhism and became famous as Milinda in Buddhist literature. Another such king was Apollodotus who probably advanced towards Gujarāt. From the beautiful gold, silver, and copper coins issued by them we have the names of about thirty Greek kings ruling in this far off land but we have no details about their reigns. The names of most of them were unknown to the Hellenic world, but there can be hardly any doubt that the Greek influence upon Indian culture was derived from these chiefs rather than from Alexander. The great conqueror had swept over the plains of the Punjab, like a great whirlwind, hardly leaving any trace except massacre, devastation and desolation.

The Parthians, to whom reference has been made above, also invaded India. Their great king Mithradates I advanced up to the Sindhu about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Somewhat later a powerful chief named Maues established a kingdom in the Punjab. Another line of Parthian rulers established themselves in the Kandahār region, the most notable of them being Vonones and Azes. Special interest is attached to another Parthian king, Gondophernes, who ruled in the Takht-i-Bahi region in the North West Frontier Province (Pākistān). For, according to an old tradition, St. Thomas, one of the Apostles of Jesus Christ, visited the court of a king bearing this name and converted him to Christianity.

The Śakas who had settled in Bactria were once more defeated by the Yueh-chi and, forced to migrate towards the south and east, several bands of them entered India through various routes. They had a powerful settlement in the Kandahār region which was named after them as Śakasthāna, later corrupted into the modern form Seistān. In India the Śakas played an important role as is testified even today by the era called *Śakābda* (Śaka era) used all over India. There were at least three important kingdoms set up by the Śakas. Two of these had their capitals respectively at Mathurā and Takṣaśilā. The third comprised territories in Mālwa and the Kāthiāwār peninsula. The inscriptions and coins issued by them leave no doubt that they were full-fledged independent rulers, but, curiously enough, they called themselves Kṣatrapa, a Sanskritized form of Persian Satrap or Governor. Nothing is known about their overlord, if there was any. Nevertheless these rulers are called Satraps or Kṣatrapas in Indian history ;

those of Mathurā and Takṣaśilā being known as Northern Satraps and the others, Western Satraps. Very little is known of the Northern Satraps but a great deal is known of the Western Satraps who were more than twenty in number and ruled for three centuries.

Kuṣāṇas. Reference has been made above to the migrations of the Yueh-chi tribe from the border of China to Bactria. After they had driven away the Śakas from Bactria, south of the Oxus, and settled in that region, two great changes came over them. In the first place, they gave up their nomadic habits and adopted a settled life. Secondly, the Yueh-chi kingdom was divided into five independent principalities, each under a separate clan. More than a hundred years after this division, Kujula Kadphises, the ruler of one of the five clans, named Kuṣāṇa, established his authority over the remaining ones and once more brought the whole Yueh-chi tribe under one sceptre.

About this time the power of the Bactrian Greeks was in its last gasp. Hermaeus, the last of their rulers, had lost his possessions north of the Hindu Kush early in his reign to the Yueh-chis. Later, he was defeated by the Parthians who extinguished the rule of the Greco-Bactrians and occupied the last remnants of their dominion in Kābul. Kadphises now crossed the Hindu Kush, defeated the Parthians and made himself master of Kābul. The way was thus clear to him for the invasion of India. But, in the midst of his preparations, he died at the age of eighty. His son and successor, Wima Kadphises (or Kadphises II), took over the task and his victorious army advanced far into the interior of North India. There are good reasons to believe that the Kuṣāṇa authority was established at least as far as Vārānasi in the east. Thus was established a vast Kuṣāṇa empire which extended from the Oxus river or even beyond to the eastern border of Uttar Pradesh. Wima Kadphises, however, did not rule over the conquered territories in person. He appointed a number of Satraps to govern the different parts of his Indian dominion.

The next Kuṣāṇa king, Kaniṣka, is a famous name in the Buddhist world. His relationship with Wima Kadphises is not known, but he ruled over the vast Kuṣāṇa empire from his capital at Puruṣapura (modern Peshāwar). He was a great patron of Buddhism and the fourth General Assembly of the Buddhists is said to have been held during his reign and under his patronage. No wonder, therefore, that many traditions have gathered around his name. He is credited with victory over the Parthians and the Chinese, and the conquest of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotān. He is also said to have extended his authority to the borders of the desert of Gobi in Central Asia, and ruled over Magadha and Kashmīr in India. Whatever may be the value of these traditions, there is no doubt that Kaniṣka held a vast empire including territories in Central Asia, and certainly ruled over both Kashmīr and upper Sind and as far as Vārānasi in North India. He erected a great tower over the relics of Buddha at

Peshāwar, which excited the wonder and admiration of visitors from distant countries. The discovery of the Buddha relics enshrined in the tower at Peshāwar and Kaniṣka's own life-size stone statue at Mathurā have made him very familiar in modern times. According to tradition, two great men lived in the court of Kaniṣka ; one was the famous Buddhist scholar and poet, Aśvaghoṣa, and the other, Caraka, the great authority on medical science.

The date of Kaniṣka has been a subject of keen dispute. It is generally believed that his accession was commemorated by the famous Śaka era commencing in A.D. 78, which is still in use in India. But this view has been rejected by many scholars who have suggested a later date. There is no consensus of opinion on this subject.

Kaniṣka and his three successors—Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva—of whom practically nothing is known, ruled for a period of about one hundred years. The decline of Kuṣāṇa power is generally attributed to the rise of the Sassanians in Īrān as a great power. They advanced up to the frontier of India, if not beyond, and probably imposed their suzerainty upon the Kuṣāṇas. But though the empire was gone, Kuṣāṇa kings continued to rule in Kābul and a part of the Punjab for a long time. They are known in history as the Later Kuṣāṇas, and some of them bore the names of the imperial Kuṣāṇas such as Kaniṣka and Vāsudeva. They were ousted by a third branch of the Kuṣāṇa family known as the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas who ruled in the same region till the 4th century A.D.

Western Satraps. The Western Satraps, to whom reference has been made above, ruled over an extensive territory comprising the modern state of Gujarāt, the adjoining parts of Madhya Pradesh and Rājasthān and Sind. There were, however, changes in the ruling dynasties, and the extent of the kingdom varied from time to time. The oldest dynasty, the Kṣaharāta, consisted of two kings, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. The latter was a powerful ruler and assumed the title *Rājan*. But he was defeated and his kingdom destroyed by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. A new Satrapy was founded in the same region by Caṣṭana with his capital at Ujjayinī, in the first half of the 2nd century A.D.

Rudradāman was the greatest ruler in his time and we know a great deal about him from a long inscription he engraved in A.D. 150 on a rock at the Junagadh hill. He not only ruled over all the territories comprising the Western Satrapy but also extended his dominions far and wide. He claims to have defeated twice in fair fight the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, a Sātakarṇi who was not distantly related to him. A Kānheri inscription mentions the daughter of Rudradāman as the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi, the Śivamaka Sāta of an Amarāvatī inscription, probably a brother of Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi would seem to have been the defeated king. Rudradāman thus completely turned the tables against the Sātavāhanas who lost all the newly conquered territories

to the north of Narmadā. According to his rock inscription, Rudradāman had high personal qualifications and was proficient in grammar, polity, logic, music and Sanskrit composition. His inscription is the first official record in Sanskrit, if we leave aside one or two very short records; for the practice hitherto was to compose inscriptions in Prākṛt.

Rudradāman assumed the title Mahākṣatrapa and nominated his son as a joint ruler with the title Kṣatrapa. This became a regular practice among the Western Kṣatrapas. The subsequent history of the family is full of struggles with the Sātavāhanas and internal quarrels. Taking advantage of their weakness, the Mālavas asserted independence in the north, and the Ābhīras established a powerful kingdom in Northern Mahārāshtra. An Indian era, commencing in A.D. 248–9, is generally believed to have been founded to commemorate the establishment of the independence of the Ābhīras, though this era was known in later times as the Kalacuri era. The last known ruler of Caṣṭana's family to assume the proud title of Mahākṣatrapa was Bhartṛdāman whose known dates range between Śaka 204 (A.D. 282–3) and 217 (A.D. 295–6). The title was revived in A.D. 348–9 by Rudrasena III who probably belonged to a different family. The Western Kṣatrapas, though shorn of power and prestige, continued to rule till the end of the 4th century A.D. But the kingdom was torn by internal dissensions, more than one rival king contesting the throne. At last, after a rule of more than three hundred years the power of the Western Kṣatrapas was finally crushed by Candragupta II.

Minor States in North India. The discovery of a large number of coins reveals the existence of states and kings of whom hardly anything is known. We can locate some of these kingdoms in the region round Ahicchatra (Bareilly), Kauśāmbī, and Ayodhyā. They probably represent, respectively, the old kingdoms of Pañcāla, Vatsa and Kosala. Several rulers belonging to the Nāga family probably set up separate independent kingdoms; four of these, according to the Purāṇas, had their capitals at Vidiśā (Bhīlsa), Kāntipuri, Mathurā and Padmāvatī (Padam Pawaya, near Narwar in the old Gwalior state). The Bhāraśivas, probably also a Nāga family ruling in the last-named kingdom, became very powerful in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., and claim to have performed ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. It has been suggested that the famous Dasasvamedha-ghāṭa at Vārānasi owes its name to this fact. This would mean that the Bhāraśivas extended their power up to the Gaṅgā, but of this we have no positive evidence.

Some of the states were non-monarchical. The Mālavas, probably the same as the Malloi who fought against Alexander in the Punjab, issued coins in the 1st century A.D. in the name of their republic. As thousands of these coins have been found at Nāgaur, in the old

Jaipur state, the site probably marks the capital of the Mâlava republic. The Mâlavas are known to have fought successfully against the Śakas and other foreign invaders. They gave their name to the well-known province, Mâlwa, now in Madhya Pradesh, and the era known as the Vikrama Samvat, starting in 58 B.C., was known as the Mâlava Samvat before it was associated with the name of Vikramâditya. It is not unlikely that the era commemorates the establishment of the Mâlava republic at Nâgaur or Mâlavanagara.

Another powerful republican state was founded by the Yaudheyas, comprising Eastern Punjab and some adjacent territories in Uttar Pradesh and Râjasthân. It is probable that the Johiyâ Râjpûts of Johiyâbar on the border of the Bahâwalpur state are the representatives of the Yaudheyas.

Deccan. Kaliṅga which was subjugated by Aśoka with much bloodshed, was one of the earliest to free itself from the yoke of the Magadhan empire. This was probably an achievement of the royal Cedi family. We know a great deal of king Khâravela, belonging to the third generation of this family, from a long inscription engraved on the roof and in front of the Hâthigumphâ cave in the Udayagiri Hill near Bhubaneśwar. Crowned in his 24th year, he almost immediately began a career of conquest. He advanced as far as the river Kṛṣṇâ and overran regions around Berâr and Masulipatam. He maintained friendly relations with his western neighbours, the powerful Sâtavâhanas, but led several military campaigns in Northern India in course of which he attacked the city of Râjagṛha, defeated the king of Magadha, and also subjugated Aṅga (Bhâgalpur). His campaigns caused such terror in the heart of a Yavana king that he fled westward; this Greek ruler has been identified with Demetrius but without sufficient evidence. Khâravela then moved to the far south and defeated the Pâṇḍya king. Even making due allowance for exaggeration, we must look upon Khâravela as a very powerful king who made Kaliṅga an imperial power. The record gives a long list of Khâravela's works of public utility. It is interesting to note that this Jaina king made it a point of honour to bring back from Magadha and Aṅga certain Jaina images which had been taken away by a Nanda king from Kaliṅga more than three hundred years before. The date of Khâravela is not known with certainty—he belonged to the 1st or 2nd century B.C. Nothing is known of his empire after his death.

To the west of Kaliṅga lay the dominions of the Ândhras, an ancient people mentioned in the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* which was composed about the 8th century B.C. Their kingdom in the Deccan had been part of the Mauryan empire but had enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. Shortly after the death of Aśoka, they threw off the yoke and founded an independent state under the Sâtavâhana family. This dynasty was founded by Simuka. He and his successors established their authority from the mouth of the Kṛṣṇâ to the entire Deccan plateau. According to the Purâṇas the

Sātavāhana king killed the last Kāṇva ruler of Magadha and presumably took possession of his kingdom. But we have no positive evidence that the Sātavāhanas extended their rule in Northern India except in the region around Bhopāl.

The great achievement of the Sātavāhanas was that they successfully resisted the advance of the foreign invaders who had overrun Northern India. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who ascended the throne about A.D. 82 was the greatest king of this dynasty. He not only defeated the Śaka Satrap Nahapāna and drove him out of the Deccan, but also crushed his power and conquered a large area to the north of the Narmadā. Though Rudradāman recovered these territories, there is no gainsaying the fact that throughout the first two centuries of the Christian era the Sātavāhanas stood as the bulwark of defence for the Deccan and were mainly instrumental in saving it from subjugation by foreign invaders. A later ruler, Yajña Sātakarṇi even conquered the southern dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas and probably also the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh. The fact that some of his coins contain representation of ships has been taken as evidence of the naval power of the Āndhras. Yajña was the last great ruler of the dynasty. Four or five kings ruled after him. In any case, the power of the Sātavāhanas came to an end about A.D. 250 though some branch families continued to rule for a further period. A number of minor kingdoms rose out of the ruins of the Āndhra domain such as the Ābhīras, mentioned above, the Ikṣvākus in the Āndhra country proper between the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī, the Bodhis and the Cuṭus in the North-west and South-west Deccan, the Bṛhatphalāyanas in the region around Masulipatam, and finally the Vakāṭakas who were destined to be the greatest power in the Deccan between the fall of the Sātavāhanas and the rise of the Imperial Cālukyas in the 6th century A.D.

South India. South India specifically denotes the region that lies to the south of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā. From time immemorial this region was the homeland of three powerful peoples, known as the Cera, Coḷa, and Pāṇḍya. The Pāṇḍya kingdom, undoubtedly associated with the Pāṇḍus of the *Mahābhārata*, covered the area lying to the south of the river Vallaru in the erstwhile Pudukkottai state. The Cera kingdom to its north-west stretched along the West Coast as far north as Konkan. The Coḷas, to the north-east of the Pāṇḍyas, occupied the delta of the Kāverī (Cauvery) and the adjoining lands to the north, sometimes including the parts round Kāñcī (Kancipuram). There were, besides, a large number of smaller states, mostly in the Mysore plateau, which generally acknowledged the suzerainty of one or the other of the three leading kingdoms, and this entire region to the south of the Tirupati hill was known as the land of the Tamils.

The three kingdoms, Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya, together with Satiyaputa (Satyaputra) are referred to as independent states by Aśoka in his inscrip-

tions, and he maintained friendly relations with them. The name Satiyaputa is otherwise an unknown name and has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

Tamil literature throws some light on the history of these kingdoms. It appears that there was almost always a struggle for supremacy among them and an able ruler of one imposed his authority upon the others. Such a king was Karikāla who established the Coḷa authority over the whole of the Tamil country. His Pāṇḍya counterpart, king Neḍunjeḷiyan distinguished himself by a similar achievement. Less distinguished was the Cera king Nedunjeral Ādan who is said to have defeated seven kings. He claims to have defeated the Yavana kings also, the allusion is probably to the chiefs of Greek and Roman trading colonies in South Indian ports. His younger brother and son were powerful kings.

6. Political History from the 4th to 8th Century A.D.

Gupta Empire. At the beginning of the 4th century A.D., North India was divided into a large number of states, both monarchical and non-monarchical. One of these comprising probably a small portion of North Bengal and South Bihār, was ruled over first by Śrī Gupta and then by his son, Ghaṭotkaca, with the title Mahārāja. The latter's son, Candragupta I, assumed the title *Mahārājādhirāja* and issued gold coins. He married a Licchavī princess named Kumāradevi and had her portrait engraved on his coins. This somewhat unique feature, and the fact that in all Gupta inscriptions containing royal genealogy Samudragupta, the son of Candragupta I, is called the 'daughter's son of the Licchavīs' whereas no reference to the maternal grandfather's family is made in regard to any other king, have led certain scholars to the assumption that Candragupta's rise to greatness was due to his alliance with the Licchavīs. Even if that is true, we do not know the exact nature of the alliance. It is also held that the Gupta era, commencing in A.D. 320, was founded by Candragupta. This is very likely but there is no definite evidence. The extent of his kingdom cannot be ascertained, some scholars believe on the strength of a passage in a Purāṇa, that he ruled over the Allahābād and Avadh regions.

Candragupta I was succeeded by his son Samudragupta. A long inscription on a pillar originally erected by Aśoka, and now at Allahābād, gives an account of this king which enables us to reconstruct his history with a fullness rare in Indian history. All his life was spent in military campaigns. Nine kings are specifically named as having been defeated and exterminated by Samudragupta; evidently it means that he annexed the dominions of these kings to his own. He then brought into submission a number of states that lay on the frontiers of his expanded kingdom. These included

five kingdoms in Lower Bengal, Upper Assam, Nepâl and the territories further west, as well as a number of republican clans including the Mâlavas, the Yaudheyas, the Arjunâyanas, the Madras and the Âbhīras in the Punjab and Râjasthân, and several minor ones in Madhya Pradesh. They paid homage and taxes to the Gupta emperor but enjoyed internal autonomy. Having settled affairs nearer home Samudragupta led a military expedition to the South. He advanced through the forest tract of Madhya Pradesh to the Orissa coast and then proceeded through Ganjam, Vishâkhapatnam, Godâvari, Kṛṣṇâ and Nellore districts as far as Kâñcī, the capital of the Pallavas. Twelve kings were defeated in course of this campaign but were reinstated, probably as tributary rulers.

It would appear that Samudragupta directly ruled over a vast territory in North India, extending roughly from the Brahmaputra to the Chambal, surrounded by a number of tributary states immediately to the north, east and west. The Śakas and Kuṣâṇas who ruled in the Punjab and Gujarât, though independent, had the prudence to be submissive to the great emperor. Beyond the Vindhya range he exercised some sort of suzerainty over at least twelve states in the Deccan and South India.

The court poet who composed the Allahâbâd inscription rightly describes Samudragupta as the hero of a hundred battles, and Vincent Smith calls him the Napoleon of India. But in spite of his preoccupation with political and military affairs, he cultivated poetry and music. Some of his gold coins represent him as playing on the lyre. The Guptas were followers of the Brahmanical religion and Samudragupta performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, to proclaim not only his imperial power but probably also to emphasize the decline of Buddhism which disapproved of these sacrifices. However, he fully maintained the tradition of religious toleration. He even granted permission to the Buddhist king of Ceylon to build a monastery at Buddha Gaya.

According to some scholars, Samudragupta who died shortly before A.D. 380 was succeeded by his elder son Râmagupta. A late tradition suggests that Râmagupta suddenly attacked by the Śakas, made peace with them on the condition that his queen was to be surrendered to the Saka chief. This infuriated his younger brother Candragupta, who went himself in the disguise of the queen to the Śaka chief and killed him. Then he murdered his royal brother and married the queen. The official records of the Guptas, however, do not refer to Râmagupta and trace the succession directly from Samudragupta to Candragupta II. No gold coin of the type issued by the Gupta emperors bears the name of Râmagupta. On these grounds many scholars do not believe in the existence of Râmagupta and look upon Candragupta as the immediate successor of Samudragupta.

Candragupta II was also a great conqueror like his father. He defeated the last of the Western Kṣatrapas, Rudrasiṁha III, and annexed his territo-

ries. It is mainly on account of this achievement that Candragupta II is identified with the traditional Vikramāditya whose fame rests upon the destruction of the Śakas. Candragupta II seems also to have led military expeditions to Bengal in the east and to the territory beyond the Sindhu river in the west, which was ruled by the Later Kuṣāṇas. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien, who travelled in India during the reign of Candragupta II, was impressed by the peace, prosperity and security prevailing in his empire.

Candragupta II died about A.D. 413 and was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta who enjoyed a long reign of more than forty years. He performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, but we do not know of any military success achieved by him. He maintained intact the vast empire built up by his two predecessors. Towards the close of his reign the peace of the kingdom was disturbed by internal enemies whose identity is uncertain. The Crown Prince, Skandagupta, defeated the enemies after a severe conflict.

Skandagupta returning from his victorious campaign, found that his father was dead. This probably caused some trouble and internal dissension. Skandagupta inherited his father's throne and saved the fortunes of the Gupta empire a second time by repulsing the ferocious Hūṇas when they invaded India and struck terror all over the country. This heroic feat entitled him, like Samudragupta and Candragupta II, to assume the title of Vikramāditya.

Skandagupta died about A.D. 467 and the line of succession after him is very uncertain. Pūrugupta, a son of Kumāragupta by the chief queen, who was probably not the mother of Skandagupta, ruled for some time and was succeeded by his son Budhagupta whose earliest known date is A.D. 477 and the latest A.D. 495. But a king named Kumāragupta II is known to have reigned in A.D. 474. This indicates internal dissension which continued after the end of Budhagupta's reign. He was succeeded by his brother Narasiṁhagupta and the latter by his son and grandson, Kumāragupta III and Viṣṇugupta—the three reigns covered the period c. A.D. 500 to 550. Two other kings, Vainyagupta and Bhānugupta, ruled respectively in A.D. 507 and 510.

The available evidence leaves no doubt that the first half of the 6th century A.D. witnessed the decline and downfall of the Gupta empire. Apart from a struggle between rival claimants to the throne, and the revolt of feudal chiefs or tributary rulers, there was the invasion of the Hūṇas. These hordes, kept in check by Skandagupta, again pushed into India and under their two famous chiefs, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, advanced as far as Gwalior and Eran (Madhya Pradesh).

At this grave crisis rose a great warrior named Yaśodharman (A.D. 530–40) whose family ruled as feudatories of the Guptas in Mālava. He not only defeated Mihirakula and stopped the advance of the Hūṇas, but

also destroyed the Gupta empire. His official record, engraved in duplicate on two pillars at Mandasor, claims that his suzerainty was acknowledged over the vast area bounded by the Himālayas, the Brahmaputra, the Mahendra mountains in the Ganjām district, and the Arabian Sea, and that he was lord of territories not possessed by the Hūṇas and even by the Guptas. Whatever we may think of this boast, there is no doubt that the Gupta empire was practically destroyed by the victories of Yaśōdharman. But he could not build up a new one. Nothing is known of his empire after his death.

Though shorn of power and prestige, traces of the Gupta empire still remained. Narasiṁhagupta survived Yaśodharman and probably dealt the final death blow to the Hūṇas. He and his two successors, named above, carried on the imperial tradition though their authority probably did not extend beyond Magadha. But no trace of Gupta rule exists after A.D. 550.

North India from A.D. 500 to 650. The break-up of the Gupta empire was followed by the rise of a number of independent states. Magadha was ruled by a line of kings with names ending in Gupta. They are called Later-Guptas in order to distinguish them from the Imperial Guptas. To the west, in modern Uttar Pradesh ruled the Maukharis. Īśānavarman of this dynasty claims to have inflicted defeats upon the Hūṇas, and this probably checked their further advance to the east. There was constant conflict between the Maukharis and the Later Guptas, and the former occupied a part of Magadha for a time. The Later Guptas carried their victorious arms as far as the Brahmaputra and even captured the king of Kāmarūpa (Assam).

The Maitraka clan established a kingdom in Gujarāt with its capital at Valabhī, which soon became a seat of learning and culture as well as a great centre of trade and commerce. It flourished for nearly three hundred years and was probably overthrown by the Arabs of Sind. The Gupta era, under the changed name of Valabhī era, was current in the kingdom.

Another state was founded with Thāneśvar as its capital. The fourth king, Prabhākaravardhana, who was very powerful, extended his sway over neighbouring territories and assumed imperial titles. His daughter Rājyaśrī was married to the Maukhari king Grahavarman. There were three other kingdoms, Mālava, Gauḍa (Bengal) and Kāmarūpa.

Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, not only established his authority over the whole of Bengal but also added Orissa to his dominions. He then advanced towards the west and, in alliance with the king of Mālava, defeated and killed the Maukhari king Grahavarman of Kannauj and imprisoned his queen Rājyaśrī. According to Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Grahavarman was killed by the king of Mālava. About that time her father had died and the throne of Thāneśvar was occupied by her brother Rājyavardhana. When he heard of the calamity that had befallen his sister he set out with

an army against Śaśāṅka. He encountered a vanguard of enemy troops led by the king of Mālava, an ally of Śaśāṅka, and defeated them. But while proceeding towards Kānyakubja (Kannauj) he was himself killed by Śaśāṅka, under circumstances not definitely known.

As soon as this news reached Thāneśvar, Harṣavardhana, the younger brother of Rājyavardhana ascended the throne and advanced with a powerful army against Śaśāṅka. On his way he heard that his sister Rājyaśrī had been released from prison, but, distracted with grief she had gone away, no one knew where. Harṣavardhana went out in search of his sister and traced her in the Vindhya forest. Whether he resumed his campaign against Śaśāṅka is not known, for Bāṇabhaṭṭa's biography of Harṣa from which the above account is taken abruptly ends with the reunion of the royal brother and sister.

The subsequent career of Harṣa is known from the account of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who travelled all over India during his reign and was on very friendly terms with him. Harṣa carried on military campaigns as far as Orissa, probably after Śaśāṅka's death, and made himself master of the vast territory comprising Eastern Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihār, West Bengal and Orissa, together with a few other adjoining regions. Independent kings like his son-in-law, the king of Valabhī, and his ally, king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa offered him homage and even attended his court. Harṣa also attempted to extend his power beyond the Narmadā but was defeated by the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II. A keen patron of learning Harṣa was himself the author of several dramas. Hiuen Tsang's extravagant praises of his personality, administration, religion and charitable activities make him appear a far greater king than he actually was. According to Hiuen Tsang, Harṣa embraced Buddhism and showed distinct partiality towards that religion, but contemporary records describe him as a Śaiva. He maintained diplomatic relations with China and died at the end of A.D. 646 or the beginning of A.D. 647. He had ascended the throne in A.D. 606 and is generally believed to have founded an era to commemorate the event; but this is at best very doubtful.

Four important kingdoms in Northern India were certainly outside the empire of Harṣavardhana. These were Kashmīr and Sind on the north-west and Kāmarūpa and Nepāl on the north-east. The early history of Kashmīr is somewhat obscure. Some time before the middle of the 7th century A.D., Durlabhavardhana, a man of humble origin, won the throne by marrying the king's daughter and founded the Kārkoṭa dynasty. In Sind, a poor Brāhmaṇa rose to the throne by his ability and ruled over a vast kingdom stretching from the border of Kashmīr to the sea on the south and Makrān on the west, with his capital at Alor. Kāmarūpa had belonged to the Gupta empire. In the first half of the 6th century A.D., it became an independent and powerful kingdom comprising the whole of the Brahmaputra valley and Sylhet

as well as the portion of North Bengal to the east of the Karatoyā river.

Nepāl's earlier rulers were the hill tribes known as the Ābhīras and the Kirātas. It became a powerful kingdom under a long line of rulers who called themselves Licchavis, the name of a well-known republican tribe in ancient India. The Licchavī princess whom Candragupta I married might well have belonged to this family. Nepāl was a tributary state under Samudragupta; it became free at the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century A.D. About this time a Licchavī king Mānadeva grew powerful and extended his sway beyond the Nepāl valley proper (the valley around Kātmāndu entirely surrounded by hills and about 32 km. long and 24 km. broad). About A.D. 580 the royal authority was usurped by Aṁśuvarman but the Licchavī line was restored about A.D. 643.

Deccan. The fall of the Sātavāhanas about the 3rd century A.D. led to the rise of a number of kingdoms in the Deccan. The most powerful among them was the Vākāṭaka kingdom founded by Vindhyaśakti about the end of the 3rd century A.D. His son Pravarasena was a great conqueror. Ruling over the country from Bundelkhand in the north to the old Hyderābād state in the south, he called himself *Samrāṭ* and performed four *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. After his death his empire was divided into two parts. The rulers of the main branch were at first on friendly terms with the Guptas, and king Rudrasena II married Prabhāvatīgupta, a daughter of emperor Candragupta II. The influence of the Gupta court steadily increased, especially after the death of Rudrasena II, when the administration was carried on by Prabhāvatīgupta as regent for her minor son. With the decline of the Gupta power, the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena asserted suzerainty over Madhya Pradesh. After his death a branch family became powerful under Hariṣeṇa who is credited with extensive conquests in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarāt and Mahārāshtra. His reign ended some time before A.D. 550, and afterwards nothing is known of the Vākāṭakas.

The end of the Vākāṭakas almost synchronized with the rise of the Cālukyas in the Deccan. Sometime about A.D. 535 one of their chiefs, Pulakeśin I founded a small kingdom with Vātāpipura (modern Bādāmi in the Bijāpur district) as his capital. His two sons, Kīrtivarman I and Maṅgaleśa, extended their kingdom by conquests and it became almost co-extensive with the old province of Bombay, south of the Mahi river. The next notable king was Pulakeśin II, son of Kīrtivarman I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 609–610. A long inscription on the walls of a Jaina temple at Aihole, dated A.D. 634–5 gives an account of his reign. He fought and killed his uncle Maṅgaleśa who wanted to place his own son on the throne. In spite of this civil war Pulakeśin made notable conquests. He defeated the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Gaṅgas of Mysore, adn the Mauryas of Konkan in the south, and established his suzerainty over the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras (i.e. Mālwa and Gujarāt) in the

north. His greatest achievement was the defeat he inflicted on Harṣavardhana. Then followed the conquest of South Kosala and nearly the whole of Eastern Deccan. The annexed region between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī (Veṅgī) was placed under Pulakeśin's brother as Governor, and this was the beginning of the kingdom of the Eastern Cālukyas, who survived the fall of the main Cālukya branch. The next act of Pulakeśin II was to defeat the Pallavas of Kāñcī, and having crossed the Kāverī he established alliance with the three southern powers, Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya.

Pulakeśin II was undoubtedly the greatest king of India in his age and the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited his kingdom pays him high eulogy. However, his end was tragic. About A.D. 642 Pulakeśin again attacked the Pallava kingdom and advanced almost to the capital city, but he was disastrously defeated by king Narasiṁhavarman I and forced to retreat. The Pallava ruler now invaded the Cālukya kingdom, routed and killed Pulakeśin and devastated his capital Bādāmi.

Cālukya sovereignty remained virtually in abeyance for thirteen years. Then Vikramāditya I, son of Pulakeśin not only re-established his authority over the whole kingdom but wreaked vengeance upon the Pallavas by defeating three successive Pallava kings and capturing Kāñcī. He also defeated the southern powers, the Ceras, Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The Pallavas retaliated and forced Vikramāditya to give up his southern conquests. Vikramāditya died in A.D. 681 and his son and successor Vinayāditya (A.D. 681–696) carried his victorious arms far and wide, as far as the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the south and the Mālavas and the Haihayas in the north. He also claimed to have defeated the paramount power of North India, whose name is not mentioned, and in inscriptions of a later date he is credited with levying tribute on Īrān and Ceylon.

The struggle with the Pallavas continued during the reign of his successors with varying success. To king Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733–745) belongs the credit of having repulsed the Arabs of Sind who had reached the northern frontier of the Cālukya dominion after overrunning the intervening territory. This was the last great achievement of this dynasty which produced a large number of powerful kings. The next king, Kīrtivarman II, was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukya rule came to an end about A.D. 753, though Kīrtivarman II nominally ruled over a part of his kingdom till at least A.D. 757.

In addition to the Vākāṭakas and the Cālukyas, many minor ruling dynasties flourished both in Western and Eastern Deccan. In Western Deccan there were the Gomins with their capital at Candrapur (Chandor in Goa) ruling in 4th and 5th centuries and the Bhojas, ruling in the same region in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Northward, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief named Mānāṅka founded a small principality in the Sātāra district with its capital at Mānapura. Further north were the Traikūṭakas whose king Dahrasena reigned in A.D. 465 and performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.

His son, Vyāghrasena (A.D. 490) is referred to as the Lord of Aparānta (Northern Konkan) and other regions. The inscriptions of this dynasty have been found as far as 80 km. south of Surat and their coins have been found in Southern Gujarāt and beyond the Western Ghāts. The Traikūṭakas were supplanted by the Kalacuris who ruled in the same region in the 6th century A.D.

In the Eastern Deccan a dynasty, claiming descent from Nala (mentioned in the *Mahābhārata)*, ruled in the Vishākhapatnam district. The Nalas had conquered a large part of the dominions of the Vākāṭakas. There were several branches of the Nala family who probably ruled over various minor states as far as Kurnool district in the south. In the Āndhra country, the region between the lower courses of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, there ruled the Ikṣvākus in the lower Kṛṣṇā valley. Cāṁtamūla I (Śāntamūla I), the founder of the royal family, performed the *Aśvamedha* and other Vedic sacrifices, but his successors leaned towards Buddhism. To the north of the Ikṣvākus the region round Masulipatam was ruled by the Bṛhatphalāyanas ; both these dynasties were overthrown by the Pallavas at the end of the 3rd century A.D. after less than half a century's rule. But the Pallavas also lost this region in the 4th century A.D. when we find the Ānanda family ruling round the Guntur district and the Śālaṅkāyanas in the Godāvarī district with their capital at Veṅgī (modern Peddavegi near Ellore). Hastivarman, the Śālaṅkāyana king was defeated by Samudragupta in the course of his southern expedition but was reinstated, and the Śālaṅkāyanas ruled the Āndhra country proper till they were ousted by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins about the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were powerful rulers and one of their kings, Mādhavavarmana, claims to have performed eleven *Aśvamedha* sacrifices, one thousand *Agniṣṭomas*, and the *Hiraṇyagarbha Mahadana*. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins fought successfully with the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and at one time ruled over the Guntur, Kṛṣṇā, Godāvarī and Vishākhapatnam districts.

Kaliṅga, after the death of Khāravela, was divided into a number of petty states some of which were conquered by Samudragupta. During the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. the Pitṛbhaktas ruled in Central Kaliṅga with their capital at Siṁhapura, near Chicacole, and the Māṭharas in Southern Kaliṅga with their capital at Piṣṭapura (Pithāpuram). When these two were struggling for supremacy, Southern Kaliṅga was conquered by the Cālukyas of Bādāmi and Central Kaliṅga by the Gaṅgas of North Kaliṅga. These Gaṅgas were known as the Eastern Gaṅgas to distinguish them from an earlier (Western) Gaṅga dynasty of Mysore of whom they were probably an offshoot. The Eastern Gaṅgas have left numerous records which give us the names of many kings though very little is known about them. They founded an era which commenced probably at the end of the 5th or the middle of the 6th century A.D.

Orissa acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas till at least A.D. 570,

and then the Māna and Śailodbhava dynasties established two independent kingdoms. The Śailodbhavas ruled over the region extending from the Chilkā lake to the Mahendragiri mountain in the Ganjām district, and the Mānas, to their north. Both these kingdoms were conquered by Śaśāṅka and, after his death, by Harṣavardhana. About the middle of the 7th century, the Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman declared independence and performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The family continued to rule till nearly the end of the 8th century A.D.

The Karas and several branches of the Bhañjas ruled in different parts of Orissa in the 8th century and later.

To the west of Orissa lay the region known as South Kosala which comprised the modern districts of Raipur, Bilāspur and Sambalpur. It formed a part, first of the Sātavāhana and then of the Gupta empire. About the second half of the 5th century A.D. two independent kingdoms were founded in the Raipur district, one by Śūra and the other by Śarabha. Then came the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs or rulers of the Pāṇḍava family who ruled over the whole of South Kosala. A branch of them ruled in the 5th century A.D. in Mekala (Maikala) near the source of the Narmadā.

South India. Reference has been made above to the three traditional kingdoms in the Tamil land. The rise of the Sātavāhanas introduced new elements. In the first place, a people called Kalvār were forced to migrate to the Tamil land and they established their influence there for some time. After the fall of the Sātavāhanas, the Pallavas made themselves masters of the entire region from the Kṛṣṇā to the Pālār river. The origin of the Pallavas is obscure. They have been indentified by some with the Parthians who were probably brought into the Tamil land by the Sātavāhanas as their Governors or military officials. But others regard them as indigenous. In any case the Pallavas shared with the Pāṇḍyas the supremacy over Tamil land and fixed their capital at Kāñcī. Siṁhaviṣṇu, the Pallava king during the last quarter of the 6th century A.D., seized the Coḷa country and extended his power to the Kāverī. His son and successor, Mahendravarman I, (*c.* A.D. 600–630) justly famous for his literary gifts and knowledge of music and architecture, was unfortunately involved in a quarrel with the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, which continued with varying results till the 8th century A.D. King Narasiṁhavarman II (*c.* A.D. 700–728) who ruled in comparative peace, is chiefly remembered for his architectural activities, and the famous Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī built by him inaugurated the Dravidian style of architecture. He sent an ambassador to China and was highly honoured by the Chinese emperor. Nandivarman II, who was elected king at the age of twelve by the chief citizens of the state (A.D. 731) and reigned for over sixty-five years, suffered defeat at the hands of the Pāṇḍya, Cālukya, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings but kept his empire intact.

The Pāṇḍya power was revived by Kaḍuṅgon in the last quarter of

the 6th century. King Arikesari Māravarman (A.D. 670–700) extended his kingdom by conquering Cera and other regions and humbled the Pallavas with the help of the Cālukyas. His successor Koccaḍaiyan (A.D. 700–730) annexed the greater part of Koṅgu (Coimbatore and Salem districts).

The Western Gaṅgas ruled over the region known after them as Gaṅgavāḍi comprising a large part of Mysore. They were at first feudatory to the Pallavas but king Durvinīta (c. A.D. 540–600) threw off the yoke and conquered Punnāḍ (Southern Mysore) and the Koṅgu country. The next important king Śrīpuruṣa assumed imperial titles.

The Kadamba dynasty was founded by Brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarman in the third quarter of the 4th century with his capital at Banavāsi. The kingdom flourished under a succession of able rulers till it was conquered and annexed to the Cālukya kingdom by Pulakeśin II. The Ālupas ruled in the Tuluva country (South Kanara) about the same time. Reference has already been made to Koṅgu and Cera which existed from a very early period. None of these three attained any political importance. The Coḷas also ceased to exercise any political power, since they were subdued first by the Kalabhras or Kalvars and then by the Pallavas. A branch known as the Telugu Coḍas, ruled in Renāṇḍu (Cuddapah district) as feudatories of the Pallavas and the Cālukyas.

North India from A.D. 650 to 750. With Harṣa's death ended the famous Puṣpabhūti family and the mighty empire founded by his prowess and ability. The events following his death are not known and no light is thrown on the history of the period by any Indian record. Although the process of the disintegration of his empire cannot be traced in detail it is clearly marked by the rise of two or three powerful states in its component parts. Outside the empire, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa continued to flourish under king Bhāskaravarman, who entered into an alliance with Harṣavardhana, probably with the purpose of offsetting the growing power of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa who was a common enemy of both. Bhāskaravarman was the best-known king of the Varman line in Kāmarūpa. He conquered western Bengal after the death of King Śaśāṅka. Himself well-versed in the *Śāstras*, he was a great patron of learning and men of high talent from distant regions visited his court. The Varman dynasty, however ended with him. Shortly afterwards, we find a *mleccha* (barbarian) king, named Sālastambha ruling over Kāmarūpa. His successors ruled in Kāmarūpa in the 8th century but very little is known of them.

The Later Guptas, mentioned above had come into possession of Mālava, but were faced with a great calamity the exact nature of which is not known. The ruling king seems to have lost his life and kingdom; his two minor sons, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, took shelter in the court of Thāneśvar, whose king was related to them. There they

became playmates and friends of Rajyavardhana and Harṣavardhana. When the latter became master of Magadha, he appointed Mādhavagupta its king. Ādityasena, the son and successor of Mādhavagupta, was a powerful king and assumed imperial titles. Under him and his three successors, all of whom bore imperial titles, the Later Guptas were the supreme power in Eastern India.

Early in the 8th century we find a powerful king Yaśovarman on the throne of Kannauj. His court-poet Vākpati has described his career of conquest in a Prākṛt poem named *Gauḍavaho* (slaying of Gauḍa). We are told that he overran Bihār and Bengal, and marching west along Narmadā up to the Western Ghāts turned north and conquered Rājasthān and Thāneśvar. How far this account may be accepted as historically true, is difficult to say. In alliance with Lalitāditya, king of Kashmīr, Yośovarman led a campaign against the Tibetans and defeated them. He sent his minister to the court of China in A.D. 731, but the object of this mission is obscure. Soon after, a quarrel arose between him and Lalitāditya who invaded his dominions and defeated him. Nothing further is known of Yaśovarman or his kingdom after this.

In Sind, Cac died after a reign of nearly 40 years (*c.* A.D. 622–662) and was succeeded by his brother Candar who ruled for seven years. The death of Candar was followed by a struggle for succession ending in the division of the kingdom into two parts. The internal dissensions continued for a period of over thirty years during which the Arabs were knocking at the gates of Sind. Their repeated attacks proved unsuccessful until Dāhar, the younger son of Cac, had reunited the kingdom after his elder brother's death round about A.D. 700. It was during Dāhar's reign, that the Arabs finally conquered Sind.

After the death of Śaśāṅka, Bengal fell on evil days, and was successively invaded by Bhāskaravarman, Yaśovarman, Lalitāditya and others. With the political solidarity of Bengal destroyed, a period of chaos and confusion followed. There was no central authority and each landlord or local chief behaved as independent king. Might became right and the miseries of the people knew no bounds. Unable to bear them, the people or rather the chiefs elected Gopāla to be their king and voluntarily submitted to him. This unique act of self-sacrifice, statesmanship and patriotism bore good fruit. The royal dynasty founded by Gopāla, known as the Pāla dynasty, ruled for nearly four hundred years and not only brought peace and prosperity to Bengal, but raised her to a height of political greatness which she never knew before or since.

7. Political History from the 8th Century to A.D. 1206

Palas. Gopāla, founder of the Pāla dynasty, reigned in the third

quarter of the 8th century A.D. and was succeeded by his son Dharmapāla (c. A.D. 780–812). The kingdom of the Pālas now comprised Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Rāḍha and Magadha. Dharmapāla, who was the most powerful king of the dynasty, tried to establish an empire in Northern India. This involved him in war with the Pratihāras of Mālava and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Deccan, who also tried to expand their kingdoms. The Pratihāra Vatsarāja invaded the kingdom of the Pālas and achieved notable success, but he himself suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva III. The latter, after his victory over the Pratihāras, advanced with his army towards the *Doāb* between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā where he defeated Dharmapāla. After the return of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to the Deccan, Dharmapāla led expeditions in Northern India, conquered Kannauj, and placed on its throne his protege Cakrāyudha. An assembly of the kings of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avantī, Gandhāra and Kīra, who paid obeisance to Dharmapāla, was held at Kannauj, and with their support Cakrāyudha was installed on the throne. Nāgabhaṭa II, son and successor of Vatsarāja, invaded Kannauj and wrested the kingdom from Cakrāyudha. Then he advanced eastward and inflicted a defeat on Dharmapāla near Monghyr. He established his capital at Kannauj, where he and his successors ruled for more than two hundred years.

Devapāla who succeeded his father Dharmapāla, intended to establish an empire and led expeditions against many states. He won victory over the king of Gurjara and reached the Kamboja country (the Punjab or N.W.F.P.). He conquered Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) and Utkala and curbed the pride of the king of Drāviḍa. He was succeeded, about A.D. 850 by his cousin Vigrahapāla I. After a short reign, Vigrahapāla was succeeded by his son, Nārāyaṇapāla, during whose reign the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla annexed Gauḍa and Magadha to his Pratihāra kingdom about A.D. 892. In the later part of his reign Nārāyaṇapāla recovered Gauḍa and Magadha. He ruled for more than 54 years and ended his reign in the early years of the 10th century.

During the regime of his three successors, the Pālas suffered from the invasion of the Candellas and the Kalacuris and lost their hold over Vaṅga, Gauḍa and Rāḍha. During the rule of the next king Mahīpāla, sometime about c. A.D. 1021 Rajendracoḷa, a king of Southern India, attacked Mahipāla successfully but went back without annexing any territory. The kingdom of Mahīpāla extended upto Vārānasi which he had to surrender to the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva sometime after A.D. 1026. During the rule of his third successor Mahīpāla II, a high officer of the state and a Kaivarta by caste killed him and usurped the throne of Gauḍa. But Rāmapāla, the younger brother of Mahīpāla, recovered his ancestral kingdom.

After consolidating his position at home, Rāmapāla turned his activities

towards the extension of his political influence over the neighbouring states, and attained some success. Rāmapāla died in *c.* A.D. 1120 and was succeeded by his son Kumārapāla during whose reign the kingdom of the Pālas, well consolidated by Rāmapāla, began to disintegrate. Nānyadeva of Mithilā invaded Gauḍa and claimed to have won a victory. The Gāhaḍavālas wrested a part of Magadha from the Pālas and annexed it to their kingdom. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga conquered all the territories upto Hooghly. Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty, who allied himself with Anantavarman, greatly enhanced his political power in Rāḍha. Vaidyadeva put down the revolt of Tiṁgyadeva in Kāmarūpa and made himself the ruler of that region. The rule of the Pāla dynasty came to an end about the middle of the 12th century A.D.

Candras. The Candras were originally inhabitants of Rohitagiri (identified with Rohtāsgarh in the Shāhābād district, Bihār), situated in the kingdom of the Pālas. The early members of the dynasty seem to have been feudatories of the Pālas in Vaṅga with their headquarters at Vikramapura. In the middle of the 10th century A.D., Śrīcandra, son of Trailokyacandra, declared independence, asserted supremacy over all other chiefs of Vaṅga and brought Candradvīpa under his control. Vikramapura, which rose to political importance from this time, served as the capital of the Candra dynasty. Śrīcandra, ruled for about half a century (*c.* 925–975) and was followed successively by his son Kalyāṇacandra and grandson Laḍahacandra. The next ruler, Govindacandra, suffered defeat at the hands of Rājendracoḷa shortly before A.D. 1025. Govindacandra (*c.* 1020–55) seems to have been the last king of the Candra dynasty, which was overthrown by the Yādavas known also as Varmans.

Varmans. The Varmans, who claim to have belonged to the Yādava race, were originally the rulers of Siṁhapura, which is probably identical with the modern village of Singur, in the Hooghly district. Vajravarman seems to have established the supremacy of his family in Vaṅga after overthrowing the Candras. Vajravarman was succeeded by his son Jaṭāvarman, who flourished in the second half of the 11th century A.D. Jaṭāvarman married Vīraśrī, the daughter of Karṇa. His grandson, Bhojavarman, was defeated by Vijayasena in the middle of the 12th century and the rule of the Varmans came to an end.

Senas. The Senas of Bengal called themselves Kṣatriya, Brahma-Kṣatriya and Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriya, and were originally inhabitants of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Vijayasena, who ascended the throne in *c.* A.D. 1095, conquered Vaṅga, defeating Bhojavarman, and wrested Gauḍa from the last Pāla king Madanapāla. After making himself master of Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Rāḍha, he invaded Kāmarupa and Kaliṅga. The Senas had a capital in Vikramapura and another in Vijayapura, modern Nadia.

Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Ballālasena in *c.* A.D. 1158. He

conquered Mithilā and a portion of East Bihār. In A.D. 1178, he was succeeded by Lakṣmaṇasena, who defeated Jayacandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty and king of Kāśī, and conquered Prāgjyotiṣa. He was a noted general, but in the later part of his reign when he became stricken with age, Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī by a sudden raid captured Nadia, where Lakṣmaṇasena lived. The latter retired to Vikramapura where he ruled till about A.D. 1205. His son Viśvarūpasena succeeded him to the throne. After the conquest of Nadia, Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī conquered North Bengal and Muslim rule was established in Rāḍha and Gauḍa. The Muslims invaded Vaṅga during the reign of Viśvarūpasena but were repulsed. Viśvarūpasena was succeeded by his brother Keśavasena, who routed an invasion of Malik Saifu'd-dīn in A.D. 1231–33. About the middle of the 13th century, the Senas were overthrown by the Deva dynasty reigning in Samataṭa (Lower Bengal) to the east of the Brahmaputra, the capital of which seems to have been Paṭṭikerā on the Maināmati hills, in the Tripura district.

Deva Dynasty. King Dāmodara, who ruled in the second quarter of the 13th century, seems to have asserted his supremacy over the whole of Samataṭa, and his son Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva conquered Vaṅga from the Senas in the middle of the century. Daśaratha seems to have transferred his capital to Vikramapura. In A.D. 1283 he had to enter into an agreement with Balban, the Sultān of Delhi, who came to Sonargaon (in the Nārāyanganj subdivision, Dacca district) to prevent the escape of the rebel Ṭughril by water. In the later part of the 13th century, probably after the death of Daśaratha, the kingdom of the Deva dynasty was conquered by the Muslims.

Pratihāras. The term Rājput means a prince. The bards of the 14th century mention Rājpūt as a tribe comprising thirty-six clans, of which the Pratihāras, Paramāras, Caulukyas (Solānkis), and the Cāhamānas were members of *Agni-kula*. Some of these clans—the Pratihāras, Paramāras, Caulukyas, Cāhamānas, Guhilas, Gāhaḍavālas, Kacchapaghātas and the Tomaras—played an important role in the history of the period under review.

A branch of the Pratihāras, founded by the son of the Brāhmaṇa Haricandra by his Kṣatriya wife, ruled in the Jodhpur state, Rājasthān, which was situated in Gurjarātra, also known as Gurjara. Another branch of the family, the members of which seem to have been descendants of Haricandra by his Brāhmaṇa wife, founded a kingdom in Mālava, the capital of which was Ujjayinī, in the first half of the 8th century. The earliest known king of this branch was Nāgabhaṭa I, who earned renown by repulsing an attack of the *mlecchas*, evidently the Arabs of Sind. The next important king, his grand-nephew Vatsarāja, is known to have been ruling in A.D. 783. He extended his kingdom upto Jodhpur, which proves that Gurjarātra was included in his kingdom. He defeated Dharma-

pāla, the Pāla ruler of Bengal, but himself suffered a reverse at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva III. His reign ended in c. A.D. 800. His son and successor, Nāgabhaṭa II, was defeated and deprived of his throne of Mālava by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, and he thereafter established himself in Gurjarātra, which became for some time his home dominion. Later he took Kannauj from Cakrāyudha and shifted his capital there. After consolidating his position in Northern India he waged war against a number of kings. It is claimed that he seized the hill forts of the kings of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya, and that the chiefs of Andhra, Saindhava, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga felt the brunt of his sword.

The greatest king of the dynasty was his grandson Bhoja, who ascended the throne in or before A.D. 836 and assumed the titles Mihira and Ādivarāha. He defeated the Gauḍa king, apparently Devapāla, and pushed the boundary of his kingdom to the east. He also conquered Udīcyadeśa (Punjab), and extended his kingdom upto the Sindhu. A Cāhamāna family ruling in the region of Partābgarh submitted to him, but his attempt to conquer Lāṭa was frustrated by Dhruva II who belonged to a collateral branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Bhoja took up arms against the Kalacuri king, Kokalla I of Ḍāhala, but was defeated. He died about A.D. 885 and was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla I, who was deprived of his possession of West Punjab by king Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmīr. Mahendrapāla I, however, routed Nārāyaṇapāla of Bengal and annexed Magadha and Gauḍa to the kingdom, so that his empire stretched from Gujarāt to Bengal. But the fortunes of the Pratihāras did not long survive his death (c. A.D. 908)

Shortly after A.D. 915, his son Mahīpāla had to yield ground to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III, who crossed the Yamunā and sacked Kannauj. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa occupation of Kannauj was brief and Mahīpāla succeeded in re-establishing his authority over a large area of his kingdom. In the later part of his reign, before A.D. 940, Mahīpāla was again defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under their king Kṛṣṇa III. Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla II, during whose reign the disintegration of the Pratihāra kingdom began, and the Paramāra Vairisiṁha wrested Mālava. The Candellas, Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, Guhilas of Mewār and the Kacchapaghātas, who were once the vassals of the Pratihāras, became independent. In A.D. 1018, when Sulṭān Maḥmūd invaded Kannauj, Rājyapāla surrendered the city to the invader and retired to Bari on the other side of the Gaṅgā. Soon after Rājyapāla was killed by the Candella Vidyādhara.

Gahadavalas. A dynasty known as Gāhaḍavāla ruled in Kannauj from the third quarter of the 11th century. Candradeva, the first great ruler of the dynasty, established himself in Kannauj and made it his capital. He defeated the ruler of Pañcāla and was in possession of Ayodhyā and

Vārānasi in addition to Kannauj, and it is stated that he protected the holy places of Kuśika (Kannauj), Kāśī, Uttara Kosala (Ayodhyā) and Indrasthāna from the Muslims. He seems to have conquered the region from Allahābād to Vārānasi from the Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa and made the latter place his second capital. He was succeeded by his son Madanacandra, who was defeated and taken prisoner by 'Alāu'd-Daulah Mas'ūd III (A.D. 1099–1115), who invaded Kannauj. Govindacandra, son of Madanacandra, defeated the Muslims and secured the release of his father. Govindacandra's kingdom extended in the east upto Dānāpur in Bihār. He was succeeded by his son Vijayacandra, whose son and successor Jayacandra suffered a defeat at the hand of the king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. In A.D. 1193, Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī invaded the kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas and defeated and killed Jayacandra.

Kacchapaghatas. It is generally believed that the Kacchapaghātas were predecessors of the Kacchawāhā clan of the Rājpūt tribe, but there is no evidence to support it. In the latter part of the 10th century, Vajradāmana of the Kacchapaghāta family defeated the Pratihāras of Kannauj and established the supremacy of his family over Gwalior. His successors ruled Gwalior till A.D. 1196 when Quṭbu'd-dīn captured the city.

Candellas. The Candellas, who were also known as Candrātreyas, ruled the country of Bundelkhand. The dynasty had been founded by Nannuka in the early years of the 9th century, and his capital was Kharjuravāhaka, the modern village of Khajuraho in the erstwhile Chatarpur state, Madhya Pradesh. The first king of note was Harṣa who ruled from *c.* A.D. 900 to 925. Like his predecessors, Harṣa was a vassal of the Pratihāras. His son and successor, Yaśovarman, who reigned in the third quarter of the 10th century, conquered Kalañjara and extended his kingdom upto the Yamunā on the north. He fought successfully against the Paramāras and the Kalacuris and pushed the southern boundary of his state upto the borders of Mālava and Cedi. He came into conflict with the Gurjaras and successfully invaded Gauḍa and Mithilā then under Pāla rule. His son Dhaṅga succeeded him some time after A.D. 951.

Dhaṅga acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratihāra king Vināyakapāla II at least up to A.D. 954, and his kingdom extended at this time as far as Kalañjara, Betwa river in Bhīlsa, border of the Jabalpur district, Yamunā, and Gwalior. Some time before A.D. 977, he was deprived of his possession of Gwalior by the Kacchapaghāta Vajradāmana. In the later part of the 10th century, he declared independence and wrested from the Pratihāras the eastern portion of their kingdom, including Vārānasi. He also raided Aṅga, Rāḍha, Kosala, Andhra, Kāñcī and Kuntala. He sent an army to help the Sāhī Jayapāla of the Punjab, who formed a confederacy of Indian chiefs to fight Amīr Sabuktigīn of Ghaznī, and shared defeat with the Sāhīs and others. He died at Prayāga shortly

after A.D. 1002 at the age of one hundred years, and was succeeded by Gaṇḍa.

During the reign of Gaṇḍa's son, Vidyādhara, Maḥmūd of Ghaznī invaded Kalañjara, once in A.D. 1019 and again in A.D. 1022. He could not capture the fort and had to retire after establishing friendly relations with the ruler. In A.D. 1202, Quṭbu'd-dīn invested the fort of Kalañjara and the Candella king Paramardi sued for peace after a brief resistance. The king's minister, Ajayadeva, disapproving of his master's conduct, killed him and resumed resistance to the Muslims, but ultimately he had to surrender to them. Quṭbu'd-dīn took possession of Kalañjara and conquered Mahobā. Some time before A.D. 1205, Trailokyavarman, son of Paramardi, defeated the Muslims at Kakaḍādaha, south-east of Bedwara and recovered his kingdom.

Paramaras. There were several branches of the Paramāra dynasty. The main branch ruled in Mālava from the early years of the 9th century, with its capital at Dhārā. The kings of this dynasty were descended from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs of the Deccan. Shortly before A.D. 812, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III conquered Mālava by defeating the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II, and appointed one of his favourites to rule it. He was probably Upendra, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty in Mālava. Sīyaka II of this dynasty declared independence during the reign of Khoṭṭiga, successor of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, inflicted a defeat on him on the bank of the Narmadā, and pursued him upto the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital, Mānyakheṭa, which he plundered in A.D. 972. He had two sons, Muñja and Sindhurāja, the elder Muñja succeeded him before A.D. 974.

Muñja, also known as Utpala and Vākpatirāja II, was a great general and was regarded as one of the foremost kings of the age. On the east, he plundered Tripurī, capital of Ḍāhala, and forced its king, Kalacuri Yuvarāja II, to take to flight. On the north-east, he defeated the chief of Hūṇa-Maṇḍala, ravaged Āghaṭa, the capital of the Guhilas of Medapāṭa, and wrested Mount Abu and the southern part of the former Jodhpur state from the Cāhamāna Balirāja, though he failed to conquer his capital Nāḍol. Some of the conquered territories in Rājasthān were entrusted to the charge of princes of the royal family, who were founders of the Abu, Jālor and Bhinmāl branches of the Paramāras. On the west, Muñja fought against the Caulukya Mūlarāja I of Aṇahilapāṭaka and forced him to flee to the desert of Mārwār. He also won a victory over the Caulukya Bārappa of Lāṭa, who was a general of the Cālukya Taila II of the Deccan. On the south, Taila II invaded Muñja's kingdom six times but was repulsed. Then Muñja set out on an expedition against the Deccan but was taken captive by his adversary and executed shortly after A.D. 993.

Muñja's nephew Bhoja was the greatest king of the Paramāra dynasty and an important political figure in the early medieval age. Bhoja challenged

the Cālukya Jayasiṁha II as also his son and successor Someśvara I, who had plundered Dhārā, Ujjayinī and Māṇḍu in Mālava and was now reduced to a miserable state. He successfully fought with the Śilāhāras, Cālukyas and Cāhamānas but suffered reverses from the Candella Vidyādhara, Kacchapaghāta Kīrtirāja of Gwalior and the Cāhamāna Aṇahilla of Nāḍol. In A.D. 1008, he sent an army to help the Śāhī Ānandapāla of the Punjab against Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and in A.D. 1043, he joined a confederacy of the Hindu chiefs—after conquering the Muslim territories of Hansi, Thāneśvar and Nagarkot they besieged Lahore. He came in conflict with Caulukya Cāmuṇḍarāja, and his sons, Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja of Gujarāt, and plundered Aṇahilapāṭaka during the early part of the reign of Durlabharāja's successor Bhīma. Subsequently, when Bhoja became old, Bhīma in alliance with the Kalacuri Karṇa conquered Mālava. Bhoja died of a malady in course of a battle and his adversaries took possession of his kingdom. Jayasiṁha I, who came to power by A.D. 1055, recovered Mālava with the help of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. Subsequently, the Cālukya Someśvara II of the Deccan who was hostile to his brother Vikramāditya VI, invaded Mālava in alliance with the Caulukya Karṇa, successor of Bhīma I, and defeated and killed Jayasiṁha in the battle, but was shortly afterwards repulsed by the Paramāra Udayāditya, who was a brother or cousin *(bhrātā)* of Bhoja. Udayāditya had two sons Lakṣmadeva and Naravarman, who ruled in succession after his death. Lakṣmadeva, who came to the throne after A.D. 1088, is said to have raided Gauḍa, Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Kīra, defeated the Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa, and repulsed an attack of the Turuṣkas, identified with Maḥmūd, Governor of the Punjab. His nephew Yaśovarman had to surrender Mālava to Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja, the Caulukya king and it remained under the control of the Caulukyas for twenty years. About A.D. 1176–77, Vindhyavarman reconquered Mālava after defeating the Caulukya Mūlarāja II. Shortly after A.D. 1233, Iltutmish overran Mālava.

Caulukyas of Gujarat. There were three branches of the Caulukya family ; one at Mattamayūra in the neighbourhood of Mālava, another in Gujarāt, and the third in Lāṭa. The branch in Gujarāt was founded by Mūlarāja I in Aṇahilapāṭaka about A.D. 942 after he had overthrown the Cāpas, who had ruled in the region from the middle of the 8th century. Mūlarāja defeated the Cāpa Dharaṇīvarāha of Vardhamānapura in Saurāṣṭra, Ābhira Grahaṛipu of Vāmanasthalī, and Lākhā, chief of Kacchadeśa, and entered into a treaty with the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja I of Śākambharī, who overran his kingdom. He sent his son Cāmuṇḍarāja with an army against Bārappa of Lāṭa, who was killed in the battle. Though defeated by Paramāra Muñja and Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja, Mūlarāja saved his kingdom and abdicated in favour of his son Cāmuṇḍarāja in *c.* A.D. 995.

During the reign of Mūlarāja's great grandson Bhīma I, in A.D. 1025,

Maḥmūd Ghaznī overran Gujarāt and plundered Somanātha. Aṇahilapāṭaka was plundered by the Paramāra Bhoja during the early part of the reign of Bhīma, who avenged himself by conquering Mālava in alliance with the Kalacuri Karṇa in c. A.D. 1055. Bhīma's reign ended in A.D. 1064 and he was succeeded by his son Karṇa, who, in alliance with the Cālukya Someśvara II, conquered Mālava after destroying Jayasiṁha, successor of Bhoja, but was subsequently routed by the Paramāra Udyāditya. Karṇa's successor, Jayasiṁha, who was a minor at the time of his accession in A.D. 1094, assumed the title of Siddharāja. He won military success against the Ābhīras of Saurāṣṭra, Cāhamāna Āśārāja of Nāḍol, Cāhamāna Arṇorāja of Śākambharī, the Paramāra Naravarman and Yaśovarman of Mālava, Candella Madanavarman of Bundelkhand, and the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. Kumārapāla, who ascended the throne in about A.D. 1143 after the death of Jayasiṁha, forced the Cāhamāna Arṇorāja to submit to him, and won victory over the Cāhamāna Rājyapāla of Nāḍol. He dethroned the Paramāra Vikramasiṁha and placed Yaśodhavala on the throne of Mount Abu, annexed Mālava to his kingdom, and killed Mallikārjuna of Konkan in battle. Having come under the influence of the Jaina teacher Hemacandra, he embraced Jainism before A.D. 1164. He reformed the laws, and stopped gambling and other evil practices. After his death in A.D. 1172, his brother's son Ajayapāla ascended the throne. Ajayapāla died in about A.D. 1176 and was succeeded by his son Mūlarāja II, who was very young. Mūlarāja's mother Nāikīdevī, acting as regent, repulsed an attack of the Muslims, probably led by Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, who invaded Gujarāt in A.D. 1178. Mūlarāja II died in A.D. 1178, and was succeeded by his younger brother Bhīma II. During the reign of Bhīma II the provincial governors strove for independence and there were successive foreign invasions which reduced him to the position of a titular king. Arṇorāja, a member of the Caulukya family, received as grant from Kumārapāla the village Vyāghrapallī (near Aṇahilapāṭaka), where he settled with his family. He and his successors are known as the Vāghelas, a contraction of the name of this village. He came forward to defend Bhīma's authority and lost his life in the attempt to put down the rebels. His son, Lavaṇaprasāda, then came to Bhīma's help and assisted him in the administration. He repulsed attacks of the Paramāra Subhaṭavarman, Yādava Bhillama and Jaitugi, and some Mārwār chiefs, but could not resist Quṭbu'd-dīn, who, in A.D. 1197, plundered Aṇahilapāṭaka.

Cahamanas. There were several branches of the Cāhamānas, known in later time as the Cauhān Rājpūts, and the most important of them ruled in Śākambharīdeśa also known as Sapādalakṣa, the capital of which was Śākambharī, modern Sāmbhar in Rājasthān. The Cāhamāna rulers had been feudatories of the Pratihāras till Siṁharāja declared independence in the middle of the 10th century. His successor, Vigraharāja II, defeated

Mūlarāja I and overran Gujarāt. Vigraharāja II was succeeded by a large number of kings, one after the other, and in the first quarter of the 12th century, Ajayarāja was on the throne of Śākambharī. Ajayarāja founded a city which was called after his name Ajayameru, modern Ajmer. His son Arṇorāja, who was crowned before A.D. 1139, repulsed an attack of the Turuṣkas but was routed by Jayasiṁha-Siddhrāja and Kumārapāla. Arṇorāja's son Vigraharāja IV, also called Visaladeva, extended his kingdom upto the Punjab, where he came into conflict with the Muslims. The next important king Pṛthvirāja III began his reign in A.D. 1177.

Pṛthvirāja III put down the revolt of Nāgārjuna, son of his uncle Vigraharāja IV, defeated the Candella Paramardi, and invaded the kingdom of the Caulukya Bhīma II of Gujarāt, who concluded a treaty with him. Then he had to turn his attention to the affairs in the Punjab where the Muslims were pressing hard on the kingdom of the Cāhamānas. On receipt of the news that the Muslims under Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī had forcibly occupied the fort of Tabarhindah in his kingdom, he marched with an army along with Govindarāja of Delhi and his general Skanda to the Punjab, and defeated Mu'izzu'd-dīn on the battlefield of Tarain near Thāneśvar (A.D. 1191). He regained Tabarhindah and re-established his supremacy over all his possessions in the Punjab. In the following year, Mu'izzu'd-dīn came again to the Punjab with a large army, captured Tabarhindah and confronted Pṛthvirāja on the same battle-field of Tarain. Pṛthvirāja was defeated, taken prisoner and executed. Having occupied Ajmer the Muslims returned to Ghaznī. After their departure, Harirāja, brother of Pṛthvirāja, regained Ajmer before A.D. 1194, but had to surrender it to Quṭbu'd-dīn, general of Mu'izzu'd-dīn. Nothing more is known of Harirāja, and Ajmer was taken by the Muslims permanently.

A branch of the Cāhamanas ruled at Raṇathambhor whose kings claimed descent from Pṛthvirāja III of Ajmer. The last king of this line Hammīra was a great general, who lost his life in a battle with 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī in A.D. 1301. The Tomaras ruled the Haryana country from their capital Dhillika (Delhi), and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratihāra Bhoja I. They were overthrown by the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja IV of Ajmer in the middle of the 12th century, and Delhi was conquered by Muḥammad Ghūrī after the second battle of Tarain.

Guhilas of Mewar. The Guhila dynasty was founded by Guhadatta in the middle of the 6th century, and Khommāṇa, also known as Kāla-bhoja, his remote descendant, flourished in the first half of the 8th century. Bappā, who heads the genealogical list of the family in the records dating from the 13th century and is stated to have been a famous king, has been identified with Khommāṇa. This dynasty of petty chiefs ruled in Mewār and its capital was Nāgahrada, which was transferred to Āghāṭa in

the 10th century. The Guhilas possessed considerable political power during the reign of Jaitrasiṁha, in the first half of the 13th century, when Citrakūṭa or Chitor was for the first time included in the kingdom of Mewār.

Kashmir. The Kārkoṭa dynasty, founded by Durlabhavardhana in *c.* A.D. 627 in Kashmīr, played an important role in the history of this period. Durlabhavardhana's grandson Candrāpīḍa, who ascended the throne in A.D. 713 had friendly relations with the Chinese emperor and earned renown by repulsing an invasion of the Arabs. He was succeeded by his younger brothers—first Tārāpīḍa, then Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the greatest king of the dynasty. Lalitāditya in alliance with Yaśovarman of Kannauj defeated the Tibetans, but later he quarrelled with his ally and wrested his kingdom which extended upto the eastern coast. He repulsed an attack of the Arabs and won victories over the Kāmbojas, Dards, and the Turks and overran the whole of Northern India. He sent a mission to China, probably seeking assistance against the Tibetans. He died in A.D. 760 and was succeeded by a number of kings, one after the other, the last of whom was dethroned in A.D. 855 by Avantivarman.

Avantivarman, founder of the Utpala dynasty, carried out constructive work in his kingdom with the assistance of his minister Suyya. His reign closed in A.D. 883 and he was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaravarman who conquered Dārvābhisāra. Śaṅkaravarman challenged Lalliya Sāhi of Udabhanda (Ohind) but met with failure. He died before *c.* A.D. 902 under tragic circumstances and was succeeded by several kings, during whose reign the Tantrin infantry and the Ḍāmaras (feudal lords) usurped great power. At last, a Brāhmaṇa named Yaśaskara was selected as king by an assembly of the Brāhmaṇas in A.D. 939. His son was killed by his designing minister Parvagupta who ruled for about an year and was succeeded by his son Kṣemagupta in A.D. 950. Kṣemagupta's queen Diddā, daughter of the Khasa Siṁharāja, king of Lohāra, was a woman of evil propensity and dominated Kashmīr politics in the second half of the 10th century. After the death of her husband who was followed by several kings, she became the *de facto* ruler and in A.D. 980 she ascended the throne. She died in A.D. 1003, having entrusted the sovereignty to Saṁgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja of Lohāra.

Saṁgrāmarāja, founder of the Lohāra dynasty in Kashmīr, repulsed several attacks of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and sent his minister Tuṅga to help the Sāhi Trilocanapāla against the Muslim invader. A number of other kings followed; the last of them, Harṣa, was a man of learning; he introduced the custom of putting on head-dress and ear-rings in Kashmīr. In A.D. 1101, Harṣa was overthrown by the two brothers Ucchala and Sussala, who belonged to a collateral branch of the Lohāra dynasty.

Ucchala, founder of the second Lohāra dynasty in Kashmīr, made his

brother Sussala an independent ruler of Lohāra. After Ucchala's death, Sussala captured the throne of Kashmīr with the help of the Ḍāmaras in A.D. 1112. The last king of this line was Vantideva (A.D. 1165–72) and after his death the people placed one Vuppadeva on the throne.

Arabs of Sind and the Turkish Invasions. In A.D. 712, Muḥammad Ibn-Qāsim defeated and killed Dāhar, king of Sind, and took possession of his capital Alor. The conquest of Sind by the Muslims was completed in the following year by the capture of Multān. The Arab army was posted in the important cities, but the countryside remained under the control of Hullishah (Jaisiṁha), son of Dāhar, and other chiefs, who assumed more power when Muḥammad Qāsim was removed from the Governorship in A.D. 715. Sind was ruled by the Governors appointed by the Caliphs. Junaid, Governor of Sind under the Caliph Hishām (A.D. 724–743), strengthened his position by defeating Hullishah and then led an expedition against Rājputānā (Rājasthān) and Western India for the expansion of the Muslim kingdom, but was repulsed by Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya of Lāṭa and the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I of Mālava. The Governors of Sind during the decline of the power of the Abbasids in the first half of the 9th century, assumed more authority and the successors of the Governor Mūsā ruled the country virtually as independent chiefs. Sind formed a part of the dominion of the Saffarids from A.D. 872 to 903. After the downfall of the Saffarids, Sind was divided into two independent states, with their capitals at Mansūrah and Multān respectively. Maḥmūd Ghaznī annexed Multān to his dominion but could not maintain his effective control over Mansūrah which also he had captured. Shortly after the death of Maḥmūd, the Sūmra dynasty began to rule in the lower Indus valley as independent chiefs. In A.D. 1175, it submitted to Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī and acknowledged the nominal sway of the Sulṭān of Delhi.

Muslim Conquest: Ghaznavids. Sabuktigīn, a general of Alptigīn, founded the Yamīnī dynasty in Ghaznī in A.D. 977. He defeated the Śāhi Jayapāla of the Punjab and extended his kingdom upto Peshāwar. He died in A.D. 997 and his son Maḥmūd ascended the throne in the following year after having routed his brother Ism'āīl. Maḥmūd wrested the Punjab from the Śāhis and annexed it to his dominion. He invaded and plundered Thāneśvar, Mathurā, Kannauj, Gwalior, and Somanātha in Gujarāt, and acquired vast treasures. He died in A.D. 1030 and his successors ruled the Punjab through their Governors. Shortly after A.D. 1157, Sulṭān Khusraw Shāh, driven out from Ghaznī by the Ghuzz Turks, fled to the Punjab and established himself there. His son and successor, Khusraw Malik, the last Sulṭān of the family, was deprived of his sovereignty of the Punjab by Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad of Ghūr in A.D. 1186.

Ghurids. Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Muḥammad, nephew of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥusain, became the Sulṭān of Ghūr in A.D. 1163. He defeated the Ghuzz Turks

in A.D. 1173 and placed Ghaznī under his brother Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad. Having taken the Punjab from the Ghaznavid Khusraw Malik, Mu'izzu'd-dīn defeated and killed Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III and the Gāhaḍavāla Jayacandra and conquered a large part of North India. Mu'izzu'd-dīn was assassinated by an unknown enemy and his general Quṭbu'd-dīn declared himself Sulṭān at Delhi in A.D 1206.

Deccan : Rastrakutas. Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, who was a *Mahāsāmanta* under the Cālukya Vikramāditya II, defeated the latter's son and successor Kīrtivarman II before A.D. 753 and wrested from him the greater portion of the Deccan. He was succeeded about A.D. 756 by his uncle Kṛṣṇa I, who gave a final blow to the power of Kīrtivarman II, attacked the Gaṅgas of Mysore, and forced the Cālukya Viṣṇuvardhana IV of Veṅgī to acknowledge his supremacy. His reign ended between A.D. 772 and 775. His son Govinda II was dethroned by his younger brother Dhruva shortly about A.D. 780. Dhruva led successful compaigns in North India against the Pālas and the Pratihāras. On the south, he annexed the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi to his kingdom, forced the Pallava Dantivarman to yield to him and humbled Viṣṇuvardhana IV of Veṅgī. His successor Govinda III (A.D. 792) also made an incursion into North India and fought successfully against the Pāla Dharmapāla and his protege Cakrāyudha, and having wrested Mālava from the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II, he assigned its rule to one of his officials, Upendra of the Paramāra dynasty. He repulsed an attack of a confederacy of the Pallava, Kerala, Pāṇḍya and Gaṅga rulers. His son Amoghavarṣa I, who came into power in A.D. 814 fought long-drawn battles with the Eastern Cālukyas and the Gaṅgas. Amoghavarṣa was a poet and he patronized men of letters, such as, Jinasena and Śākaṭāyana. He built the city of Mānyakheṭa, modern Mālkhed (145 km. south-east of Sholāpur) where the old capital was shifted, possibly from Mayūrakhiṇḍi. His son Kṛṣṇa II fought successfully against the Pratihāra Bhojà but could not resist Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III of Veṅgī, who overran the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. Kṛṣṇa II occupied Āndhra after the death of Vijayāditya III but was driven out by the latter's son, Cālukya Bhīma I. After his death in A.D. 915, his grandson Indra III, whose father Jagattuṅga had predeceased him, came to the throne. Indra III defeated the Pratihāra Mahīpāla I, plundered Kannauj, and challenged the Eastern Cālukyas. Kṛṣṇa III wrested Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam from the Coḷa Parāntaka who continued the struggle for the recapture of the lost territory. In a battle fought at Takkolam, the Coḷa Crown Prince, Rājāditya lost his life. Kṛṣṇa III, fourth in succession from Indra III, thereafter overran the Coḷa country and reached Rāmeśvaram (Rāmeswaram). He helped the Eastern Cālukya Bādapa to capture the throne of Veṅgī from Amma II. He was one of the most powerful kings of the dynasty, and ruled over wider territories than his immediate prede-

cessors. He was succeeded in A.D. 967 by his younger brother Khoṭṭiga who was a weak ruler. The Paramāra Sīyaka II declared independence, inflicted defeat on Khoṭṭiga on the bank of the Narmadā, and plundered Mānyakheṭa in A.D. 972–973. Khoṭṭiga was succeeded in that year by his nephew Karka II, who was overthrown by the Cālukya Taila II in the following year.

Calukyas of Kalyana. Taila II, who reestablished the supremacy of the Cālukyas over the Deccan extended the boundary of his kingdom upto North Mysore, defeating the Gaṅgas, and fought successfully against Uttamacoḷa, king of Thanjāvūr. On the north, he conquered Lāṭa and appointed his general, the Caulukya Bārappa, as its ruler. Taila fought a protracted war with the Paramāra Muñja of Mālava, eventually defeated him, took him prisoner, and executed him in his capital. There was a protracted struggle between the Cālukyas and the Coḷas. The Cālukya Someśvara I had to meet two attacks of the Coḷa Rājādhirāja who plundered Kalyāṇa, the Cālukya capital. In A.D. 1053-1054, Rājādhirāja, the Coḷa king invaded the Deccan for the third time but was killed in the battlefield of Koppam. At this critical time, his brother Rājendra II took over the command and defeated the enemies. It is claimed by the Cālukyas that Someśvara I plundered Kāñcī after defeating the Coḷas. He suffered heavily at the hands of Rājendra II's successor Vīrarājendra at Kūḍal-Śaṅgam, but his son Vikramāditya VI, still a *yuvarāja*, routed the Coḷa king before A.D. 1067 and plundered his capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍa. Someśvara's military campaigns in other directions met with conspicuous success. His victories ranged over the Caulukya Bhīma I, Paramāra Bhoja, Kalacuri Karṇa of Ḍāhala, and Vajrahasta V of Kaliṅga, and the rulers of Kosala, Lāṭa and Kerala. He also put down the revolt of the Yādavas of Seuna-deśa. His son Vikramāditya VI led his army to Bengal. He granted Anmakoṇḍa-viṣaya, modern Warangal, to his general, the Kākatīya Prola, in recognition of his military service. He was succeeded in A.D. 1068 by his eldest son Someśvara II, who in alliance with the Caulukya Karṇa invaded Mālava and killed the Paramāra Jayasiṁha I. In A.D. 1076, Vikramāditya VI imprisoned Someśvara II and ascended the throne. He fought against the Coḷas for a long time for supremacy over Āndhra and succeeded in the later part of his reign in annexing it to his dominion. He put down the revolt of the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, Kadambas of Goa, and the Yādavas of Seuna-deśa. Crossing the Narmadā, he plundered Lāṭa and Gujarāt. In A.D. 1083, he sent an embassy to the court of Vajrabāhu, king of Ceylon, and his court was graced by the Kashmiri poet Bilhaṇa, author of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, and Vijñāneśvara, author of *Mitākṣarā*. He founded an era, known as Cālukya-Vikrama era, the initial year of which is A.D. 1076. His grandson Taila III made an effort to put down the revolt of the Kākatīyas of Warangal but was taken prisoner. Though he was released, the incident impaired the prestige of the Cālukyas. Taking

advantage of the situation, the feudatory Bijjala of the Kalacuri dynasty became the *de facto* ruler of the country, while acknowledging the nominal supremacy of Taila III till the latter's death in A.D. 1163.

Kalacuris of Kalyana. Bijjala, usurper of the Deccan throne (A.D. 1157), had to surrender the larger portion of the Deccan including Kalyāṇa to Someśvara IV, son of Taila III, in A.D. 1183. Though defeated by Yādava Bhillama in A.D. 1189, Someśvara continued to rule till A.D. 1200.

Yadavas of Devagiri. Bhillama founded the city of Devagiri which began to serve as the State capital. His son Jaitugi, who succeeded him, fought against the Mālavas, Gurjaras, and Kulottuṅgacoḷa III of the south, and killed the Kākatīya Mahādeva of Warangal. Jaitugi's son, Siṅghana, who came to the throne in *c.* A.D. 1200, was the greatest ruler of the dynasty and made extensive conquests both in the north and the south, but these took place after A.D. 1206.

Hoysalas of Dorasamudra. Nṛpakāma, the founder of the Hoysala dynasty, who flourished in the middle of the 11th century, was a petty chieftain in Śaśakapura. His son Vinayāditya ruled Gaṅgavāḍi from his capital Dorasamudra as a feudatory of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Vinayāditya's successors continued to acknowledge Cālukya supremacy but king Ballāla II of this dynasty declared his independence in or shortly after A.D. 1189 when the Cālukya Someśvara IV was overthrown by the Yādava Bhillama V, and ruled till A.D. 1220.

Kakatiyas of Warangal. The earliest known chief of the Kākatīya dynasty, Beta I, a Śūdra by caste, was ruled in the Nalgonda district (Andhra Pradesh) in the first half of the 11th century. His son and successor, Prola I, acknowledged the supremacy of the Cālukya Someśvara I of Kalyāṇa who granted him permanently Anmakoṇḍaviṣaya, in the Warangal Taluk (Andhra Pradesh). Prola was succeeded by his son Beta II, who received Sabbisayira in the Karīmnagar district from the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. The early chiefs of the Kākatīya dynasty were feudatories of the Cālukyas. One of them, Prola II, fought with the feudatories of the Cālukyas and this made Cālukya Taila III invade the territory of the Kākatīyas. But Taila was taken prisoner by Prola, who released him subsequently. Prola II's son and successor, Rudra I, inflicted the final blow on Taila III and declared independence befor A.D. 1162. Some time before A.D. 1185 Rudra expanded his kingdom, wresting Kurnool district, in Andhra Pradesh, from the Coḷas. He constructed many temples and buildings in the city of Orungallu (Warangal), which rose to importance about this time. Rudra was killed in battle with the Yādava Jaitugi in A.D. 1196 and was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva who died in A.D. 1199. Jaitugi also took Gaṇapati, son of Mahādeva, prisoner in A.D. 1196 but released him and installed him on his paternal throne in A.D. 1199. Gaṇapati conquered the Āndhra

country and transferred his capital to Orungallu, and abolished oppressive taxes on foreigners.

Eastern Calukyas. Mention has been made above of the foundation of the kingdom of Veṅgī in the Eastern Deccan by Viṣṇuvardhana, a brother of the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II. This family came to be known as the Eastern Cālukyas. Their history was uneventful except for frequent conflicts with the Raṣṭrakūṭas after they had overthrown the main Cālukya family of Bādami and the consequent domestic troubles and civil war. Vimalāditya who ascended the throne in A.D. 1011 submitted to Coḷa Rājarāja, and thenceforward ruled as a protege of the Coḷas. Vimalāditya was succeeded by his son Rājarāja in A.D. 1018. Rājarāja married the daughter of Rājendracoḷa I, who gave birth to his son Rājendracoḷa II, who bore the name Kulottuṅgacoḷa after his accession to the throne and annexed Āndhra to his dominion.

South India: Pallavas of Kanci. Pallava power declined after Nandivarman II. His son Dantivarman, who came to power about A.D. 796, had to face the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pāṇḍyas. Dantivarman was succeeded, one after the other, by Nandivarman III, Nṛpatuṅgavarman and Aparājita. The last-named king was overthrown by Ādityacoḷa about A.D. 903. The imperial line of the Pallavas ended with Aparājita, but some minor branches ruled in Nolambapāḍi.

Colas. Vijayālaya, the founder of the imperial Coḷa dynasty, was in the early part of his life a feudatory of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. About the middle of the 9th century, he made himself master of Thanjāvūr when the Pallavas were hard pressed by the Pāṇḍyas in the Kāverī region. His son, Ādityacoḷa I, overthrew the Pallava Aparājita about A.D. 903 and asserted his supremacy over the greater portion of the kingdom of the Pallavas along with Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Ādityacoḷa's successor, Parāntaka I (A.D. 907–955), captured Madurai, defeating the Pāṇḍya Rājasiṁha, but he was routed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III at the battle of Takkolam. His son Rajaditya lost his life in the battle and he had to surrender Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to his adversary. His grandson Sundaracoḷa, also known as Parāntaka II (A.D. 957–973), wrested Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and fought a battle with the Pāṇḍyas.

Rājarāja I, the son of Parāntaka II, who ascended the throne in A.D. 985 was a great general. He defeated the Cera navy at Kāndalūrśālai and conquered Veṅgi, Gaṅgavāḍi, Nolambapāḍi, Koṭṭam, Kaliṅga, Irattapāḍi (Deccan), Ilamaṇḍala (Ceylon) and the Maldive Islands. Rājarāja, who was an administrator of great ability, encouraged the establishment of local self-government in his kingdom and surveyed the land. He built the great temple of Rājarājeśvara at Thanjāvūr, a magnificent piece of architecture in South Indian style. He granted a village for the maintenance of a Buddhist *Vihāra*, built by a king of the Śailendra dynasty at Nāgapaṭṭana. His son Rājendracoḷa I, who was

formally installed as *yuvaraja* in A.D. 1012, made extensive conquests: Madurai, Ceylon, Deccan, Ādinagara, Orissa, Rāḍha and Vaṅga and won victory over the Pāla king Mahīpāla. With his naval forces, he invaded Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago and overran Kadaram (Kedah near Penang), Śrīvijaya (Sumatra), Nicobar Islands and many other places. He was succeeded in A.D. 1044 by his son Rājādhirāja, who put down the hostile forces in Ceylon, but lost his life in about A.D. 1053–54, in a battle with the Cālukya Someśvara I at Koppam. His brother Rājendra II was anointed king in the battlefield and the Coḷas won victory on that occasion under his leadership. Rājendra II was succeeded in A.D. 1063 by his brother Vīrarājendra who had to fight against the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI in order to maintain supremacy over the Āndhra country. Subsequently, he gave his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya VI and established friendly relations with him. He put down a revolt in Ceylon and conquered Kadaram. He was succeeded in A.D. 1070 by his young son Adhirājendra, who lost his life in a general revolt soon after his accession. Then Rājendracoḷa II, son of Rājarāja of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty of Āndhra, ascended the throne of the Coḷas. Rājendracoḷa II assumed the name Kulottuṅgacoḷa, and he and his successors preferred to call themselves Coḷas though they were Cālukyas by birth. He annexed Āndhra to his kingdom in A.D. 1076, and sent princes of the royal family there as viceroys. He put down revolts in Ceylon and claimed to have conquered Kadaram. In A.D. 1090, at the request of the king of Kadaram, he exempted the villages granted to the Buddhist *Vihāras* at the Nāgapaṭṭana from the payment of royal dues. He fought a number of battles with Vikramāditya VI, who, in the closing years of his reign, annexed Āndhra to his dominion. Kulottuṅga conquered North Kaliṅga, defeating the Gaṅgas. In A.D. 1118, he was succeeded by Vikramacoḷa though his father continued to live four year longer and next came Kulottuṅgacoḷa II. During the reign of Rājarāja II, the successor of Kulottuṅgacoḷa II, the central power of the Coḷas weakened and the Hoysalas took possession of the northern part of their kingdom. Rājarāja II's successor, Rājādhirāja II, ascended the throne in A.D. 1173, and during his reign Āndhra was taken over by the Kalacuris of Kalyāṇa. Rājādhirāja II was succeeded by Kulottuṅgacoḷa III, who was again succeeded by Rājarāja III in A.D. 1218. The reign of Rājarāja III saw further deterioration of Coḷa power. At this time Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya burnt Thanjāvūr but allowed the Coḷa monarch to rule. Kopperuñjiṅga of Śendamaṅgalam, a feudatory of the Coḷas, took Rājarāja III prisoner but was forced by the Hoysala Narasiṁha II to release him. Rājarāja III was now reduced to the position of a titular king and the Hoysalas became the *de facto* rulers of the country. Rājarāja III was succeeded in A.D. 1256 by Rājendracoḷa III, who fought against the Hoysalas and the Kākatīyas and reduced their authority temporarily. They regained

their power soon and struggled along with the Pāṇḍyas for supremacy over the Coḷa domain. In the contest Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya gained the upper hand and asserted his mastery over the Coḷa country which was finally annexed to the Pāṇḍya kingdom by his successor, Māravarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya. The imperial rule of the Coḷas thus came to an end. The last known date of Rājendracoḷa III is A.D. 1279.

Pandyas of Madurai. Māravarman Rājasiṁha I, the son and successor of Koccaḍaiyan, ruled from A.D. 730 to 765. He fought a number of battles with the Pallava Nandivarman near Thanjāvūr and conquered Koṅgu-deśa. He also defeated Cālukya Kīrtivarman II in a big battle at Veṇbai. His successor, Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (c. A.D. 765–815) made numerous conquests which gave him mastery over Thanjāvūr, Tiruchchirāpalli, Salem, Coimbatore and South Travancore. The next ruler Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, repulsed an attack of the confederacy of the Gaṅgas, Pallavas and Coḷas, but was routed by the Pallava Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅgavarman II. Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha's successor Varaguṇavarman II (c. A.D. 862–80), was decisively defeated by the Pallava Aparājita, which greatly crippled the power of the Pāṇḍyas. Varaguṇavarman II was succeeded by Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, (A.D. 860–905) and Māravarman Rājasiṁha II (c. A.D. 905–20) came next. He was forced to surrender his crown to the Coḷa Parāntaka I and leave his motherland. This put an end to the first empire of the Pāṇḍyas.

The Pāṇḍyas raised their head again after the battle of Takkolam (A.D. 949) in which Parāntaka I suffered heavily. Coḷa Rājarāja, the Great, brought the Pāṇḍya country under his control and its administration was conducted by the Coḷa viceroys. The Pāṇḍya princes gave them trouble from time to time and became powerful during the reign of Coḷa Adhirājendra, but Kulottuṅga succeeded in bringing them under control. In c. A.D. 1166, civil war broke out in the Pāṇḍya country between Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara for the throne. Kulottuṅgacoḷa III ultimately succeeded in placing Vikrama Pāṇḍya, a relation of Kulaśekhara on the throne of the Pāṇḍyas. After Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the Pāṇḍya throne was occupied by Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara Rājagambhīradeva (A.D. 1190–1216), who was succeeded by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1216–38).

Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, who is regarded as the founder of the second Pāṇḍya empire, overran the Coḷa country, burnt Thanjāvūr and forced Coḷa Rājarāja III and his feudatory Kopperuñjiṅga of Śendamaṅgalam to flee. Subsequently, he allowed Rājarāja III to rule over his territory. He was succeeded by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (c. A.D. 1238–51), and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (c. A.D. 1251–68) came next. Jaṭāvarman forced Rājendracoḷa III to acknowledge his supremacy, defeated Kopperuñjiṅga of Śendamaṅgalam but allowed him to retain power as a vassal, seized Kāñci and reached Nellore after defeating the Kākatīya Gaṇapati. He defeated the Hoysalas whose king Someśvara

lost his life in the battle. He invaded Ceylon and conquered the northern portion of it. These extensive conquests made him master of the vast region from North Ceylon to Nellore. He beautified the temples at Śri-raṅgam and Chidambaram with gold and other riches. His successor Māravarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya (c.A.D. 1268–1309) finally annexed the Coḷa country to his dominion.

8. History of Political and Cultural Expansion

General Trends. The spread of Indian culture was an intellectual conquest through peaceful means. It was, to start with, generally a one-way traffic. While many travellers, especially from China, came to India, there never was any attempt on their part to indoctrinate Indians in the philosophy of Confucius or of any other Chinese thinker. On the other hand, Buddhism secured a footing in China as early as the 1st century A.D. Enterprising merchants, adventurous young princes, and scholars like Kumārajīva, Kaśyapa Mātaṅga, Padmasambhava and others undertook this task in a selfless spirit. There is, however, no doubt that later India also imbibed foreign culture.

Motives for Political Expansion. Political expansion in South East Asia was motivated partly by a desire on the part of enterprising princes driven by misfortune to find new homes and kingdoms for themselves and partly to spread Indian culture. A few adventurous men like Kauṇḍinya settled down in the kingdoms explored by them, where they were accepted by the local population as their rulers. These kingdoms became also the repositories of Indian culture in the medieval period when India itself was engulfed in political turmoils. They were not Indian colonies but independent states with little political contact with the mother-land. The long war between the Coḷas and the Śailendras is a pointer in this direction. In the Western and Central Asian spheres, there was contact and possible influence in the field of religion and philosophy; at the other end in South East Asia it was complete Indianization of the region. Rulers professing Hinduism or Buddhism set up a socio-political structure on the ancient Indian model and patronized Indian learning, art and architecture. Indian culture dominated in every sphere, although the rulers considered themselves as part and parcel of the indigenous soil. Later on, it was completely submerged in the local culture. This development covers more than a thousand years.

(a) India and Ceylon

Literary References. The earliest historical tradition in Ceylon connect-

ed with India was the landing of prince Vijaya with seven hundred followers in that island—the first phase of Indian settlement in that pear-shaped island, according to the *Mahāvaṁśa*. Its probable date is about 500 B.C. Political relations between the two countries commenced at the time of Aśoka with the arrival of Mahendra and Saṅghmitrā who were received by king Devānāmpiya Tissa. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (c. 101–77 B.C. or 161-137 B.C.) invited *Therās* from different parts of India. Ceylonese monks also visited India. In the time of Samudragupta, King Śrīmeghavarṇa (c. A.D. 352–79) sent an envoy with gifts to secure the permission of the Gupta monarch to build a monastery at Buddha Gayā for the residence of Buddhist monks from Ceylon. This was readily granted. Ceylon's relations with South India, though often strained in the political field, were cordial in other spheres. The Coḷa rule in Ceylon from c. A.D. 992-93 during the reign of Rājarāja (A.D. 985–1016) was noted for the spread of Hinduism in that island. In the days of Parākramabāhu I (c. A.D. 1153–86), the Siṁhalese fought against the Coḷas as they supported rival candidates for the Pāṇḍya throne, and captured Rāmeśvaram and Madurai, but it was a short-lived victory. Pāṇḍyan and Vijayanagar influence continued in Ceylon from 13th to the 16th century A.D., and was notable for the establishment of a Tamil kingdom in the north, followed by more than three centuries of foreign rule. Indian cultural influence in the island is traceable in the realms of language, literature, art and architecture; and Buddhism continues to this day to be the binding force.

(b) Early Settlements in Burma, Thailand and Malaya

Routes. The march of Indian culture in South East Asia was the outcome of the thirst for reaching the eastern El Dorado—Kanakapurī—the land of gold. Merchants and adventurous or banished princes, seeking to try their luck in the unknown land, embarked either at the ports of Tāmralipti and Paloura or took the land route through dense forests and mountains noticed by the Chinese traveller, Kia-Tan, and also mentioned in Burmese chronicles.

Sri Ksetra. The early history of Burma is shrouded in mystery, but Indians had probably settled in that country since the beginning of the Christian era. The Hinduized Pyus tribe founded the kingdom of Śrīkṣetra (modern Hmawza, old Prome), and their rule lasted till about the 9th century A.D. Excavations at the ancient site of Śrīkṣetra have brought to light terracotta votive tablets, inscriptions, sculptures and ruins of old buildings. The terracotta tablets, some hundreds from a single mound, contain the figure of the Buddha and scenes from his life and the well-known Buddhist formula, *ye dharma hetuprabhāva*, etc., and sometimes short extracts from the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. The inscriptions

are in Sanskrit, Pāli and the forgotten language of the Pyus, but in a script similar to the South Indian Pallava-Grantha. Numerous figures of the Buddha in stone, bronze and terracotta have also come to light (A.D. 600–800) and these are all in Indian style. The remnants of the ruined *stūpas* at Hmawza also show the common Indian form.

Abhiraja. Tradition has it that Abhirāja, a prince of the Śākya clan of Kapilavastu, founded the city of Sankissa on the upper Irrawaddy from where he ruled as king. Later Aniruddha (A.D. 1044–77) brought about the political unification of Burma. He married a Vaiśālī princess, and their son Kyanzittha was crowned in *c.* A.D. 1084. He repaired the Buddha Gaya temple and married a Coḷa princess. Both he and his successor maintained close relations with India. The Mongol invasion in the last quarter of the 13th century spelt political disintegration in Burma.

(c) Indian Colonies in Thailand and Malaya

Thailand and Malaya were colonized by the Indians from the north as well as from the south. Ships touched at Takua Pa in the Malaya Peninsula which was a transit centre for a short cut to Caiya on the Bay of Bandon. Archaeological finds all around bear testimony to the ancient Indian colony. Another port of disembarkation was Tavoy from where travellers could proceed to the Menam delta. The inscriptions from Malaya include those of the famous sailor Buddhagupta found in the northwest of Wellesley province. King Viṣṇu of the Ligor inscription and Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak seal were probably the same person—an early ruler of Malaya. According to a Chinese chronicle, five hundred families of Hu, probably a mercantile class, two hundred Buddhists and more than a thousand Brāhmaṇas of India lived at Tuen-siun in Malaya. Another inscription of the 3rd century A.D. refers to a kingdom called Lin-yang, while Lang-Kia-su is noticed in the *History of the Liang Dynasty*. The former was supposed to be in Central Burma, the latter in Malaya Peninsula was founded about the 2nd century A.D. A ruler named Bhagadatta sent his ambassador Āditya to China in A.D. 515. The Hindu settlement at Pa-hoang welcomed Brāhmaṇas from India and had contacts with China in the 5th century A.D. It is identified with Pahang, and its ruler was Śrī Bālavarma. Kan-to-li was another Hindu settlement in the Malaya Peninsula besides many others flourishing in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor) with its great *stūpa* surrounded by a large number of temples was a Buddhist settlement of that period. Other Indian settlements in this region were those of Dvāravatī and Haripuñjaya in Thailand.

Fu-nan. Archaeological finds in places like Sa-huynh in Annam, Samrong-seu in Cambodia, Oc-Eo in Cochin-China and Sempaga in

the island of Celebes (Sulawesi) suggest a sudden change from the Neolithic to the Hindu culture with the arrival of Indian immigrants, either directly from India or through Burma and Malaya. The oldest Hindu kingdom established in the lower valley of the Mekong, the area now included in the Indo-China peninsula—was known as Fu-nan, with its capital at Vyâdhapura, probably near Ba Phnom. According to the tradition recorded in inscriptions, it was founded in the 1st century B.C. by a Brâhmaṇa named Kauṇḍinya from India who defeated and married the Nāgī princess Somā of that place. The second Kauṇḍinya—again a Brâhmaṇa from India—reached the place through Pan-pan (Bandon) and was elected king by the people, thus marking the next stage of Indian colonization. Hinduism took deep root in that country, and the rulers bore Indian names and followed Indian religion. The Brahmanical hierarchy was a notable feature in the social order.

Kambuja. Fu-nan lost its importance and was merged in the famous kingdom of Kambuja (Cambodia) named after Kambu-Svāyambhuva, occupying the territory around Vat Phu hill near Bassac in Laos, in the north-east corner of Cambodia. By about the 6th century A.D., king Bhavavarman founded a new royal family, consolidating his hold over the kingdom of Kambuja and Fu-nân. His successors ruled for a very long time. The later history is that of the empire of Kambuja extending over a period of more than five centuries.

Campa. The Hinduized kingdom of Campā in the centre of the southern part of Annam was founded at the close of the 2nd century A.D. The kingdom of Siang-lin founded by Kiu-lien in A.D. 192, according to the Chinese Annals, was the nucleus of the Hindu kingdom of Campā. The famous Vo-chanh inscription (near Nha Trang in the province of Khanh-Hoa in South Vietnam), composed in Sanskrit and written in an Indian script of about the 2nd century A.D., refers to the royal family of Śrī Māra who might have been the first historical king, if not the founder of the Hindu dynasty. By the 4th century A.D., Śrī Bhadravarman, identified with Fan-Hu-ta, built the temple of Śiva at Myson, naming the deity after him, Śrī Bhadreśvarasvâmin. Hindu dynasties and religion (both Hinduism and Buddhism) and Sanskrit language flourished for a long time despite the proximity to and clash with Tonkin then under Chinese occupation. From Śri-Māra of the Vo-canh record to Prakāśadharma Vikrântavarman in the 7th century A.D., the history of Campā is one of incessant struggle against China. This ruler of Campâ was related on his mother's side with the Kambuja royal family. In the last phase of Campā's history, the country came into clash with the Annamites and Kambuja. It also offered strong resistance to Kublai Khān, the great Mongol chief. The struggle against the Annamites was a prolonged one, causing loss of territory. A portion of the northern tip passed into enemy hands; and the desire for an Annamite princess cost Jayasiṁhavarman IV two

provinces—this event happened in the 14th century. Campā finally fell before the Annamite onslaught, loosing Amarāvatī in A.D. 1402 and Vijaya, in the centre, in 1471. It was thus reduced to a small principality, which was also gone with the ruler seeking refuge in Kambuja.

(d) Early Kingdoms in Indonesia

The Indonesian archipelago containing nearly three thousand islands also came under the influence of Hindu culture. The name Yavadvīpa, very probably Java, occurs in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The four rock-cut inscriptions found around Jakarta refer to a king named Pūrṇavarman whose capital was the city of Tārumā. His father, Rājādhirāja, constructed a canal named Candrabhāgā, connecting the royal city with the sea, and another named Gomatī. The Indo-Javanese phase of history in Central Java dates from the 8th century A.D. The Hindus set up kingdoms in Central and Eastern Java, as is evident from the numerous inscriptions and monuments in these regions.

Kingdoms in Java and Sumatra. Besides Java, the neighbouring islands of Sumatra and Borneo were also centres of Hindu settlements. I-tsing refers to the famous kingdom of Śrī Vijaya, which in course of time became a great political power in South East Asia. If P'o-li of the Chinese text could be identified with Bali, then this small island which has retained its Hindu character to this day was an early settlement of the Indians. Its ruler's family name was Ca-ri-ya-ka corresponding to Kṣatra or Kṣatri and the kingdom sent embassies to China from A.D. 518 to 630.

Mulavarman of Borneo. Seven inscriptions recorded on *yūpas* and found in the district of Kutei at Muara Kaman, in Borneo, record certain great gifts (*mahādānas*) and religious sacrifices of king Mūlavarman, son of Aśvavarman, and grandson of Kuṇḍuṅga. In East Borneo, a large number of images of Hindu gods have been found in the cave of Kombeng, while in West Borneo at various places inscriptions on stone and a number of inscribed gold plates have been found. A Buddha image of the Gupta style and another of the Amarāvatī style were found at Sambas and at Sempaga in the Celebes respectively. It appears that Borneo had Hindu settlements, and it is tempting to identify it with the Barhiṇa-dvipa of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. These kingdoms in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Indo-China formed the nucleus of the empire of the Śailendras and the Varmans of Kambuja.

(e) Imperial Phase

Srī Vijaya. Śrī Vijaya was probably the first Hindu empire in South

East Asia. I-tsing spent a few years at Palembang, its capital. It was a centre of trade and Buddhist learning. A record dated in the year Śaka 606 (A.D. 684) mentions Jayanāśa or Jayanāga as the ruler of Śrī Vijaya. As a leading and powerful state, Śrī Vijaya sent several embassies to China between A.D. 670 and A.D. 741. An inscription dated in the year A.D. 775 from Ligor in the Malaya Peninsula refers to the mighty power of the Buddhist king of that place. Śrī Vijaya gained power and influence in Malaya and Indonesia and helped trade between the orient and the occident.

The Sailendra Empire. The Śailendras whose origin has been a matter of dispute also ruled in Malaya and Indonesia for nearly five hundred years. The original home of the Śailendras seems to have been in Java where the famous monuments of Barabuḍur and Caṇḍi Mendut are fitting memorials of their munificence as patrons of art. The Nālandā record dated in the year 39 or 35 of the time of king Devapāla (*c.* A.D. 850) records the grant of five villages for the maintenance of a monastery by Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa. Śrī Cūḍāmaṇivarman and his son Śrī Māra Vijayottuṅgavarman, rulers of Kaḍāra or Kaṭāha (Kedda in the Malaya Peninsula) and Śrī Vijaya, maintained contacts with the Coḷas. They were associated with the construction of a Buddhist *Vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭana (Nāgapaṭṭinam) on the east coast of India. Coḷa conquest of Kaṭāha resulted in the overthrow of the Śailendras some time before A.D. 1025. The kingdom of San-fo-tsi as called by the Chinese which took its place continued for more than three hundred years till it was destroyed by Java in the 14th century A.D.

Airlangga and the Hindu Kingdom of Eastern Java. Some Hindu rulers figure prominently in the history of Java. King Airlaṅgga, son-in-law of a Javanese king, was formally consecrated ruler in East Java and brought the whole of the island under his control. In his records we have reference to the peoples of Kaliṅga, Siṁhala, Drāviḍa, Karnāṭaka, Campā and Khmer who had evidently trade relations with Java. Regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the fine figure of the deity seated on a Garuḍa from Belahan is supposed to be his actual representation. The partition of his kingdom between his two sons was the beginning of the decline of his empire. Kaḍiri, the capital of one, was conquered by the neighbouring ruler of Singhasāri named Rājasa who united the whole of Java under his authority. Kṛtanagara, well up in art and literature, extended his authority over Bali, Sunda (Western Java), Sumatra, Malaya, Borneo and Madura (another island). His egotism and absorption in religious affairs cost him his life and throne. The Mongol ruler Qublai Khān conquered the kingdom in A.D. 1293 but the Mongols did not stay there.

Majapahit. Vijaya, the son-in-law of Kṛtanagara, founded a new kingdom with Majapahit as his capital, and was known as Kṛtarājasa Jayavardhana. During the reign of Rājasanagara, who ascended the throne

in A.D. 1350, the Majapahit empire included large parts of Malaya and Indonesia. It had contacts with Thailand, Kaliṅga, Campā and Dharmanagari, and other neighbouring places, and trade relations with Jambudvīpa (India), Cīna, Karṇāṭaka, and Gauḍa. His death in A.D. 1389 precipitated internal dissensions. Although the kingdom of Majapahit continued for another century, it was of little importance. The influx of Muslim traders, giving Islām a footing in the island, paved the way for its gradual expansion in Indonesia, ultimately enveloping it completely. Only Bali escaped and preserves its old tradition to this day.

Varman Empire in Kambujadesa. The empire of the Varmans in Kambuja lasted for nearly five centuries. Bhavavarman and his successors Mahendravarman and Īśānavarman had carved out a big kingdom, and in the 7th century A.D. it extended upto Dangrek mountains in the north, comprising Cochin-China and Cambodia. After a dark period of over a hundred years, when probably the Śailendras dominated there, Jayavarman II ascended the throne in A.D. 802 and founded a new dynasty. The kingdom ruled by him and his successor, Jayavarman III, was vast, reaching the frontiers of Yunnan in Southern China. Indravarman succeeded him and founded a new royal dynasty. He boasted of his commands being obeyed by rulers of Campā, Cīna and Yavadvīpa. Yaśovarman, who ascended the throne in A.D. 889, enhanced the power, prestige and glory of his empire and his family. A distinguished man of letters, he was also a patron of art, and built many temples and his capital at Yaśodharapura. During the time of Rājendravarman (*c.* A.D. 944–68) the empire comprised the vast region to the south of China and east of Burma.

A period of internal trouble soon followed. It was only in the time of Sūryavarman II that the dissenting forces were overcome, to rise again after his death in or after A.D. 1145. The invasion by the king of Campā, and the sacking of the Kambuja capital shattered its prestige. It was, however, regained by Jayavarman VII who defeated the Chams in a naval engagement in 1190. In the prolonged struggle fortune favoured the Kambuja ruler and the whole of Campā came under his sway. This was the peak period with the Kambuja empire extending from the sea of China to the Bay of Bengal. The city of Angkor Thom was well fortified and well laid out with its enormous buildings and palaces, and the famous temple of Bayon occupying the central portion of the city is regarded as the masterpiece of Kambuja architecture. The last important ruler was Jayavarman VIII whose abdication in A.D. 1295 was followed by internal troubles; and the aggression of the Thais which had begun in the 13th century brought about the downfall of the empire of the Hindu rulers in Indo-China, though the petty kingdom of Cambodia continues till today.

Thailand. Thailand was colonized by the Hindus in the first two centuries of the Christian era. Excavations at Pong Tuk, 32 km. from

Pra Pathom, the discovery of a Sanskrit inscription of the 4th century A.D. near Pechaburi, and Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sculptures point to this part being a centre of Hindu culture. After the decline of Fu-nan, of which Thailand had been a part, the Dvāravatī kingdom rose into importance. The Hinduized Mons who dominated this kingdom extended their influence in the north as far as Haripuñjaya or Lamphun. In the 10th century A.D. the Kambuja empire extended over this region.

(f) Cultural Impact

Caste System. The Indian immigrants in South East Asia, while setting up their kingdoms, tried to build a social structure on the orthodox Indian model with the traditional four castes (*cāturvarṇya*) and the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas. The distinction between Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas was more apparent than real. Intermarriage between the two was not unknown. Agastya, a Brāhmaṇa immigrant, married a princess named Yaśomatī, and Divākara from Vṛndāvana in India took the hand of Indralakṣmī, daughter of emperor Rājendravarman. Jayavarman VIII's queen hailed from the respectable family of Brāhmaṇa Hṛṣikeśa of the Bhāradvāja group. In Campā, Rudravarman's father was a famous Brāhmaṇa, while his mother was a Kṣatriya. So also Prakāśadharma's sister married a Brahmaṇa named Satyakauśika Svāmin, and their son Bhadreśvaravarman was a Brahma-Kṣatriya. This caste is mentioned in several inscriptions in Kambuja and Campā. The *cāturvarṇya* also figures in Java and we find a reference to the emergence of caste from Brahmā. But the caste system in these regions was not as rigid as in India. The aristocracy and the common people had a sharp line of distinction, specially noticed in their dress, which was scanty in the case of ordinary people but gorgeous and ornamented for the aristocrats. Caste did not interfere in the choice of the avocation. A Kambuja record refers to the members of a Brāhmaṇa family being elephant drivers, artisans and priests. In the time of Jayavarman V, certain new castes came into existence. The same inscription refers to seven castes (*saptavarṇas*).

Dress and Ornaments. Complete Indianization is also apparent from the dress of the people as shown in sculptures. The Indian *dhotī* was very commonly used. It is mentioned by Chinese historians. A sculpture at Bayon depicts the king dressed in *dhotī* with a *hāra*—jewelled gold garland —round his neck. *The History of the Sui Dynasty* mentions that the king was dressed in purple silk clothes which were embroidered. Inscriptions and sculptures bring out the use of Indian ornaments—diadems (*mukuṭas*), ear-pendants (*kuṇḍalas*), bracelets (*keyūras*), and wristband (*kaṭakas*).

Family Life and Position of Women. Pastime and recreation included playing on instruments like lyre (*vīṇā*), drum (*mṛdaṅga*), kettle drum (*bherī*) and cymbal (*paṇava*). The family life and position of women were similar to those in India. An inscription from Kambuja refers to performance of *pitṛtarpaṇa* by the son with water. Joint family was usually in vouge. Some of the rulers traced descent on the mother's side. The food habit of the people was the same; *taṇḍula* (rice) was the staple food with pulses like *tila* and *mudga*. Likewise *ghṛta*, *dadhi* and *guḍa* (ghee, curd and molasses) are mentioned in inscriptions.

Economic Life. The contribution of Indians to the economy of the country was no less, as is evident from references to different avocations and the use of coins and weights of several denominations.

Education. Indian influence extended to the field of education and literature as well. We find the progressive use of Indian literature, both Sanskrit and Pāli. Prākṛt was not unknown, since we have a reference to Guṇāḍhya. The Indian script was retained. There are also references to talented ladies, implying that education was not denied to the fair sex. It was diffused through centres, popularly called *Āśramas*. Śrī Vijaya was a big centre of learning for Buddhism and Buddhist scholars. Besides the four Vedas, including the *Atharva*, and the *Sāma*, grammar was studied according to different traditions. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is mentioned in several records, while king Yaśovarman had composed a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. The Purāṇas were well known. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were also studied. People were familiar with the works of Kālidāsa, especially *Raghuvaṁśa*. The names of Bhāravi, Vasubandhu and Guṇāḍhya also figure in Kambuja records.

Literature. Indian literature was keenly studied in Campā. King Bhadravarman was well versed in the four Vedas, while king Indravarman III was proficient in the six systems of Hindu philosophy as well as Buddhist philosophy. King Jaya-Indravarmadeva VII was well versed in grammar, astrology and the Mahāyāna system of philosophy. According to a Chinese chronicle, after the Chinese general Lieu Fang had sacked the city of Campā, he carried with him 1,350 Buddhist manuscripts. This event took place in A.D. 605. Java drank deep at the fountain of Indian literature, and under the patronage of its benign rulers, produced a vast literature, varied in contents. Besides the translations of the two Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, Java produced the *Kṛṣṇāyana* by Triguṇa, dealing with the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛṣṇa, *Bhārata-yuddha* written by Mpu Seḍah and *Harivaṁśa* both based on the *Mahābhārata*, during the reign of Jayabhaya—and several works belonging to the Purāṇa class of which special mention may be made of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. The Aja-Indumatī episode in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Madana-dahana* episode in the *Kumārasambhava* find their echoes respectively in the *Sumanasāntaka* and the *Smaradahana*. There are also works on *Nīti* and *Dharma*

Śāstra, religion and philosophy. Among secular works may be mentioned those on history, linguistics, medicine and erotics. All this was the outcome of an academic discipline, based on the ancient Indian system of education and the patronage extended by the highly gifted and enlightened rulers.

Religion and Art. The greatest impact was in the field of religion and art, the former supplying themes to the artist who tried to conform to the canons of the *Śilpaśāstra*. The religious systems of India—both Hinduism and Buddhism—became deeply rooted in South East Asia. The popular faiths and religious practices in India found an exact replica in those regions. Vedic sacrifices with the setting up of the *yūpas* were known in Borneo about the 4th century A.D. The Purāṇic gods and goddesses and stories connected with them were widely current. Although Śaivism was more prominent, Viṣṇu with his incarnations also found numerous patrons and votaries from among the ruling monarchs. Śiva with his destructive and renovating powers—and his two *Śaktis*, Mahākālī and Pārvatī, along with his *liṅga* form—is very much in evidence. The images of Gaṇeśa and the war god Kārttikeya are also found. Viṣṇu represented with four arms, his *Śakti*, Lakṣmī, as well as his incarnations, especially Matsya, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are all represented. Brahmā also figures as the third member of the trinity. The famous Belahan image of Viṣṇu is supposed to be one of the best specimens of sculpture in Java. In Campā, Śiva occupied the most important position and an image of him in the form of a *liṅga* was regarded as the national deity throughout the course of its history. Other deities also were associated with Śiva, like Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, and even his bull *Nandī*. Viṣṇu was known by various names, and so also his incarnations. Some of the kings after death ,were associated with a divinity. There were several other Brahmanical gods, like Sūrya and Kubera, who also figured in religious life and art in Campā.

In Kambuja the worship of Śiva was associated with the cult of Devaraja which comprised the setting up of *liṅga* on a raised pyramid symbolizing the essence of royalty, the deification of royalty and ancestor worship. Tāntricism was closely connected with this cult. The Indian Brāhmaṇa Hiraṇyadāma particularly taught certain Tāntric texts to Śivakaivālya. Pure Śaivism is evident from the reference to the setting up of Śaiva statues. The *liṅga* form of Śiva worship is also noticed both in inscriptions and in art. The composite deities—Hari-Hara and Trimūrti—are also noticed. As the supreme deity, Śiva presides over the famous temple of Bayon. Viṣṇu is also invoked in a number of records under different names and forms. The story of Kṛṣṇa is depicted in sculptures. There are references to various other Brahmanical divinities suggesting that the Purāṇic form of worship was very popular. Vedic sacrifices continued to be performed. Śivācārya was the official priest of four successive kings. Sūryavarman performed *Lakṣahoma* and *Koṭihoma* sacrifices and gave liberal fees to the Brāhmaṇa priests.

Buddhism. Buddhism flourished side by side in South East Asia not as an antagonistic religion but as a supplementary one. Buddha and Śiva are associated together, and the former even finds a place in the Brahmanical Trinity consisting of Padmodbhava (Brahmā), Ambhojanetra (Viṣṇu) and the Buddha. The assimilation of Buddha in the Brahmanical Trinity is an important feature. Buddhism acquired great favour both in Campā and Java. Dong Duong in Campā appears to have been a stronghold of Buddhists as evidenced by several images of the Buddha, and remnants of a Buddhist temple were found there. In Java the famous *stūpa* at Barabuḍur is a living monument, symbolizing the flourishing state of Buddhism in that island. In all these places the religion of the Tathāgata was not an antagonistic force set up against Brahmanism, but was something friendly or even identical. A Śiva-Buddha cult existed in Java, and Śiva, Viṣṇu, and the Buddha were all regarded as identical. The international character of Buddhism is apparent from contacts between Suvarṇadvīpa and India on the one hand, and other Buddhist countries on the other. We have references to Atiśa Dīpaṅkara of Vikramaśila and Dharmapāla of Kāñcī as visitors to Suvarṇadvīpa.

Temples. Art, as the handmaid of religion, constitutes the greatest living memorial of Indian culture and civilization in South East Asia. Whether it be the temples of Myson or Po-Nagar in Campā, or those of Angkor Vat and Bayon in Cambodia, or the Barabuḍur and the Caṇḍis of Java, they were all inspired by one ideal—the setting up of a fitting monument symbolizing the people's religious devotion. The earlier phase in temple construction is completely Indian, either of the North Indian *śikhara* type or of the South Indian Drāviḍa style, but native genius with a desire for lofty and sky-scraping structures triumphs over the earlier impulse. A colossal character to the whole structure is also given by the grouping of numerous temples in one enclosure. The sculptures and narrative reliefs bear a stamp of their own, whether they are the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Panataran or the Kṛṣṇa legend at Angkor Vat. In Cambodia one also notices the cruciform plan of the individual towers, like the one in the Kandariya Mahādeva temple at Khajuraho, and also the conception of grouping a number of cellas on a single terrace as in the famous Orissan temples at Bhubaneśvar. The artists exhibited mastery of technique with a high aesthetic conception. With the decay of Indian influence, and the final collapse of the Hindu states, art received a death blow.

(g) North-western Phase

Indian cultural influence extended to West and Central Asia as well. There was no attempt at political expansion in the west, but the assimi-

lation of all the foreigners who came to India—Greeks, Parthians, Śakas, Kuṣāṇas and Hūṇas—in the socio-religious structure of India was the triumph of Indian culture. This extended even further. Chinese Turkestān, called by Sir Aurel Stein as 'the innermost heart of Asia', and forming a vast basin was at one time a prosperous country of flourishing cities with their rich sanctuaries and monasteries. The remains in Turkestān and the finds at different sites explored or excavated by archaeologists have established beyond doubt that a large number of Indians had migrated from the Punjab and Kashmīr and settled in the Tarim basin where they built numerous cities. Indian life and thought were so firmly planted that when Stein was exploring that region he felt as if he was in some Punjab village, although he was nearly 3,220 km. away from the land of the five rivers.

Indian Kingdom in Khotan. There was an Indian kingdom in Khotān alleged to have been founded by a son of emperor Aśoka. The names of the early kings all begin with Vijetā. Buddhism was introduced in that kingdom more than a century after its establishment. Vairocana from Kashmīr had gone there for that purpose. Later many Buddhist monasteries were set up in the region; two famous ones, Gośṛṅga and Gomatī *vihāras*, were great centres of learning. Many other Indian monks visited Khotān and many Buddhist monasteries flourished there.

Both Prākṛt and Sanskrit were studied in Khotān. The whole of Central Asia was a meeting place of different cultures since it contained the famous silk trade route between China and Rome. The northern route touched Kucha (Kuchi), Qara Shahr (ancient Agnideśa) and Turfan, while the southern route passed through Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotān, Niya, Miran and other important centres. The two routes finally converged at Tun-huang on the western border of China, a strong Buddhist centre noted for its famous grottos. Buddhism flourished in all these regions but traces of Brahmanical religion are also found in Khotān and other places.

Besides religion, Indian influence can also be traced in art and architecture. According to Pelliot, some Indian artists from Khotān had migrated to China. Various remnants of frescos leave no doubt that not only the whole iconography but the technique of drawing, conventions and mannerism were derived from the Buddhist paintings in India. The fragments from Dandan Uliq show Indian influence—the conception, technique and details being all Indian. Even in the last phase, there is nothing which is not a reproduction of Indian models. Stucco figures were modelled on the existing ones at Gandhāra. The Indian influence is even more distinctly confirmed by the finds from Khotān, Tumshuq and Schorshuq.

Political and cultural ties between India and Central Asia continued till about the 8th century A.D. The gradual advance of Islām and the suspension of the silk trade on account of insecure conditions resulted

in the breaking of political and cultural ties between India and the 'innermost heart of Asia'.

India and Afghanistan. India's relations with Afghānistān have been closer in the political and cultural spheres. The political boundaries between India and Afghānistān did not exist under the Mauryas, Indo-Greeks, Kuṣāṇas and Mughals. The long period of political associations no doubt resulted in closer cultural contacts. Systematic explorations and excavations at Bāmiyān, Begram, Hadda, Surkh Kotal and other places have brought to light traces of Buddhist settlements. The Gandhāra school of art which flourished both in India and Afghānistān is well represented in sculptures, stucco and clay, as well as in mural paintings from the 3rd to the 8th century A.D. The modern village of Hadda (ancient Nagarahāra) is the site of 531 *stūpas* together with some three thousand statues. It was one of the most important Buddhist establishments in Afghānistān. According to Fa-Hien, one thousand *stūpas* were erected to the memory of Arhats and Pratyeka-Buddhas. Bāmiyān is noted for its colossal Buddha statues and innumerable cave shrines and monasteries. Brahmanism also flourished in Afghānistān as is evident from the find of a unique Sūrya image in Begram (ancient Kapiśā). Indian influence in the field of religion and art continued till the end of the 10th century A.D., when Afghānistān became an Islāmic state.

India and Iran. Indian cultural influence in Īrān is not as prominent as in other spheres. The relations between the two countries can, however, be traced back to about the 3rd millennium B.C., with close similarity in the field of religion and mythology. After the fall of the Achaemenian empire, the master craftsmen seem to have found shelter in the Mauryan capital. It is quite likely that the Indian and Īrānian artists were tackling similar problems under the same circumstances and with the same material at their disposal. These resemblances are, therefore, symbolic of 'link from man to man, mind to mind, giving a proper coherence to the variegated history of civilization'.

Indian religion and philosophy, however, made a deep impression on the Īrānians. The doctrine propounded by Mani, who flourished in Īrān in the 3rd century A.D., bears the influence of Buddhism, and a Manichaen treatise refers to him as Tathāgata i.e., Buddha. There is also a marked resemblance between their views on asceticism. In the medieval period the Caliphs encouraged the translation into Persian of Indian treaties on medicine and astronomy. The Hindu system of numerals was borrowed from India by the Arabs and they spread it all over the world.

Conclusion. During the long course of history, India's attitude towards political and cultural expansion has never been imperialistic. Armies were never sent to conquer any region. The conquest was mainly intellectual, and incidentally the superior culture triumphed over the native

one. Individual men or groups set up kingdoms which in course of time shaped into empires. The contact with the motherland was maintained but India never exploited the colonies for her own benefit. The kingdoms were, however, repositories of Indian culture—replicas of the ones in India. In South East Asia, these kingdoms and Indian culture flourished for nearly fifteen hundred years; in the land beyond the Himālayas their existence was of shorter duration. The spade of the archaeologist has uncovered this phase of Indian history. The degree and extent of colonial enterprise was never uniform, and sooner or later the Indians in their new homes found themselves merged in the local population. The archaeological remains and famous existing monuments bear eloquent testimony to the ancient panorama of 'Greater India'.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC LIFE

A. NATURE OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

1. Period of Vedic Samhitas, Brahmanas and Upanisads (*c.* 1500-700 B.C.)

In the early Vedic period, that of the *Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā*, the Vedic Aryans, then in occupation of the north-eastern fringe of the Irānian plateau and the land of the five rivers immediately to its east, were divided into a number of tribes (*janas*). The kings were called after their tribes as in the formula of the priests' announcement of the 'royal sacrificer' to the assembled multitude at the ceremony of royal consecration. Afterwards in the period of the *Yajus Saṁhitās* and the Brāhmaṇas there emerged, at least among the more advanced peoples, a new type of polity, based on the territorial state. In two *Yajur Veda* texts the king is stated to be the ruler of the *viś* (people) as well as of the *rāṣṭra* (kingdom or royal sway). The three technical terms applied to the king's authority were *rājya* (kingdom or ruling power), *rāṣṭra* and above all, *kṣatra* (temporal power) as opposed to *brahma* (spiritual power). Other texts prescribe the performance of sacrifices whose aim was the submission of the people (*viś*) to their ruler, while forbidding ceremonies that could have the contrary result. Reference is made in a few *Atharva Veda* texts to the king's quasi-divinity. But no claim is made for his divine descent, much less for his divinity. On the contrary, the king's descent from Manu (father of the human race according to Vedic cosmogonic ideas) is pointedly mentioned in a prayer on his behalf. The development of the conception of the king's divinity may be traced in the *Yajus Saṁhitās* and the Brāhmaṇas, especially in connection with their description of the three great ceremonies of royal and imperial consecration, the *Aśvamedha*, the *Vājapeya* and the *Rajasuya*. According to these texts, the king not only shares the world of the gods but also enjoys fellowship or sonship or even identity with Prajāpati, the highest deity of the later Vedic pantheon. This conception, nevertheless, was subject to three important limitations. First, the ruler's affinity with the gods is, according to the views of the authors, a personal distinction acquired by him through his performance of sacrifices. Secondly, the human descent of the king is clearly mentioned in the formula of the king's proclamation to the multitude at the *Rājasūya*. Thirdly, the doctrine of sacrifice in the *Yajus Saṁhitās* and the Brāhmaṇas meant that it was a way of entering into the godhead and even of controlling the gods.

The gods themselves, it was held, owed their position to the omnipotent sacrifice. From this it followed that the king's divinity, such as it was, was not peculiar to himself but was shared by him with others equally entitled to the performance of the great sacrifices. A unique text of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, however, explains the riddle of "one ruling the many" by the argument that 'he, the Rājanya, is most manifestly of Prajāpati'. Here the king's authority is evidently based upon his divinity without reference to the sacrifice.

The most remarkable feature of the early Vedic polity was the institution of popular assemblies, of which two, namely, the *Sabhā* and the *Samiti* deserve special mention. Amid the obscurity of the texts and their inconclusive interpretations by scholars, we may draw the following general conclusions about the constitution and functions of these bodies: the *Samiti* was the Vedic tribal or folk assembly *par excellence*, which at least occasionally exercised the right of electing the king, while the *Sabhā* was, from the outset, a more limited body with judicial functions. Both the *Samiti* and the *Sabhā* enjoyed the right of debate—a privilege perhaps unknown to the popular assemblies of other ancient peoples. In the later Vedic period, the *Samiti* disappeared as a popular assembly while the *Sabhā* became a narrow body corresponding to the king's privy council and court.

The view that the Vedic kingship was a constitutional monarchy or a public trust, is not warranted by facts. The Vedic king's authority, however, was subject to some important limitations. The old Vedic concept of an omnipotent divine law (*vrāta* or *dhāman*) and custom (*dharma* or *dharman*) must have operated as a moral, though not as a constitutional, check on the king's authority. Moreover, the princes and nobles and the officials called *Sūtas* and *Grāmaṇīs* who are styled king-makers in two *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* texts, together with the popular assemblies, must have collectively exercized a large, although undefined, measure of influence over the king's administration. As regards the influence of the Brāhmaṇas, it is true that a fundamental principle of the Vedic polity is the separation of the temporal power (*kṣatra*) from the spiritual power (*brahma*). Nevertheless, it is probably correct to state that while the Vedic relationship of *brahma* to *kṣatra* anticipated by many centuries the relation between the Church and the State in Europe, the Brahmanical order lacking the strength of organization of the Roman Catholic Church and also its will to power, failed to establish what its counterpart did at some time or other i.e., an effective control over the temporal power. In the office of the *Purohita* or the king's domestic chaplain, the Brāhmaṇas would seem to have found a pillar of their strength, for he was regarded from the first as the necessary adjunct of the king, and in fact was regarded as 'the protector of the realm'. From some later Vedic texts, however, we learn that the *Purohita* could be in danger of losing his position owing to the tyranny or caprice of his patron. We may reasonably infer that such influence as was exercised

by the *Purohita* over the king depended more upon his personality than upon the established law and usage.

2. Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan Periods (*c.* 700–185 B.C.)

One general characteristic of this period is that the 'territorial state' became the normal type of polity. At the time of the rise of Buddhism a chain of such states extended over the Indo-Gaṅgā plain and the Mālwa tableland. These states, which had a more or less fixed territory and capital, were commemorated in some earlier Buddhist and Jaina canonical texts in a conventional list of sixteen great political organizations (*mahājanapadas*).The states were of two principal types—monarchical and republican. Shortly after the rise of Buddhism, the chief monarchies conquered the smaller kingdoms and republics, and were eventually themselves absorbed in the empire of the Nandas, the predecessors of the Imperial Mauryas.

The pre-Mauryan period marked the first great epoch of organized state administration in Indian history. We may trace this advance in the branches of political, economic and military organization of the state. It will suffice to describe very briefly the first of these branches. One important aspect of state policy was the promotion of public security and welfare. According to the Dharma Sūtras and the *Arthaśāstra*, it is the duty of the king to ensure the security and welfare of the subjects. To begin with, he is charged with the distinctive duty (*dharma*) of protecting all creatures. Not only does the state law contain clauses for the security of the person and property of the subjects, but the king is also made personally responsible for the restoration of the stolen property or its value to the owner. In the Dharma Sūtras the king is the guardian of minors, infants and persons unfit to transact legal business, as well as the custodian of lost and ownerless property. As regards the policy of public welfare, the king in the Dharma Sūtras is required to provide food, shelter and clothing for the needy, especially at his guest-house at the capital.

Kauṭilya lays down a comprehensive programme of state relief against providential calamities which are classified under eight heads, namely, fire, flood, disease and famine, as well as pests like rats, ferocious animals and snakes and even the visitations of demons. A strikingly original feature of the state administration in Kauṭilya's work is its policy of promotion of public health. This involves a ban on unwholesome food and drink and a strict control over physicians in the interest of patients as well as state provision for medical treatment of the afflicted people at the outbreak of diseases and epidemics. Another notable characteristic of administration is illustrated by the measures for protecting the public against the dishonest dealings of artisans and traders. In the Dharma Sūtras, not only are certain classes of persons, including the poor

and the infirm, exempted from taxation, but some select categories are also entitled to state relief.

The above evidence is partly corroborated and partly negatived by the stories in the Jātakas, which give us a truer picture of contemporary life. We have stories of kings who sought, in accordance with the ideas and superstitions of the time, to relieve their subjects from the calamities of drought and famine. We are also told how good kings used to construct alms-houses (*dānaśālās*, literally 'halls of charity') at their capitals for the benefit of the public. A few stories tell us how kings strove to promote the welfare of their subjects on canonical lines. On the other hand there are a large number of stories indicating the insecurity of life and property of the subjects under the rule of capricious and tyrannical kings.

An important branch of state administration noticed for the first time in this period relates to the security and progress of the state. In the first place, Kauṭilya mentions measures for securing the king's personal safety, particularly, against the danger of disaffection of princes, for launching mass propaganda through the agency of spies in order to guard against the enemy's intrigues and to seduce the enemy's subjects and for suppressing the enemies of the state. Secondly, he describes measures for planned colonization of waste lands; for acquiring control over military and political groups called *saṅghas*; and those for attainment of the fundamental objective of progress (*vṛddhi*) in the branch of inter-state relations.

The most dominant aspect of society and state in the Dharma Sūtras is the organization of both on the orthodox Brahmanical pattern. In these works, the Brāhmaṇas are given a number of immunities and privileges including exemption from corporal punishment and immunity from taxation, while the Śūdras are subjected to grievous disabilities. The impact of the Brahmanical pattern state, as it may be called, is strongly felt in Kauṭilya's account of state administration. A strong reaction against the Brahmanical social pattern is noticeable in the texts of the early Jaina and Buddhist literature. But we have only passing and scattered references to the influences of this reaction in the branches of law and polity.

We now turn to the second type of polity marking the epoch of the rise of Buddhism. In the records of these and later times, the titles *saṅgha* and *gaṇa* are often applied in a general sense to republican constitutions. In reality, these terms constitute a genus including the species of religious, economic, military and political units. We can distinguish two periods of the rise and fall of republics in the history of the pre-Mauryan age. Sometime before the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, a number of republics, of which the Licchavīs and the Mallas were the most important, came into prominence along the middle and upper basin of the Gaṅgā. But in a short

time they were absorbed in the larger kingdoms like Magadha and Kosala. Further, the land of the five rivers was split up after the décline of the Achaemenid power in that area into a number of republics and monarchies, which flourished till they were conquered by Alexander of Macedon. As regards the republics of the first period, we may conclude from a careful study of the relevant texts of the early Buddhist literature that they were ruled by clans of the Kṣatriya caste who formed an aristocracy of birth. Their constitution consisted of a sovereign popular assembly and an elected chief (*Senāpati*) or group of chiefs (*Pāmokkhas* or *Mukhyas*). From the evidence of the most authentic Buddhist canonical texts, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu appear to have possessed a hereditary ruler and an assembly of the ruling Kṣatriya caste. This was evidently a mixed constitution of monarchical and aristocratic elements.

In the period immediately preceding the rise of the Mauryas, we can trace two parallel movements in the political history of India. In the Gaṅgā basin and the Mālwa tableland the large states were absorbed into the dominion of the Nandas, which paved the way for the imperial dominion of the Mauryas. On the other hand, the Indus valley, which fell for a time under the yoke of the Achaemenids of Īrān, was split up into a number of independent states, monarchical as well as republican. These flourished till they were overthrown by Alexander.

Our knowledge of the states and governments of the Indus valley on the eve of Alexander's invasion is derived from the first-hand observations of the officers (called Companions) of the great conqueror, which have been preserved in the works of later classical writers. The monarchies were of two types, the normal type ruled by a king, and the unusual type (represented by the solitary example of Patalene in the Sindhu delta) which was ruled by two hereditary kings of different houses holding supreme command in war and a council of elders possessing supreme power. The republics were also of two types, the common type of aristocracies and democracies (peculiar to the Abastinoi). The constitution of the republics comprised a sovereign assembly which had the right of making war and peace and negotiating with foreign powers, a supreme magistrate and probably also a council of advisers or elders. To judge from the testimony even of the hostile Greeks, some of the Indus valley states achieved a high degree of equity and justice in their administration. Such were the kingdoms of the Sophytes in the Salt Range of the Punjab and of the Mousikanos in the lower Indus valley. These states seem likewise to have undertaken new experiments in the branch of general administration. In the kingdom of the Sophytes and the republic of the Abastinoi (Ambaṣṭhas), the Government controlled the upbringing of children so as to weed out the weak and the infirm. A unique feature of the kingdom of the Mousikanos was the absence of slaves.

The liberation of the Indus valley from the Macedonian yoke by Candragupta Maurya, and the completion of political unity of the country under his successors, led to the creation of the first all-India empire with frontiers reaching out almost to its natural boundaries in the east and south and extending beyond the north-west. By the time of Aśoka the empire was divided into four provinces with headquarters at Takṣaśilā, Ujjayinī, Tosalī and Suvarṇagiri in North-western, Western, Eastern and Southern India respectively. The home province was under the direct administration of the emperor. The Mauryas attempted to integrate the regions and peoples of their far-flung empire by such measures as the creation of a highly centralized administration under the rule of the emperor and his officials, the appointment of Mauryan princes as viceroys at the head of the provincial administration, the creation of a kind of Koine (lingua franca), the so-called 'Monumental Prākṛt' as the official language of their empire, as well as the adoption of Brāhmī as its official script for the most part, and finally the wise policy of granting autonomy to many dependent peoples. The Mauryas continued the old policy of promotion of public safety and welfare. From the Girnār rock inscription of Rudradāman, the Śaka ruler of Western India in the 2nd century A.D., we learn that a big irrigation lake was constructed in that remote region of the Mauryan empire by the provincial governor under Candragupta Maurya and that it was repaired by the local authority in the reign of Aśoka. The welfare measures of Aśoka after his conversion to Buddhism mark an epoch not only in the history of ancient India, but also of the ancient world. These comprised, first, planting of trees along the roads, digging of wells, and making arrangements for the treatment of men and beasts—this is the earliest reference to state hospitals; secondly, inculcation of virtuous living among the people in accordance with the emperor's Law of Piety; thirdly, similar inculcation of a kind of religious syncretism based on appreciation of the common ethical values of all popular faiths of the time; and fourthly, the protection of animal life. Great care was taken for the maintenance of routes and communications. The rural officials (Agronomoi) of Candragupta Maurya's administration were required, according to Megasthenes, to mark the roads by pillars at regular distances of 10 *stadia*. A 'royal road' connected Puṣkalāvatī beyond the Sindhu river with Pāṭaliputra, the imperial capital. It would thus seem that the Indians under Mauryan rule ranked among the great road building nations of the world.

3. Pre-Gupta and Gupta Periods (*c*. 185 B.C.–A.D. 700)

The break up of the Mauryan empire was followed by the rise of regional powers viz., the Śuṅgas in the Gaṅgā basin, the Sātavāhanas in Western

India, and for a time, the Cetas of the eastern seaboard. To this period we may assign the beginning of the institution of powerful feudatories which was destined to assume dangerous proportions from the late Gupta period onwards. The Śuṅga feudatories occupied a position little short of independence, since they struck coins in their own names and sometimes assumed even royal titles. The great feudatories of the Sātavāhanas ruled as kings over large territories, while others were known by the distinctive titles of *Mahārathis* and *Mahābhojas*. The pre-Gupta age was likewise a period of barbarian invasions and settlements. During this period, many foreign dynasties—Greek, Śaka, and Parthian—ruled over the Indus valley; a branch of the Śakas ruled Western India; and the Great Kuṣāṇas founded an empire in Northern and Western India. These rulers introduced new royal and administrative titles and principles of state administration after foreign models. What distinguished the Śaka rulers of Western India from other foreign dynasties of this period was the completeness with which they identified themselves with their Indian subjects. They substituted the indigenous Brāhmī for the foreign Kharoṣṭhi in their coin-legends and adopted a largely Sanskritized Prākṛt in place of the old undiluted Prākṛt for their official records. Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna (the greatest ruler of the first satrapy), distributed his charities impartially among the Brāhmaṇa laity and the Buddhist monks, thus assuming the role of the Indian princely patron of learning and piety at its best. Rudradāman, the greatest ruler of the second satrapy, chose to be remembered in his famous Girnār inscription as a model king after Indian standards.

The Guptas founded the first great indigenous empire after the period of barbarian invasions and settlements in Northern and Western India following the collapse of the Imperial Mauryas. They not only reunited the most fertile and prosperous regions under a single rule, but also completed their emancipation from foreign yoke. According to the contemporary Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-hien, the people in the Gupta dominions enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity. Fa-hien begins his account of the 'Middle Kingdom' (Chinese designation of Madhyadeśa comprising the area of the Gupta empire) with the observation that capital punishment was unknown and crimes were punished with fines. He also notes that the revenues of the Gupta empire were mainly derived from the king's share of the agricultural produce. The result of this beneficent administration of the Guptas was evident in the condition of the people. Speaking of the people of the 'Middle Kingdom', Fa-hien states that they were 'numerous and happy'. The Guptas also patronized learning by the construction of more buildings (with endowments for their maintenance) at the great Buddhist monastic university of Nālandā, while their care for public works was shown by their restoration of the famous artificial lake at Girnār during the reign

of Skandagupta. In short, the administration in ancient India was at its best under the Guptas.

The downfall of the Gupta empire was partly due to the invasions of the barbarian Hūṇas under Toramāṇa and his son and successor Mihirakula, and partly, to the assertion of independence by its vassal chiefs. The ascendancy of the feudatories in the history of ancient Indian states dates from the later Gupta period. In contrast to the feudal system of medieval Europe, however, the king was not regarded as the sole owner of the soil and the practice of sub-infeudation did not assume great proportions.

The period of decline and fall of the Gupta empire was marked by the rise of new powers in Northern India, such as the Hūṇa Toramāṇa and his son and successor Mihirakula, Yaśodharman of Mālava, Īśānavarman of the Maukhari dynasty of the modern Uttar Pradesh and Śaśāṅka of Bengal. But none of them succeeded in building up a lasting empire. In the first half of the 7th century, king Harṣavardhana (c. A.D. 606-47) of the house of Thāneśvar and Kannauj emerged as the most powerful ruler in Northern India. The contemporary Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang gives high praise to Harṣa for his love of justice, his unremitting industry in the discharge of his duties, and his piety and popularity. The king, we are told, undertook incessant tours for the inspection of his dominion, built rest-houses for travellers, and erected *stūpas* and monasteries throughout his kingdom. He distributed all his accumulated treasures among his subjects at the great quinquennial assemblies at Prayāga. We also owe to this illustrious pilgrim a general account of the system of Indian administration at the time of his visit (A.D. 629–45). The ruling class of Kṣatriyas, we read, was guided by the standards of benevolence and mercy, taxation was light, forced labour was used sparingly, and families were not required to be registered. On the other hand, the penal law was marked by a certain degree of harshness in strong contrast to exceptional mildness under the Imperial Guptas.

4. Post-Gupta Period (*c.* A.D. 700–1200)

In the interval between the death of Harṣa and the Muslim conquest, the stage of North Indian history was dominated by a few ruling houses— the Imperial Pratihāras of Kannauj and their successors, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kannauj, the Kalacuris of Cedi, the Candellas of Jejākabhukti, the Paramāras of Mālava, the Caulukyas of Gujarāt and the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and Ajmer. To them we owe the institution of the clan-monarchies, which afterwards became the distinctive feature of the polity of the states of Rājputānā. In this type of polity, the king reserved for himself the central part of his kingdom and distributed the rest among

other clan-chiefs. In other respects the Rājpūt dynasties followed the Gupta pattern of Government. The rulers assumed the usual imperial titles to which a number of other titles—*Aśvapati, Gajapati, Narapati* and *Rājatrayādhipati* (lord of horses, elephants, men and three grades of kings) —were added by the Kalacuris and the Gāhaḍavālas. The dominions directly administered by the ruler were split into provinces and their subdivisions; these were administered by appropriate state officers. The villages were administered by traditional headmen. The efficiency of the administration of the Pratihāras is proved by the testimony of an Arab writer, who states that no part of India was more safe from robbers than the Pratihāra dominion. The downfall of the Rājpūt dynasties was brought about chiefly by the devastating invasions of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in the first quarter of the 11th century and those of Shihābu'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghurī and his able lieutenant Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak in the last decade of the 12th and the early years of the 13th centuries. These invasions led to the establishmnet of the first Muslim empire of Northern India under the Turkish Sulṭāns of Dehli.

In Eastern India the leading powers of this period were the dynasties of the Pālas and their successors, the Senas. The Pāla dynasty had a unique beginning as its founder was chosen by the leading people for the purpose of ending anarchy. This attempt was barren of constitutional results, probably because of the absence of a permanent and regularly constituted council of ministers or similar bodies at the time. In fact, the Pāla administration followed the current pattern of personal rule by a monarch supported by a bureaucracy. A great blow was struck at the power of the Pālas by the successful rising of the Kaivarta chief Divya in North Bengal against the oppressive ruler Mahīpāla I. The final downfall of the dynasty was due to the rise of powerful feudatory families headed by the Senas. The Senas belonged to a family of Brāhmaṇas who had adopted the occupations of Kṣatriyas; they came from the region of Karṇāṭaka in the South. The Sena capital in West Bengal (Nadia) was captured and territory in North Bengal was occupied by Muḥammad Bakhtyār, an able adventurer in the service of Aibak.

In the Deccan, the leading powers of the post-Gupta period were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa and their successors the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Able and ambitious rulers of these dynasties, like Indra III of the former and Vikramāditya VI of the latter, took a leading part in the struggle for ascendancy among the powers of North and South India. Yet the great feudatories of these dynasties enjoyed a position of semi-independence. They waged war on behalf of the paramount power, assigned taxes and alienated lands on their own authority. The feudatories had often sub-feudatories holding seigniories (*manneyas*) under them, these last being sometimes in possession of the same family for several generations.

The feudatories and even the holders of *manneyas* had sufficient authority to assign lands freely. The bilingual inscriptions of these dynasties in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa testify to their attempt to recognize Kannaḍa as official language while maintaining the age-old position of Sanskrit as the common language of sacred and secular literature throughout India.

During the post-Gupta period the paramount position in South India was held by the Pāṇḍyas and the Coḷas. The strength of their political and military organization is proved by the extensive conquests of their greatest rulers like Rājarāja I and his famous son Rājendra I. They made themselves masters not only of the whole of South India and the territories immediately to its north along the eastern and western sea-boards but also of the Śailendra empire comprising the Malaya Peninsula and Sumatra. The Pāṇḍyas and the Colas issued bilingual inscriptions in Sanskrit and Tamil on a wider scale than the contemporary Deccan powers. Thus they sought to reconcile the claims of the regional language with those of the common literary language of the country.

B. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

1. Period of the Vedic Samhitas, Brahmanas and Upanisads (*c.* 1500-700 B.C.)

The elements of state administration signifying rule by a king with the help of his advisers or assistants may be traced back to the early Vedic period. In *Ṛg-Veda* the king is called *gopā janasya* or protector of the people. This implies that he was charged with the maintenance of law and order. Like his divine prototype Varuṇa, he employed the agency of spies for this purpose. There is no reference in the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Atharva Veda* to the king's administration of justice. In two passages of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* reference is made to the king's *Jyaiṣṭhya* or lordship and the epithet *Dharmapati* or 'lord of the law' is applied to him. This probably indicates the king's supreme executive authority as well as the supremacy of the king's justice over all other jurisdictions. The king levied contributions (*bali*) on his subjects. These probably consisted of a share of the agricultural produce as also of the livestock of the villagers. To judge from the position of the Vedic Aryans as strangers in the midst of a conquered population, the king must have been the leader of the tribal host in time of war. It is significant that Indra, the most characteristic deity of the Vedic pantheon, is figured essentially as the god of war. The title *Senānī* mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda* shows that the military administration was separated from the civil even at that time. The Vedic administration was based largely on the household

system. The *Senānī* (commander-in-chief) as well as the *Sūta* (charioteer), *Grāmaṇī* (village headman), *Kṣattṛ* (chamberlain) and the *Saṁgrahītṛ* (treasurer) are included in the list of *Ratnins* (jewel-bearers) at whose residences the king made offerings to various deities at the *Rājasūya*. A hundred selected sons of *Sūtas* and of *Grāmaṇīs* are included among the guardians of the sacrificial horse, and one hundred daughters or wives of these officers are mentioned among the attendants of the queen at the *Aśvamedha*. The *Sūta* and the *Grāmaṇī* are included in the texts of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in the class of non-royal king-makers (*arājāno rājakṛtāḥ*) immediately after the *Rājanyas* or nobles who were the royal king-makers. But we are left completely in the dark about the significance of this description.

2. Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan Periods (*c.* 700–185 B.C.)

We do not know much about the pre-Mauryan administration. However, in view of what we know of the Mauryan period, it can be surmized that the pre-Mauryan period was marked by the establishment, at least in the politically advanced areas, of a strong centralized administration under the headship of the king. This was based upon the two pillars of administration, a permanent revenue and a standing army. The king, moreover, is described in the records of this period as exercizing the supreme executive, judicial and military authority over the kingdom. The creation of a regular administrative service consisting of civil and military officials with more or less well-defined functions is another characteristic of the pre-Mauryan period. The officials are described by such generic terms as *Amātyas* (*Amaccas* in Pāli) and *Mahāmātras* (Pāli *Mahāmattas*). A complete demarcation between the king's household and general administration is clearly made in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra.* But traces of the old Vedic tradition of household administration are still found in the Jātakas. Like the early Arthaśāstra writers, Kauṭilya lays down rules for the recruitment of officials and their selection for specialized posts. The state officials along with members of the royal family and household are included by Kauṭilya in the consolidated civil list of the king, which groups them in categories with cash salaries fixed for each grade. In the early Buddhist texts, we are told about various categories of officials, such as those in charge of the army, judicial administration, the king's harem, and superintendence of public works. They even decided questions of royal succession in case of incapacity or minority or default of an heir to the throne. We have stories of individual ministers exercizing a commanding influence in affairs of state in spite of the difficulties caused by their capricious masters. Kauṭilya contemplates the king consulting not only his high ministers (*Mantrins*), but in emergencies

his Council of Ministers *(Mantri-pariṣad)* as well. And yet the ministers remain merely the king's advisory body, the decision on affairs of state being left entirely to his discretion. We have not a single instance in the records of this period of the king's decision being opposed or even debated by the ministers. The highest ranks in the official hierarchy are occupied, both in the systematic account of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and in scattered notices of the Pāli canon and the Jātakas, by the Crown Prince *(Yuvarāja* or *Uparāja)*, the king's domestic chaplain *(Purohita)*, the military commander *(Senāpati)* and the minister *(Mantrin)*.

A striking innovation in state administration during this period was the system of state registers and records as outlined in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. A state register of various items of the king's internal and foreign administration, we are told, was to be prepared by the officer in charge of the Records and Public Accounts office *(Akṣapaṭalādhyakṣa)*. Evidently, in the light of these data the *Samāhartā* (Collector-General) prepared his register of villages recording the revenues and other dues payable by the villagers. A census of the rural area enumerating details of tenements and families was prepared, in the first instance, by the rural *Gopa* or officer in charge of 5 or 10 villages. The urban *Gopa* who held charge of 10, 20, or 40 families similarly prepared for his area a census relating to the number of residents, their names and occupations, and their income and expenditure. It is reasonable to infer that this aspect of the Kauṭilyan state administration reflected the practice of the most advanced states of the time. Another important innovation of this period was the creation of a state postal service consisting of *Dūtas* or messengers, who are included by Kauṭilya in the king's civil list. References are found in the Jātaka stories to female carrier-birds employed by kings for conveying messages. The use of official seals by the king and high officials is attribubed to this period.

The pre-Mauryan period is the age of the first system of state law and justice in Indian history. This system is contained in the extant Dharma Sūtras and in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the latter being the only completely preserved specimen of this branch of Indian literature. The state law is derived in the Dharma Sūtras from a two-fold source, namely, the sacred canon (with its auxiliaries) and approved custom. According to the fuller enumeration in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the sources of the state law are the sacred canon, current law, usage and reason. The law codes of the Dharma Sūtras and the *Arthaśāstra* were considered to be binding on all sections of the Aryan community. References to the laws of particular states have been preserved only in a few scattered passages of the early Buddhist literature. The customs and practices of regions and villages, of castes and families and of functional groups are clearly recognized as authoritative sources of law in the Dharma Sūtras. The king is credited in Kautilya's work with the right of issuing executive orders that had the

force of law. But there is no reason to think that this marked a revolutionary step towards royal absolutism since its scope was implicitly or explicitly fixed within well-understood limits.

The beginning of a regular system of state judicial administration may be traced to the pre-Mauryan age. The records of this period recognize the prevalence of the king's justice within his kingdom. The state courts were of two grades: those presided over by the king at his capital and those of the subordinate officers. The king's court was regularly constituted and the Dharma Sūtras state that the king or his substitute was to be assisted by a judge and assessors as well as non-official advisers. Kauṭilya speaks of judges—*Dharmasthas* in the rural areas and *Pauravyavahārikas* in the urban areas. The *Dharmasthas* who sat at the headquarters of 800, 400 and 10 villages might have represented three grades of these officers or acted as itinerant judges at the larger and smaller rural centres. They were required to follow strictly judicial procedure, failing which they were liable to various penalties. Early Buddhist literature mentions a class of judicial officers called by different names (*Viniccayamahāmattas, Vohārikamahāmattas* and *Viniccayāmaccas*). References are also found in early Buddhist literature to private courts such as the caste councils (*Sabhā* and *Pariṣad*), the councils of kinsmen (*jñāti*) and the councils of functional groups (*saṅghas*). The caste councils, we are told, decided family disputes, and the other councils probably decided similar internal disputes among their members. An interesting survival of primitive methods of administration of justice is the judgment by ordeal (*divya* or *samaya*) which is referred to in the Dharma Sūtras. But Kauṭilya, significantly enough, is completely silent about it. The evidence of the Pāli Buddhist texts about the tendencies of state justice is self-contradictory. Some passages in the Pāli canon point to the application of the principle of equality of law for all subjects by the state courts, while others show how criminals were shielded from justice by the king and high officials. In the Jātakas, we read in some stories that kings gave judgments after regular judicial trials, while other stories tell us how the kings passed judgment even in cases of capital punishment after summary trials.

The first institution of state police may be traced to the pre-Mauryan period. Its full development is recorded, as usual, in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, while occasional references are found in other sources. Of the two broad divisions of the regular and the secret police known to records of this period, the former consisted, according to Kauṭilya, of three tiers of officials : the *Pradeṣṭā* (rural) or the *Nāgaraka* (urban) at the top, the rural and urban *Sthānikas* in the middle and the rural and urban *Gopas* at the bottom. In the course of his description of the *Pradeṣṭā's* duties, Kauṭilya tells us how an inquest was held in cases of sudden death. This involved a post-mortem examination of the body as well as thorough police investigation of the crime. The use of torture for extorting confes-

sions from suspects whose guilt was established *prima facie* was known. In Kauṭilya's work the secret police is divided into two categories, namely, the peripatetic and the stationary. The secret service men were employed for such varied purposes of general administration as surveillance of the state officials, invigilation of the subjects, suppression of enemies of the state and strengthening of inter-state relations.

Like the institution of the state police that of state jails also begins with the pre-Mauryan period. Stray references to this institution occur in Dharma Sūtras and the Jātakas. A detailed account of jail administration is found in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

The earliest system of local government may also be traced to the pre-Mauryan period. The structure of local government consisted of a parallel machinery for the administration of the rural and urban areas. According to *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, state officials *(Adhyakṣas* or *Adhipas)* were to be appointed by the king for towns and villages with well-defined jurisdictions. In *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, we read that a chain of officials is to be placed by the king in charge of 1, 10 and 100 villages as well as of the whole rural area. According to the fuller account of Kauṭilya, three tiers of officials are to be in charge of the rural as well as the urban area. The *Samāhartā* or the *Pradeṣṭā* was in charge of the *janapada* or the rural area, while each of its four divisions was entrusted to a *Sthānika*, and units of 5 or 10 villages were in charge of *Gopas*. Similarly, the *durga* or the fortified town was entrusted to a *Nāgaraka* and each of its four divisions was left in charge of a *Sthānika*, while units of 10, 20 or 40 families were controlled by the *Gopas*. The officers were primarily concerned with the protection of person and property of the subjects. In the passage of *Viṣṇu Smṛti* referred to above, we read how the village chief failing to suppress troubles within the village is to report to the chief of 10 villages, who in similar circumstances is to report to the chief of 100 villages and the latter to the chief of the rural area. Kauṭilya mentions that the chain of rural officials is to be held individually responsible for protection of merchandize of traders within their respective jurisdictions. In the second place, the *Samāhartā* is required to prepare a register of villages within the kingdom with an abstract statement of the revenues and other dues payable by the villages as well as of the remissions enjoyed by them. Thirdly, Kauṭilya requires benches of three *Dharmasthas* to sit at the headquarters of 800, 400 and 10 villages for deciding civil and criminal suits.

The administration of the village is entrusted in the Dharma Sūtras to the headman appointed by the king. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, different branches of the village administration are controlled by the headman who may have held his office by hereditary succession subject to confirmation by the king. In one Jātaka story, we hear of village assemblies for the transanction of local business functioning even in frontier villages and hamlets. But another story speaks of the sufferings of a body of public

spirited villagers at the hands of an unscrupulous local chief. The administration of towns is entrusted in Kauṭilya's work to the *Nāgaraka*, who corresponds to the *Nagaraguttika* of the Jātakas. From Kauṭilya's description we learn that he has not only to look after the maintenance of law and order (including the enforcement of curfew regulations), but has also to enforce various building and sanitary regulations and to prepare a census of the citizens.

As regards the contemporary republican constitutions, we learn from a number of references in the Pāli Buddhist texts that the republics were ruled by popular assemblies and elected chiefs. The assemblies consisted of fully qualified members of the ruling aristocracy and their regular meeting place was called the *santhāgāra*. From one story we learn that the assemblies used to discuss momentous issues of state, like surrender to a besieging force, and elected the executive head with complete freedom. From another story (that of Khaṇḍa, chief minister of the king of the Videhas who found asylum at Vaiśālī) in a Buddhist Sanskrit work of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school we learn that the assembly exercized the sovereign right of electing the *Senāpati* or the executive head, while the decrees of the republic were issued jointly in the names of the assembly and the *Senāpati*. We have little direct evidence about the procedure of the republican assemblies. From the much discussed parallel with the well-known procedure of the Buddhist ecclesiastical gatherings we may conclude that official proposals were normally brought forward in the form of resolutions which were declared carried, if there was no opposition. The initiative for bringing forward the proposals, however, must have belonged not to an officer specially selected for the occasion but to the chief magistrate or magistrates, while the methods of settlement of disputes must have differed from those of a gathering of monks.

Passing over the administration of the Nandas about which we know very little and that of the contemporary kingdoms and republics of the Indus valley discussed in the preceding section, we may proceed to the period of their immediate successers, namely the Imperial Mauryas. In accordance with the old Indian tradition, the Mauryas appear to have combined in themselves the headship of the civil and the military administration. To this Aśoka appears to have added the headship of the Buddhist Church, if we are to judge from his decree for the expulsion of schismatic Buddhist monks. Aśoka's assumption of the modest title of *Rājan* in contrast to the imperial titles of his Achaemenid predecessors and Hellenistic contemporaries and his avoidance of claim for divine honours adopted by the latter show that he intended his administration to be essentially Indian. The bureaucratic organization of the preceding period appears to have reached its culmination under Mauryan rule. The creation of a distinct class of officials by Candragupta Maurya is reflected in Megasthenes' reference to the Indian caste of 'councillors and advisers' of the king

and it is called by the generic title of *Mahāmātras* in Aśoka's inscriptions. At the head of the Mauryan bureaucracy stood the council of ministers. Mauryan historical tradition mentions a number of chief ministers, while Aśoka in his inscriptions makes a pointed reference to the Council of Ministers *(Pariṣā)*. There seems to be no justification for the far-reaching conclusions of some Indian scholars in recent times that the ministers of Aśoka had the right of discussing and even rejecting the emperor's oral orders, of controlling the state funds and of virtually depriving the ruler of his sovereignty in defence of the constitutional laws of the realm. The *Mahāmātras* are divided in Aśoka's inscriptions into various categories, some of which have more or less their equivalents in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Aśoka also created the office of *Dharmamahāmātras* for the enforcement of his law of piety.

The Mauryan period fills a gap between two great epochs of law-making activity in ancient times, namely, that of the principal Dharma Sūtra and of the *Arthaśāstra* codes of state law on the one hand and that of Manu's code on the other. The few references in Megasthenes' work to the penalties for offences current in Candragupta's time breathe the spirit of the penal law of the preceding period. From Pillar Edict IV of Aśoka, we learn that even after his conversion to Buddhism he continued the death penalty for crimes, only softening its rigour by giving the convicts three days' respite before execution. The system of state justice of the preceding period appears to have been continued by the Mauryas. From the *Indica* of Megasthenes we learn that Candragupta himself sat in the court for hearing suits of the public. The old division of urban and rural judiciary was continued in Aśoka's reign. In his Kaliṅga Rock Edict No. 1, he tells us how he entrusted *Mahāmātras* with the task of invigilation of the town judiciary by means of periodical tours. The few references in the records of the Mauryas point to the continuance of the State police of the preceding period. The branch of regular police is represented by the Indian caste of *Ephors* (inspectors) or *Episkopoi* (over-lookers). Reference to the continuance of the jail administration of the earlier times is found in Pillar Edict V. Here Aśoka mentions that he regularly remitted sentences on each anniversary of his coronation. The *Dharmamahāmātras* are charged in Rock Edict V with the duty of protecting prisoners from molestation and of releasing the deserving ones. These measures reflect the humane spirit of jail administration as outlined in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

The successive creation of large provinces was necessitated by the expansion of the Mauryan empire. By Aśoka's time, as already stated, there were four such provinces, namely, the North-western, Western, and Southern Eastern, with their capitals at Takṣaśilā, Ujjayinī, Tosalī and Suvarṇagiri respectively. These were ruled by prince-viceroys with the help of local *Mahāmātras*. Officers like the *Yavanarāja* Tuṣāspha and

Puṣyagupta, 'the Vaiśya' held charge of subordinate jurisdictions. The old distinction between the rural and urban administration was continued under the Mauryas. Megasthenes mentions two categories of officials of Candragupta's administration, namely, the *Agronomoi* (market commissioners) and the *Astynomoi* (city commissioners). The *Astynomoi*, accord ing to Megasthenes, were divided into six Boards of five members each, with distinct functions. Of these the Board in charge of the foreign residents is an innovation unknown to Kauṭilya. Equally original is the co-ordination of the Boards into a corporate body.

3. Pre-Gupta and Gupta Periods (c. 185 B.C.–A.D. 700)

The administration of the Śuṅgas, the heirs to the sovereignty of the Mauryas in the Gaṅgā basin, appears to have been a continuation of their immediate predecessors with a somewhat looser organization than before. Kings were content with the title of *Rājan*. Provinces were governed by prince-viceroys with royal titles, and they were assisted by the traditional Council of Ministers *(Mantri-pariṣad)*. The Sātavāhanas, while adopting the old royal title of *Rājan*, sometimes added the title *Svāmin* (lord) brought into vogue by their Śaka contemporaries and rivals. The central administration was run by *Amātyas*, who are known to have been employed in executive and financial offices. Military administration was controlled by officers such as the *Senāgopa* equivalent to the old *Senāpati*. The provinces were divided into districts *(ahāras)* which were ruled by *Amātyas* and the villages were in charge of the *Grāmikas* or traditional headmen. Of the Ceta kings of Kaliṅga the most important was Khāravela. He assumed lofty titles unknown even to the Imperial Mauryas and aspired to become a *Cakravartin* (world-ruler) over the neighbouring lands.

The rule of the foreign dynasties of the pre-Gupta period is an important episode in the history of ancient Indian administration. Some of the Indo-Greek kings assumed, after the example of the Seleucids of Western Asia, the title of *Basileus Megalou* (Great King) and followed the practice of appointing the heir-apparent as joint-king over the whole realm. They organized their Indian dominions under provincial governors bearing the Greek titles of *Strategus* and *Meridarch*. The Indo-Greek system of administration was followed on the whole by the Saka and Parthian rulers of Northern India. But they introduced a new title for provincial governors—*Kṣatrapa*. The Kuṣāṇas brought with them an exalted conception of monarchy indicated by the new imperial titles on their coin types. They continued the Śaka system of provincial government under *Mahākṣatrapas* and *Kṣatrapas*, while they introduced two new grades of military (or judicial) officers called *Mahādaṇḍanāyakas* and *Daṇḍanāyakas*. But

the autonomous cities dating from Indo-Greek times ceased to exist under their rule.

The downfall of the Kuṣāṇa empire paved the way for an after-growth of republican freedom in the Punjab and Rājasthān. Three of these republics are known from their inscriptions or coins or both. These are the Kuṇindas of the late 2nd and 3rd century A.D., the Yaudheyas of the late 2nd century A.D., and the Mālavas of the interval between the 2nd and the early 4th centuries A.D.

The period of the Imperial Guptas, the Golden Age of ancient Indian history, was marked by a great exaltation of monarchy. They adopted the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja* apparently after the model of the foreign rulers of India. From the time of Candragupta II they are described as "equal to the gods Dhanada (Kubera), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (Yama)." Their coin types show the nimbus around the king's head. In a number of North Bengal inscriptions they are given a trilogy of titles (*Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*) which with the slight substitution of *Parameśvara* for *Paramadaivata* became the distinctive designation of paramount rulers in later times.

The Guptas created afresh a system of administration on imperial lines after the downfall of the Mauryan empire. The civil administration apparently was in charge of the *Mantrī* as before. But the supervision of foreign affairs was made over to a new officer called the *Sandhivigrahika* (literally meaning, the minister for war and peace). A number of offices were created with the prefix *mahān* or great. This indicated an upgrading of the old offices or else the institution of a higher order of the same, evidently in keeping with the imperial organization of the administration. A new class of *Amātyas* called the *Kumārāmātyas* comprised not only the high imperial officers but also the officials on the staff of the emperor and the crown prince and those in charge of districts. Three grades of military commands came into existence, namely, those of *Mahābalādhikṛta*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *Senāpati*. The cavalry, the elephant corps and perhaps also the infantry were organized under separate commands.

In the branch of provincial administration the Guptas adopted the older models with changed official nomenclature and some striking innovations. The provinces (*bhuktis*) were governed, as in Aśoka's time, by princes or as in the times of the Sātavāhanas, by state officers (*Uparikas*). The districts (*viṣayas*) were ruled by other officers (*Kumārāmātyas, Āyuktakas* or *Viṣayapatis*). In North Bengal and probably also in Bihār, as we learn from the contemporary inscriptions, a Municipal Board (*Adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa*) or a District Board (*Viṣayādhikaraṇa*) helped the head of the district or the province, as the case might be, in the disposal of government lands. The Municipal Board consisted of four members, namely, the guild-president (*Nagaraśreṣṭhin*), the chief merchant (*Sārthavāha*), the chief artisan (*Prathamakulika*) and the chief

scribe *(Prathamakāyastha)*. This marks a bold attempt to associate popular representatives with local administration.

After the Guptas, in Northern India king Harṣavardhana (*c.* A.D. 606–47) created a sound and efficient administration of the usual type. He assumed the usual imperial titles and was assisted by the traditional Council of Ministers. The officers of the central government included the Minister of Foreign Affairs *(Mahāsandhivigrahādhikṛta)*, the Commander-in-Chief *(Mahābalādhikṛta)*, the head of the accounts department *(Mahākṣapaṭalika)*, besides others of lesser rank. The kingdom was divided into provinces *(bhuktis)* and districts *(viṣayas)*. Village administration appears to have been highly official ridden.

In the Deccan, the administration of the Imperial Cālukyas of Vātāpi (*c.* A.D. 540–753) was marked by the usual characteristics. The kings assumed the familiar imperial titles, the central government was in charge of officers of the old type including a new officer called *Mahāsandhivigrahika* (Minister of Foreign Affairs), the districts were governed by state officers *(Viṣayapatis)* and the villages were controlled by the headmen *(Grāmakūṭas)* probably in association with the exectuive body *(Adhikārins)* of the leading householders of the village *(Mahattaras)*.

4. Post-Gupta Period (*c.* A.D. 700–1200)

The administration of the Rājpūt states of Northern India during this period was of the bureaucratic type known at that time. The kings assumed the customary imperial titles, a number of high civil and military officials like the *Mantrī*, *Senāpati*, *Akṣapaṭalika* and *Bhāṇḍāgārika* held charge of the central administration, the provinces and districts called by different names were governed by appropriate officials, and the traditional headmen or the executive body of village elders controlled the administration of the village.

In the Deccan, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa and the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa successively continued the traditional type of administration under the king and various officers of the central government, who were known by old and new titles. The governors of provinces and districts were called by different titles, and they enjoyed a position of high authority and dignity. The towns under Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule were in charge of prefects *(Purapatis* or *Nagarapatis)* or sheriffs *(Ūr-gāvuṇḍas)*, while the villages were controlled by the headmen *(Grāmakūṭas)* and bodies of elders *(Mahattaras)* or else village assemblies *(Mahājanas)*. The corporate bodies mentioned above, enjoyed a large measure of self-government. They attested gifts by private individuals, received assignments of local taxes, and made grants of land for pious purposes.

In South India, the administration of the leading powers of this period,

namely, the Pāṇḍyas and the Coḷas, was of the standard type with the king and a bureaucracy of high officials controlling the central government. The later Coḷa and Pāṇḍya kings assumed high imperial titles. Among the latter there was the peculiar institution of joint kings or co-regents. The office of Prime Minister was known to the Pāṇḍya administration, while the Coḷas had instead a body of executive officials *(Udankuṭṭam)*, serving as liaison officers between the king and the bureaucracy. The grant of lands by the Coḷa kings for pious and charitable purposes involved a highly complex official procedure under the guidance of a chain of officials. A land revenue survey of the whole kingdom was carried out by the great Coḷa emperor Rājarāja I (A.D. 985–1014), and fresh surveys were undertaken by his successors from time to time. Well organized village assemblies with wide powers of self-government functioned under the rule of the Pāṇḍyas and the Coḷas. The village assembly (called *Ur* or *Sabhā)* had an executive body *(Āḷunganam)* or various executive committees *(Vāriyams)*, the latter being elected by the members according to rules framed by themselves. The assemblies enjoyed such high reputation for integrity and efficiency that they received endowments in cash from kings for pious purposes and were appointed trustees for the proper administration of temple funds. Under Coḷa rule, the assemblies kept their own records of rights and had their own officials for assisting them in their proceedings without sharing in their deliberations. They decided disputes, granted lands, founded and maintained hospitals, took charge of charitable endowments and controlled taxes.

C. TRADE AND COMMERCE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

1. Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Periods

The beginnings of Indian mercantile activities go back to very early times. The scarlet wares portraying landscape with animals on the frieze found at Kulli bear close similarity with pots found in Elam and Mesopotamia, at Ur and Kish. Further, some stone vessels found in Mesopotamia, at Susa in Elam and at Mari, Khafaje, Lagash, and Adab in Sumer, are identical with those found at Kulli. These point to direct trade contact between India and West Asia in Pre-Sargonic times (*c.* 2300 B.C.). It is likely that the bulk of this trade was sea-borne. Archaeological explorations carried out so far indicate that the overland trade-route perhaps did not run further west than the eastern border of Irānian Makrān.

An examination of the various stones and metals used in the Harappan culture-sites would indicate that trade and commerce, inland and foreign, overland, riverine and oceanic was the mainstay of the economy of this

civilization. Regarding inland trade, Baluchistân was the source of supply of bitumen, alabaster and probably steatite. Kâthiâwâr, Râjasthân and the Deccan provided conch-shells, agates, carnelians, amethysts, jasper, onyx, chalcedony and other stones for beads and also possibly rock crystals. Copper and lead for the smithy were imported from Râjasthân. Regarding foreign trade, Afghânistân, Irân, East Turkestân, Tibet and even Burma supplied semi-precious stones such as jade, turquoise and lapis lazuli. Haematite or red iron oxide used for colouring materials came perhaps from the islands of the Persian Gulf. The discovery of a number of Harappan engraved seals at different sites of Sumer from the Akkadian times (2300–2000 B.C.) clearly indicates that Harappan merchants had established trade relations with the Sumerian cities. It is likely that they had their own quarters in those towns. A sealing with Indus script, found in Sumer, bears on its back the imprint of coarse cloth. It may be inferred that cotton goods formed an important item of export from India.

There appears to have existed a number of recognized trade-routes which provided caravanserais for night halts by merchants. Small sites like Amilano in Sind might have acted as such. The clay model of a pack-saddle found at Jhukar indicates that pack-horses, apart from camels were used for transport. Numerous models of ox-carts on wheels show their importance for slower and heavier transport. Riverine and oceanic trade was carried on by boats ; representations of these fitted with prow and stern, mast and steersman have been found on a potsherd and on a seal. Suktagen-dor in Southern Baluchistân and Lothâl in Kâthiâwâr would seem to have been important ports of call.

2. Period of Vedic Samhitas, Brahmanas and Upanisads (*c.* 1500–700 B.C.)

The *Ṛg-Veda* refers to the root *Krī* (to purchase) and to merchants (*vaṇij* or *vaṇija*) and also mentions haggling in the market. The *Atharva Veda* mentions garments (*dūrśa*), coverlets (*pavasta*) and goat-skin (*ajina*) as articles of trade. It also contains prayers to Indra for protection against ill-will, wild beasts and highway robbers. It further mentions sale (*vikraya*), barter (*prapaṇa*) and exchange of merchandise (*pratipaṇa*). Invested capital was called *dhāna*.

It is a moot question whether the Vedic Aryans knew the sea. The *Ṛg-Veda* mentions *samudra* which might signify either the lower course of the Sindhu or the sea. The references to Varuṇa's knowledge of the sea-routes (*samudriyaḥ*), Bhujyu's shipwreck and consequent rescue by the Aśvins with a vessel of one hundred oars (*śatāritra*) and the legend of Dīrghatāmas, etc., clearly allude to maritime trade. Archaeological evidence of the use of indigo in the clothes of the Egyptian mummies, Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, and Indian teak in the

temple of the Moon-God at Ur perhaps shows the continuity of Indian commercial relations with West Asia even in the post-Harappa period. It may be noted that the Paṇis who constituted the niggardly merchant class in the *Ṛg-Veda* have been identified or associated with the Bekanāṭas (probably Babylonians). So it would appear that foreign merchants had their settlements in India in the *Ṛg-Vedic* period.

3. Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan Periods (*c.* 700–185 B.C.)

Early Buddhist canonical literature gives a detailed account of commercial activities. The Buddhist texts refer to a few trunk and ancillary trade-routes. The north-south trunk route ran from Sāvatthi to Patiṭṭhāna (Paithan) with six intermediate halting stations including Māhissatī (Māhiṣmatī), Ujjenī (Ujjain) and Vedisā (Bhilsa). Another route lay from Sāvatthi to Rajagaha (Rājgīr) across the Gaṅgā north of Vesālī (Vaiśālī), stopping at important towns *en route*, of which mention may be made of Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu), Kuśinārā, Pāvā, Pataliputta (Pāṭaliputra) and Nālandā. It was possibly extended upto Gayā. From this main road branched off roads to connect Patiṭṭhāna and Ujjenī with Bharukaccha (Broach, a western seaport) as well as Avanti with Kosala, Vidarbha and Cedi. The southwest-southeast road ran from Tāmralipti to Bharukaccha. The east-west route in pre-Buddhist days connected Magadha with Sauvīra upto Roruka situated somewhere on the Gulf of Kutch. It ran from Pāṭaliputra to the mouth of the Sindhu and through Īrān further west.

In pre-Mauryan days there existed the Videha-Gandhara road connecting Mithilā, Śākala, Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvatī. The road extended in the south-east from Mithilā to Campā. The southwest-northwest route connected Bharukaccha with Gandhāra upto Puṣkalāvatī and continued further to meet Kaśyapapura (in Kashmīr), Paropanisus (Hindu Kush), Kābul and Scythia. The exact course of this route is not known. It is along the east-west route that merchants referred to in the Jātakas frequently travelled. The Campā-Śākala route was used by the *Seṭṭhi* with 500 wagons trailing along the foot of the Himālayas between Pāṭiliputra and Kajaṅgala. Horse-dealers from Uttarāpatha also took this road to come to the market of Vārānasi.

Buddhist texts reveal that merchants (*Sātthavāha*) were organized under a *Jeṭṭhaka* or *Pamukha*. They took their merchandise in caravans (the conventional figure being 500) which were guided by the land pilots (*Thala-niyyāmakas*) and protected by armed bands. From Bharukaccha, Śūrpāraka, and Tāmralipti a number of merchants (the conventional figure being 700) used to charter a ship and set sail for Suvarṇabhūmi. The ship was guided by a pilot (*Jala-niyyāmaka*). The sun and the stars

were means of determining the direction. Birds *(diśākāka)* were employed to find out if land was near.

That trade was quite brisk in the early Buddhist period can be surmized from Jātaka stories of persons becoming rich overnight through speculation.

The exploration of the Sindhu by Scylax of Caryanda in the 5th century B.C. led to the opening of new sea-routes. This might have contributed directly to the opulence of the Indian satrapies of the Achaemenid empire. India's regular contact with the West by overland and oceanic routes began after Alexander's invasion.

The reference by Megasthenes to municipal boards at Pāṭaliputra dealing with foreigners clearly indicates that many Greeks had flocked to the Mauryan capital, evidently for trade. Sweet wine and figs were the two commodities which Bindusāra asked of his Seleucid contemporary. The Ptolemaic rulers tried to promote direct trade by sea between India and Egypt by constructing ports like Berenice and Myos-hormos. But the all-sea route had not become very popular. According to Strabo, in the time of the Ptolemy scarcely anyone would venture on this voyage for commerce with the Indies. Regular maritime contact between India and Egypt began after 23 B.C. Indian traders sailed directly to the Somali ports and appeared in Egypt. An inscription found at Redesiya mentions an Indian merchant Sophon, travelling over the caravan route to Coptos. Towards the close of the 1st century B.C. Indo-Egyptian trade increased in volume. Strabo mentions that from the sea-port of Myos-hormos alone about 120 ships sailed for India in one season. Some of the merchants reached even the mouth of the Gaṅgā.

4. Pre-Gupta and Gupta Periods (*c.* 185 B.C.–A.D. 700)

From about the middle of the 1st century A.D., direct Indo-Roman overseas trade was further accelerated by the discovery (*c.* A.D. 45) of the monsoons by the Graeco-Roman sailors—it was till then a closely guarded Arab secret. Later, the consolidation of the empire by the Kuṣāṇa rulers, who exercized suzerainty over extensive parts of the lower Indus valley and Western India either directly or through their satraps, contributed to the development of this trade. The unrest caused by the extensive race movements from the 2nd century B.C. in Central Asia evidently rendered the old silk-route unsafe and Chinese silk trade with the West was carried on through Indian intermediaries. A graphic account of Indo-Roman trade is preserved in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* written by an anonymous sailor of Alexandria. It describes the Indian ports along with their exports and imports. They are Barbaricum, Barygaza (Broach), Suppara (Sopara), Kalliena (Kalyāṇa), Semylla,

Mandagora, Palaepatmae, Melizeigara, Byzantion, Togarum, Naura, Tyndis, Muziris, Nelcynda, Comari, Colchoi, Poduca, Sopatma, Masalia, and at the mouth of Gaṅgā, a port of the same name. According to the same authority, Indian exports generally consisted of precious and semi-precious stones (diamonds, pearls, sapphires, onyx, sardonyx, agate, carnelian), ivory, cotton cloth called *monakhe* and *sagmatogene*, muslins and mallow cloth, Chinese silk cloth, silk yarn, spices and medicinal products like pepper, nard, spikenard, costus, bdellium, long pepper, and malabathrum. The articles of import at the port of Barygaza included Italian, Laodician and Arabian wines, copper, tin, and lead, coral, topaz, thin clothing, bright coloured girdles, storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coins as well as costly vessels of silver ; singing boys and beautiful maidens were also brought specially for the king.

That India had a favourable balance of trade with the Roman world in the 1st century A.D. is clear from the introduction of gold coinage by Wima Kadphises. Pliny the Elder (*c*. 77 A.D.) bewailed that India and other countries of the Orient drained Rome to the extent of 100 million *sesterces* annually. Inscriptions from Western India (*c*. 2nd century A.D.) mention foreign perfume merchants (*Yavanagandhika*), and it is probable that they had their own quarters in the port towns in Western India. Discovery of Arretine vases of such famous Italian potters as Vivie at Arikamedu-Vīrapaṭṭaṇam (near Pondicherry) proves that it was from *c*. A.D. 30 a prosperous South Indian settlement. At Vīrapaṭṭaṇam there might have been one such factory of Roman merchants. The discovery of a large number of mint-fresh Roman coins issued in the early centuries of the Christian era from extensive regions in South India would show the existence of such mercantile establishments. On the basis of numismatic evidence it has been asserted that this Indo-Roman trade suffered a considerable set back in the days of the Roman Emperor Caracalla (A.D. 217).

The decline of India's trade with Rome was accompanied by the increase of her mercantile relations with the countries of South East Asia. In the early centuries of the Christian era Indian or Indianized states were emerging in Suvarṇabhūmi-Suvarṇadvīpa (Malay Peninsula and Indian Archipelago), Kambuja and Campā (Cambodia and Annam). These indirectly testify to the existence of a numerically strong Indian element in the population of the respective countries. Indians visited these countries primarily for trade. Archaeologically it can be shown that Vīrapaṭṭaṇam was an *entrepot* for trade between Rome and Thailand and thence Campā and China. Direct Indian contact with China was possibly established at the time of the old Han Dynasty, the annals of which mention a voyage to Huang-che (Kāñcī ?). The discovery of a Chinese coin in Mysore which dubiously bears the date 138 B.C. may also be a proof of maritime

trade between India and China in the 2nd century B.C. The report submitted to the emperor by the Chinese envoy K'ang T'ai (*c.* A.D. 250) and the frequent visits of Buddhist missionaries to China for proselytization from the beginning of the Christian era also point to the same conclusion. Overland trade between India and China would also seem to have flourished, and the *vihāras* explored by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia perhaps acted as caravanserais for night-halts of merchants, besides providing shelter to monks like Hiuen Tsang. India's internal and foreign trade reached great heights in the Gupta period as is evident from numerous literary references as also from the imperial coins. The Chinese pilgrims testify to regular commercial intercourse in the 4th and 7th centuries between Tāmralipti (South Bengal) and Indonesia and Indo-China.

5. Post-Gupta Period (*c.* A.D. 700–1200)

In the post-Gupta period the sea route to China was quite well known, as is evident from Hiuen Tsang's voyage to China.

In the Deccan, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas must have derived large revenues from the major ports of Broach and Kalyāṇa as also from the minor ports of Naosari, Sopara, Thana, Saimur, Dabhoi, Jayagad, Devagad and Malvan, which carried on a regular coastal trade. The volume and economic significance of coastal trading will be clear from the Kharepatan Plates of Anantadeva (10th century A.D.) which state that import duty on coastal trade was less than that on foreign trade. But this does not mean that foreign trade had dwindled, since Al-Idrīsī informs us that ships from China and Īrān used to call at Broach regularly. With the decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power, it appears that Īrānian trade was diverted to Cambay, a more northerly port then in possession of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The principal articles of export appear to have been cotton yarn and cloth, muslins (both rough and fine), hides, perfumes and frankincense, cocoanuts, sandal and teak-wood, and ivory. In all likelihood diamonds formed an item of export, but there was possibly an embargo on the export of bigger diamonds. Imports to ports in Western India remained more or less the same as in the days of the *Periplus*. Marco Polo informs us that Thana imported gold, silver and copper from the West Asia in the 13th century. Import of horses from Arabia was also large.

The inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and their feudatories throw interesting light on the mercantile activities of the people. The merchants are described in these inscriptions as *Vyavahārika*. The inscriptions usually mention two classes *Ghoṭaka* (horse-dealers) and *Sārthavāha* (caravan-traders). The Pehoa inscription (A.D. 882) mentions horse-dealers from different countries. For the sale of each animal they agreed to pay a cess of two *dharaṇas* by the dealer and one by the buyer for the benefit of

temples at Kânyakubja, Gotîrtha, Bhojapura (near Kannauj) and Pṛthūdaka (Pehoa). Similarly the Atavâ (Udaipur) inscription (A.D. 953) refers to visits of merchants from Karṇâṭaka, Madhyadeśa, Lâṭa and Ṭakka and the agreements they made to pay a levy on articles of sale. These references prove the corporate character of the mercantile activities. They also point to a brisk highway trade within the country. More important still is the traders' right to levy a cess on all commercial transactions, which were binding even on the state. These prove the large measure of autonomy the merchants enjoyed.

D. GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION

1. Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Periods

Our knowledge of the economic condition of pre-historic India is still very incomplete. The implements and weapons found at different pre-historic regions and sites in Kashmîr, Soan Valley, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarât indicate that their makers were food-collectors and belonged to the early and late Stone Ages. They used bones and wood along with stones and had no knowledge of metals or of the potter's art.

Some more detailed information may be had from the pre-Mohenjo-daro and pre-Harappa sites in Sind and Baluchistân. The dwellings were those of small village communities. They knew agriculture and made a significant advance in pottery-making. These were polychromed and bore geometric designs, and both black-on-red and buff colours were used.

We are on surer ground when we come to the Indus Civilisation which, as recent excavations conclusively prove, was not confined to the Punjab and Sind only, but spread much further in the north-east (Simla hills), east (Alamgirpur, in Uttar Pradesh) and south and south-west (Tâptî-Narmadâ valley). Until the Indus script is deciphered, our knowledge of the Indus Civilisation will remain incomplete, and our conclusions based on archaeological data would at best be surmises. The civilization is known to us only in its mature form, since the remains found in all the strata at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are of a uniform character.

The Indus Civilization was chalcolithic and urban, as evinced by the remains unearthed at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Lothâl and other places. Nevertheless, a large number of smaller sites indicate that there were villages upon whose agricultural surplus the towns depended. Among the agricultural products, mention may be made of the bread-wheat, barley, sesame, field-peas and something like the Indian rye. The particular species of cotton grown nowadays was also cultivated, as may be seen from a dyed cotton textile piece tied round a silver vase found at Mohenjo-daro.

The towns had walls all around. The streets were straight and broad and intersected one another at right angles. The excellent sanitation system by underground drainage with brick man-hole covers and soak-pits, the so-called College of Priests, the Pillared Hall, the Great Bath with hydropathic arrangements and the multi-storeyed buildings, testify to a high degree of economic progress and engineering skill. Black-on-red wares bearing naturalistic motifs and animal designs are numerous. Polychrome vases are rare. The potter's kilns were situated outside the city walls ; it is only in the last phase that one of these is found at Mohenjo-daro when decadence had gone so far as to result in the slackening of municipal control.

The Indus Civilization was riparian and the rich alluvium carried by the annual flood of the Indus system contributed to the fertility of the soil. The large quantity of wood needed as fuel for the kiln-burnt bricks also indicates that the Indus Civilization sites at that time were covered either by the south-west monsoon or by extensions of the Atlantic cyclones. It is not known whether irrigation was in use.

The complex process of manufacture of the artificial substance called faience was known to the Indus people. They excelled in the art of metallurgy. The metal smiths manufactured weapons and implements in copper and bronze by the technique of casting and forging. The large number of beads and jewellery unearthed from the important Indus sites indicate that this industry also attained a high degree of excellence. Numerous seals of the Indus people have been found at these sites and some have been recovered even from sites in Mesopotamia and Syria. These indicate the prevalence of private property and trade, both inland and foreign.

There appears to have existed in the Mohenjo-daro-Harappa area, a strong authoritarian central government which regulated the economic life of the people. The graduated system of weights and measures, the granary at Harappa, and even the uniform size of the bricks through all the phases of this culture scattered over hundreds of kilometres, corroborate this. The two-roomed houses of uniform pattern found both at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa very well resemble the slave-village found at Tell el-Amarna, and as such might have been barracks of the workers or residences of slaves.

2. Period of Vedic Samhitas, Brahmanas and Upanisads (*c*. 1500–700 B.C.)

In contrast to the industrial and commercial outlook of the Indus people, the *Ṛg-Vedic* Aryans were mainly agriculturists. Among the latter, cattle-breeding formed an important occupation, but the agrarian character of their economy can be known from such expressions as *Pañca-kṛṣṭayaḥ* or *Pañca-carṣaṇayaḥ*, meaning the five *Ṛg-Vedic* tribes. While private

ownership over homestead *(vāstu)* and arable land *(kṣetra, urvarā)* was recognized, the pasture-land was enjoyed in common. Allusions to strips of land *(khilya)* between two fields, epithets like *Kṣetrasya Pati* or *Urvarā Pati*, and the lady Apālā's prayer to Indra for the fertility of her father Atri's field, indicate private ownership of cultivable land. There is no evidence of royal right over all the land in the kingdom. In fact, the king was entitled only to a part of the produce, and as such was called *balihṛt* (collector of *bali*). Land was constantly being reclaimed by clearing the forests. Ploughs were drawn by oxen and then seeds were sown. The harvest *(yava)* was reaped with the sickle *(dātra, sṛṇi)*, tied in bundles and threshed on the *khala* (threshing floor). Wheat was separated from chaff with the help of a sieve or winnowing fan, and was then measured with a wooden vessel called *ūrdara*. Agriculture depended on the monsoons, but irrigation with water *(khanitrima apaḥ)* raised by a pulley *(cakra)* was also known. The agricultural products were generally called *yava, dhāna* or *dhānya*.

Of arts and crafts, the Vedic Indians knew carpentry, spinning and weaving, and tanning of hides. Among the workers in wood, the most important was the chariot-maker *(rathakāra)*. The progress of the boat-building industry can be judged from such expressions as *śatāritra nau* (100-oared boat). Words like *vāya* (weaver), *tasara* (shuttle), *vasana, vāsas atka, uṣṇīṣa nīvi, paridhāna, śāmulya* (woollen garments), *peśas* (embroidered garments) show that the weavers made different kinds of cloth. The *carmamna* (tanner) made bags and pots of leather to preserve milk, curd and wine. The potter's art was also known. Some archaeologists believe that the Painted Grey Ware recently discovered from various sites in North India was associated with the Vedic Aryans. Distillation of wine *(soma* and *surā)* was also practised.

The *Ṛg-Vedic* Aryans used gold for ornaments *(niṣka, hiraṇyapiṇḍa)*; *ayas*, which in all likelihood meant copper, was used for making agricultural, household and military equipment like *siprā* (helmet) and *khṛgala* (body armour). Silver and iron were in all probability unknown to them.

Division of labour was only beginning and there was no stigma attached to manual labour. There was no big landed aristocracy and society consisted of small peasant proprietors On the whole economic life was very simple. Trade and commerce had not yet interested the Aryans. It is, therefore, unlikely that they had a money economy.

In the later Vedic period some significant changes took place. Details of agricultural operations are given—they comprised tilling, sowing of seeds, reaping of the harvest and winnowing. Among agricultural products the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* mentions wheat, rice *(vrīhi)*, barley, *māṣa, tila, mudga, khalva, priyaṅgu, anuśyāmaka, nīvāra* and *masūra*. Linen *(kṣauma)* and hemp *(śaṇa)* came to be used for the manufacture of garments. Cotton *(kārpāsa)* is first mentioned by Pāṇini

In the sphere of metallurgy one significant advance was made with the introduction of iron. The later Vedic texts distinguish between *lohitāyas* and *kṛṣṇāyas*, the latter being synonymous with iron.

With the development of agriculture and progress in the economic condition of the people, towns like Āsandīvant, Paricakrā and others came into existence. People in these towns lived by trade and commerce. In the *Atharva Veda* there are prayers and incantations for security and prosperity in trade.

The emergence of a mercantile community led to the introduction of some sort of a stable medium of exchange. In the *Ṛg-Vedic* period the gold *niṣka*, though generally referring to a necklace, was sometimes used for money. *Niṣka* particularly appears to have had a definite weight. In the later Vedic period gold *Kṛṣṇala* and *Śatamāna* came into use. One fourth *(pāda)* of a *Śatamāna* was also known. Pāṇini mentions stamped *(āhata)* coins such as *Kāṁsya, Śatamāna, Kārṣāpaṇa, Paṇa, Pāda, Niṣka, Rūpya*, etc.

3. Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan Periods (*c.* 700–185 B.C.)

Recent archaeological explorations at Hastināpura, Ujjayinī, and Delhi (Purānā Qilā) indicate that India stepped into what is called the Iron Age in the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. This enabled the people to reclaim more and more land for cultivation by clearing forests. Agriculture was developed both intensively and extensively. Towns multiplied greatly as may be gathered from the early Buddhist canonical literature. In the towns, industries became more localized and specialized and were organized in guilds. The economic prosperity of the time can be guessed from expressions mentioned in the Jātakas like a farmer owning 1000 *karisas* of land or merchantmen-bankers possessing 80 *koṭis* of coins.

The rich farmers were called *Gahapatis* and *Kuṭumbikas*. They had their land cultivated by hired labourers and even slaves. Irrigation from rivers and canals was practised as before. Fragmentation and subdivision of land were quite common and ordinarily people possessed small plots of land.

The early Buddhist texts mention at least eighteen craft and trade-guilds *(seṇis)*. These included the carpenters, potters, oil-pressers, garland-makers, stone-cutters, ivory-workers, blacksmiths, and jewellers. Certain crafts were localized. Thus Kāśī became famous for its textile industry (Kāśivattha). Even in a town, different arts and crafts flourished in different quarters. At Vārāṇasī the ivory-workers *(Dantakāra)* had a street *(vīthi)*, and the washermen *(Rañjakāra)* had one at Śrāvastī. There are references to villages of carpenters *(Vaḍḍhakī)*, and potters

(Kumbhakāra) and smiths *(Kammakāra)* around big towns like Varaṇasi. The conventional numbers of families residing in these settlements are 500 to 1000. Each guild had a *Jeṭṭhaka* (elder) or *Pamukha* (foreman). We also hear of guilds of caravan-drivers *(Sātthavāha)*, a professional caste-like group of the time. We also come across terms like *dhānna-vaṇijakula* (family of grain merchants) and *paṇṇikā-kula* (family of greengrocers). Traders and artisans were provided with capital by the *mahāseṭṭhis, seṭṭhis* and *anuseṭṭhis*. From certain passages the latter communities appear to have been in active business. Joint-stock companies making a profit of 100 per cent or even 300 per cent were not uncommon.

In the Mauryan period, according to Strabo, all land belonged to the king, and peasants, besides paying the land-tax, had to pay tribute. But this is somewhat doubtful. Such distinguishing terms as *svatva, svāmitva,* and *bhoga* definitely indicate that private ownership of land was recognized. Grazing ground, however, might still be considered communal. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* the king is shown to possess lands of which the net produce was called *Sītā*, and new lands were constantly reclaimed and settled under royal supervision. The *Sītādhyakṣa* had these lands cultivated by sharecroppers under different terms and conditions. The free peasant proprietor was to pay to the king one-sixth *(ṣaḍbhāga)* of the annual produce. The Greek writers appear, however, to mention that the quantity was one-fourth. In the Rummindei Pillar Inscription, Aśoka says that he had reduced the amount of *bhāga* to one-eighth as a concession to the people of the holy birth-place of the Buddha.

That the Mauryas had a strong grip over the economic life of the times is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* as also from the accounts of the classical authors. The *Arthaśāstra* refers to state monopoly of mines *(khani)*, and the manufacture of salt and wine. According to Megasthenes, ship-building and manufacture of arms were royal monopolies. Slave labour was employed in the mines and factories. The state was also the biggest trader and made arrangements to check adulteration and false declaration of the quality and quantity of the commodities. The state provided for the correctness of weights and measures, sale by public auction and collection of tolls through officials like the *Paṇyādhyakṣa, Mudrādhyakṣa, Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa, Pautavādhyakṣa* and *Śulkādhyakṣa*, all of them working under the *Samāhartā*. Megasthenes also refers to six boards of *Astynomoi*, some of which were entrusted with these duties. The quarrying of stones and manufacture, polishing and erection of the huge monolithic pillars of Aśoka in the widely scattered regions of his empire, indicate the stage of technical progress achieved, and the opulence of the government. Kauṭilya states that construction of dams for purposes of irrigation was a state undertaking. The Girnār Inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman also confirms this by stating that the Sudarśana lake was originally constructed by Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, Candragupta

Maurya's governor of Saurāṣṭra. The dam was repaired later by Aśoka's governor Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha. It was once more repaired by Rudradāman.

The State derived its revenue from seven main heads *(āya-śarīra)* viz., *durga* (fortified towns), *rāṣṭra* (country side), *khani* (mines), *setu* (buildings and gardens), *vana* (forest), *vraja* (herds of cattle), and *vaṇik-patha* (roads of traffic). These were again subdivided into a large number of heads. Megasthenes states that husbandmen paid taxes and tributes *(bhāga* and *bali)*, while shepherds and artisans rendered services to government.

Kauṭilya mentions coins of different denominations, the standard currency being *paṇa*. Earlier, the Achaemenid emperors introduced the silver *sigloi* and possibly the gold *daric*. A large number of punch-marked and cast coins of copper and silver have been discovered, but none can be attributed conclusively to the Mauryan period though such a possibility cannot be altogether ignored. Kauṭilya refers to state officers in charge of coinage, the *suvarṇādhyakṣa*, the *lakṣaṇādhyakṣa* and the *rūpadarśaka* on the one hand, and to coins of gold, silver and copper on the other.

4. Pre-Gupta and Gupta Periods (*c.* 185 B.C.–A.D. 700)

In the post-Mauryan period, the Sātavāhana inscriptions show that there were in Western India at that time guilds which acted as banks. One inscription states that an oil-pressers' guild *(Tailikanikāya)* received two amounts of money as fixed deposit. For one amount the rate of interest payable was 12 per cent and for the other 9 per cent. The huge sacrificial fees *(dakṣiṇā)* paid after the completion of various Vedic rites by Queen Nāganikā point to a high degree of economic prosperity which must have depended on maritime commerce. The type of Āndhra coins with the figure of a ship on the obverse and the account preserved in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, all testify to the maritime commerce of the day.

In the early centuries before and after the Christian era the Kuṣāṇa empire touched the fringes of the Roman empire in the west and the 'celestial empire' in the east. Indians acted as the chief intermediaries in the silk trade, besides exporting muslin and spices. Their favourable balance of trade, which Pliny mentions, resulted in the creation of a gold standard in India. Wima Kadphises and his successors issued gold coins, which were in point of shape, size, weight and mineral content exactly similar to Roman *solidus* and *denarius*. People on the Coromandel Coast were engaged in trade with South East Asia. The Jātaka texts, the *Niddeśa*, the *Milinda Pañho*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and epigraphic

evidence from South East Asia, point to an increasing Indian mercantile enterprise and subsequent political domination in the region.

The decline of the Kuṣāṇa empire and the Sātavāhana kingdom in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. once again let loose the forces of disintegration. Its consequent impact on Indian economy may perhaps be seen in the paucity of Roman gold coins found in India during this period. When the Imperial Guptas established an empire, peace and prosperity returned. The numerous gold, silver and copper coins of the early Guptas found in the different parts of the country are an index to the opulence of the country as a whole. The increase in the weight of their gold coins without debasement further confirms this.

With increasing security of life and property and introduction of a more extensive and intensive cultivation, population multiplied. This meant greater dependence on land. Indeed, land-grants of the period show that agricultural fallow land *(aprada, aprahata)* was not easy to secure. Land-tenure rules in this period, as revealed by the inscriptions and Dharma Śāstras, show that alienation of land was a complicated process. Permission of the village and district authorities was necessary for land transaction in North India in the time of the Guptas; this fact, incidentally, shows that the Gupta emperors claimed some sort of superior right over individual farmers. Providing irrigation water was mostly the responsibility of the State as may be seen from the repairing of the dam of the Sudarśana lake by Parṇadatta in Skandagupta's reign. Irrigation wells *(vāpī)* also were dug. Though it is likely that the villages were left to themselves as self-sufficient economic units, the prosperity of the country depended on industrial progress. The high level of excellence in metallurgy in this period can be seen from the rust-proof Mehrauli Iron Pillar of king Candra (Candragupta II ?). Industries, as before, were organized under guilds. The Vaiśālī seals refer to the guilds *(nigama, śreṇī)* of bankers *(Śreṣṭhis)*, traders *(Sārthavāha)* and artisans *(Kulika)*. Specific mention has been made of the guilds of oil pressers *(Tailika)*, silk weavers *(Paṭṭavāya-śreṇī)* etc. Each guild had a president called *Prathama* or *Pravara*. Something like a modern chamber of commerce or cartel also existed. There are references to *Śreṣṭhi-kulika-nigama*. These guilds undertook banking operations and accepted donations to be held in perpetuity *(ājasrikam)* on certain conditions which were registered *(nibaddha)*. A guild of the town of Ajapūraka thus received a permanent endowment *(akṣayanīvi)*. The endowment funds were trust properties and so the principal *(nīvi)* had to be kept intact. Banking operation was undertaken by temple committees as well, such as the *Pañcamaṇḍalī* of the Kākanādaboṭa-mahāvihāra. The importance of the industrial and mercantile communities in the body politic can be seen in the Advisory Council of the District Magistrate *(Viṣayapati)*.

The sources of revenue during this period were many. Of these, mention

may be made of the *udraṅga* (probably a land-tax), *uparikara* (a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietory rights on soil), *bhūta* (what is grown), *dhānya, hiraṇya, bhoga,* and *bhāga* (share of produce). It appears that taxes were levied on salt, sale and purchase, and produce of mines. Forced labour was prevalent *(vaiṣṭika)* and some form of a police-tax *(bhaṭa, caṭa)* was also levied.

5. Post-Gupta Period (*c.* A.D. 700–1200)

Economic organization in the Gupta period bacame the pattern for the later period. Very little innovation took place. However, the almost simultaneous decline of the Gupta and Roman empires temporarily affected the fortunes of Indian trade and industry. Post-Gupta coins are few, debased and crude, pointing to great economic decline in the country. New markets were, however, being sought. It is likely that Harṣa's embassies to China were not motivated purely by political reasons. The Pallavas and later the Coḷas in the south maintained active maritime trade relations with South East Asia. The Pālas also did not lag behind, as may be inferred from some Kambuja inscriptions using proto-Bengali script and also from the Nālandā copper plate of year 39 of Devapāla. But from about the middle of the 9th century A.D. Indian merchants faced keen competition from the Arabs who monopolized at least the carrying trade of the Arabian Sea. The Arab merchants Sulaimān and Mas'udī speak highly of the prosperity of the Pāla, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdoms. Another important feature of economic life in the post-Gupta period was the growing tendency towards feudalisation of land. Numerous grants show that lands were allotted to officials as rewards for military service, or as an obligation for such service. Instances of sub-infeudation of land also are not wanting.

Coḷa inscriptions at Ukkal and Uttaramerur show that the villages were self-sufficient. The village assemblies looked after irrigation and collected revenue from the cultivators for the State. Numerous Coḷa coins of gold and copper have been found. Coḷa inscriptions as well as Chinese annals testify to the extensive maritime activities of the Coḷas. The Coḷa temples and sculptures bear ample testimony to their economic prosperity.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND LITERATURE

1. Survey of Social Life

Before the advent of the Aryans the territories of India were inhabited by people of numerous races living in different stages of culture. When the Aryans came some of the indigenous races were living in fortified cities and had achieved a prosperous urban civilization. No trace is visible of the continuity of this pre-Vedic society after the 3rd millennium B.C. Vedic society was rural and agricultural. The racial war among the Aryan and non-Aryan tribes stressed the need for fortifying tribal settlements. Within the security of surrounding wall flourished arts and crafts, trade and commerce, and also religious and educational pursuits around the temple and the school.

At the time of the Buddha, i.e., in the 6th century B.C., society comprised widely different levels of culture and economic life ranging from aboriginal tribes to wealthy merchants of the cities and scholars and chaplains enjoying the bounties of the state. The village was an autonomous unit of corporate life ministering to its own needs of taxation, education, settlement of disputes and public works. In the Pāli texts the *Gāmabhojaka* (recipient of village revenues by royal charter) appears as a tyrant who fleeces the people with arbitrary exactions and sometimes interferes with the autonomous and associate life of the village. The people amused themselves in fairs and carnivals *(samāja)* where animal-fights, acrobatic and magical feats, dances and dramatic performances were held for entertainment. Prostitution, drinking and gambling were common vices.

During the 4th century B.C., Megasthenes observed the existence of seven castes—Brāhmaṇas or philosophers, cultivators of land, herdsmen and hunters, artisans and traders, soldiers, spies and councillors (officers of the king). Apart from the first, these were actually vocational groups, not castes based on heredity. Megasthenes remarks that vocations were not necessarily fixed by parentage and that divisions of vocation had become more apparent than those of birth.

The account of Megasthenes is generally corroborated by Pāli canonical works, the edicts of Aśoka and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Inter-caste marriage seems to have been quite common in spite of Sāstric injunctions and Megasthenes' evidence to the contrary. Eight kinds of marriages are mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* viz., four customary—*Ārṣa, Daiva, Brāhma, Prājāpatya* and four later additions—marriage with dowry suggestive of sale *(Āsura),* by free mutual choice *(Gāndharva),* kidnapping *(Rākṣasa)*

and rape *(Paiśāca)*. The old vices of drinking, gambling and prostitution were regulated by state licence. King's spies infiltrated in every sphere and the atmosphere was surcharged with suspicion and treachery. The secret service no doubt was a familiar instrument of kings for suppressing sedition and keeping themselves in touch with public opinion ; its role, however, is theoretically overdone in the *Arthaśāstra*.

During the early centuries of the Christian era foreign invaders like the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians, the Parthians and the Kuṣāṇas founded kingdoms and ruled over the northern and north-western parts of India. Some of them intermarried with Indian ruling families and came under the influence of Indian culture. Many of them adopted Indian names, e.g., the Śaka Uṣavadāta and Rudradāman, and the Kuṣāṇa Vāsudeva. The capitals of foreign dynasties like Śākala, Puruṣapura and Ujjayinī became centres of a cultural synthesis which gave Indian civilization a distinct cosmopolitan character. The tendency reached its culmination in the rise of Purāṇic Hinduism during the Gupta age. With the Buddha accepted as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, the old quarrel between Brahmanism and Buddhism died out. Aboriginal gods and goddesses and foreign religious symbols were absorbed into the Hundu fold. Hindu society became a federation of cultural and social groups freely interchanging ideas and customs and living side by side in good neighbourly relations.

Early in the 5th century A.D. Fa-hien testified to the prosperous condition of Northern India under the rule of the Imperial Guptas. Living was cheap and the people were happy. Their movements were not restricted by passport rules. The mercantile class amassed immense fortune with their trading and banking activities and spent their wealth liberally on benevolent institutions like schools, monasteries, temples, hospitals and alms-houses. The Buddhist monastery at Pāṭaliputra was a famous centre of learning. The Chinese pilgrim saw scores of such public institutions scattered over the Gaṅgā valley. Sometimes endowments for their upkeep were deposited in banks which served as trustees.

From the Sanskrit literature of the Gupta period it appears that the people believed in omens, such as the cawing of a crow or the passing of a jackal. There were amulets for averting misfortune. Astrologers and soothsayers predicted the future and made a lucrative business out of the credulity of the people. Worship of gods and goddesses was accompanied by elaborate social festivals and ceremonies with music, dancing and feasting in which everyone could take part. The most important of these was the spring festival *(vasanta utsava)* when men and women gave themselves to unbridled mirth and hilarity.

Ever since the beginning of civil society, its affairs were regulated not by laws of state but by customary rules known as *dharma*. *Dharma* is what holds together (*dhṛ* i.e. to hold), or a code of duties for the harmonious

functioning of the various divisions of society. Dharma Śāstra or Smṛtis laid down rules for every caste and vocation, for every relation in society—king and subjects, husband and wife, teacher and pupil. The rules were not rigid and were revised from time to time to meet new developments. Sometimes the law-givers and the priestly class introduced their own ideas and laid down strictures and taboos.

Hiuen Tsang, who came to India in the 7th century A.D. and travelled more widely over the country than his predecessors wrote a detailed account of the life of the people. Like Megasthenes he had much to say on Indian character. Even if somewhat fickle-minded, the Indians were honest. They never practised deceit, nor did they break their promise. They believed that vice, not punished in this life, had surely to be accounted for hereafter. The people of the Deccan were warlike and audacious, and they could be as ferocious as they were kind.

From this time social life became more and more mechanical under the regulations of the Śāstras. The castes and subcastes were rigidly separated. Inter-caste contact was prohibited with strict rules of dining, marriage, touch and ceremonials. In spite of these taboos, however, life was not cheerless. Games, social and religious festivals, family ceremonies for celebration of birth, *upanayana* (assuming the sacred thread), marriage, etc. were occasions for feasting and merry-making. Hunting and wrestling were some of the manly pastimes.

The general decadence of society is manifest in the caste rules which cramped originality and initiative, in the humiliation of the outcastes, in the degradation of women and in the disintegration of corporate bodies like *gaṇa* (oligarchical states), *śreṇi* (craft guilds) and *saṅgha* (monastic orders). India had lost the invigorating contact with the outside world and retired into its shell. In the 11th century A.D. when Alberūnī visited the country, he observed that the Indians treated foreigners with scorn. Too proud of their own philosophies, they were cut off from the main currents of intellectual progress abroad.

Position of Women. In the Vedic times women had access to all branches of learning. Women like Ghoṣā, Apālā and Viśvavarā were composers of outstanding Vedic hymns. The age of the Upaniṣads produced philosophers like Gārgī who challenged the invincible Yājñavalkya in debate and Maitreyī who spurned wealth because it would not give her immortal light *(amṛta)*. Women of higher castes were indispensable partners of their husbands in the *yajña*. They could hold property and widows could remarry. There was no equality of sex as men could have more than one wife while women could have only one husband and must be loyal to him.

During the Buddhist period women were not denied learning. Nuns *(therī)* figure prominently in songs which found place in the Pāli canon. Women took active part in the community life of the village but they had lost the right of Vedic studies.

The deterioration is more perceptible in the Gupta age. The *Svayaṁvara* (choice of the groom by the bride after a contest of valour) and *Gāndharva* forms of marriage fell into disuse and the *Ārṣa* and *Āsura* forms in which the bride had to be given with a price became popular. Widows could not marry again ; they had to spend the rest of their lives in penance and austerity. Women had no right to real property. But there was no *pardāh* or seclusion and they freely took part in games and festivals. During the time of Harṣavardhana (7th century A.D.) the practice of *satī* or widows burning themselves on their husbands' funeral pyre was somewhat in vogue. More often they were doomed to live in loneliness and mortification.

Even so there are many instances of women acquiring exceptional proficiency in sciences and letters. The names of Līlāvatī and Khanā, legendary masters of arithmetic and astronomy may be noted in this context.

Position of Labour. Manual labour was relegated to four social classes. The free artisan and peasant who owned their tools and land were their own masters and formed the middle stratum of society. Originally of the Vaiśya caste, they were split up into numerous subcastes which were not very respectable by Śāstric standards. Below them were slave labour and free unskilled labour.

Slavery originated from the laws of tribal war. The vanquished *Anāryas* became the slaves *(Dāsa)* of the victorious *Āryas*. Children of female slaves became their master's property. In course of time forms of slavery multiplied in number. Enslavement in lieu of uncleared debt was known from Vedic times. Slaves purchased with money were common in the time of the Buddha. The *Arthaśāstra* testifies to enslavement by court decree. Slaves had no personal rights. They could not sue or tender evidence in court. They could not own property and the master treated them as he liked. But generally treatment was not harsh. Such was the disparity between Indian and Western standards that even Megasthenes did not notice any slavery in India. Like domestic animals, slaves were well cared for. Manumission was not rare on happy occasions like the birth of a child or the return of a prodigal son in the master's house. In earlier days *Ārya* slaves could be redeemed on payment of their price.

The unskilled labourer working for hire *(bhṛtaka)* was a free man but often worse off than the slave. Terms of employment were extremely inequitable and wages were abominably low, sometimes not enough for a square meal a day. Terms of contract and rates of payment, as given in the Śāstras were entirely to the employer's advantage. Obviously, the problem of unemployment became acute with the concentration of agricultural holdings.

Below the slaves and hirelings were the outcastes known variously as *Mleccha, Apaṣada, Hīnajāti* and *Hīnasippa* ; they were assigned low professions like sweeping, corpse-burning and executing criminals.

In this category were the *Caṇḍālas, Pulkasas, Niṣādas,* and the like. Originally the indigenous tribes who refused to submit to Aryan domination belonged to this class. Dispossessed of land, they moved off to hills and forests and lived by hunting and plundering. With them were later equated the progeny of undesirable inter-caste marriages and backward tribes whose occupations were held as very low. They were outside the Hindu society of castes and had to live outside the walls of the city or village, as their very sight was held as pollution. Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang noticed this inhuman segregation.

The far south beyond the Kṛṣṇā had civilized social institutions at the time when the Aryans settled in North-western India. Gradually, as the Aryans crossed the barriers of the Vindhyas and penetrated into the far south a mixed culture evolved out of the intercourse. Sanskrit and Tamil prevailed side by side. Caste system and slavery appeared in almost the same form as in the North. The village and the craft guild were cradles of free corporate life which grew to be more vigorous than in the North. Rigours of widowhood and burning of widows became established social practice. But women were not entirely shut out from knowledge and literary activity. Two poetesses, Avvai and Āṇḍāl came into prominence in Tamil literature after the 6th century A.D.

2. Social Institutions and Reforms : the Caste System

In some passages of the *Ṛg-Veda,* the *Mahābhārata* and the Pāli canon there are references to a casteless millennium of equality, plenty and piety—this was supposed to have existed in some remote, unrecorded antiquity. It was the golden age of *Kṛta* or *Satyayuga* when there was only one caste of *Deva* (gods) or Brāhmaṇa, when people had no claim to private property and women were not regarded as mere chattel, when crops were grown without toil and everyone was pious and happy. The legendary Uttarakurus of the far north were a model of this arcadian society of godly men. The tradition, undoubtedly a myth, conceals a vague outline of pre-historic society.

Viś or Tribal Herd. The Aryan *Viś* or tribe was a wandering one. Flood and drought, predatory beasts and the need of game animals, drove it from place to place. Fire and cattle gave it some stability and bound it to the soil. The forest was burnt and cleared to make a habitable terrain. Hunting was supplemented with the superior economy of cattle-rearing. With the secure supply of meat and milk from domesticated animals there was no more precarious dependence on game.

There was no place for individual enterprise. Whether for hunting or for animal-keeping, for safety or for settlement the tribe had to work collectively. Hence distribution also was collective and equal. Since strug-

gle for existence was hard and the food scarce, the goal was expansion of the tribe *(prajā)* and of animals *(paśu)* for food. Woman has held the mysteries of birth; she was the mother of the tribe. She roasted the meat and was the keeper of the tribe. The earliest *Viś* was matriarchal. In the *Ṛg-Veda* and the first canto of the *Mahābhārata* the early tribal fathers *(Prajāpati)* were known by their mothers' names viz., Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kadru, Vinatā, and Pulomā. These original mothers were supposed to be the sources of mankind. How and when the mother was set aside by the leader of the herd and the patriarchal system replaced the matriarchal is not known. The latter left its legacy in the conception of *Śakti* as, the cosmic mother.

The one-caste society of the *Kṛta* age is the mythised version of the tribal herd bound by ties of kinship and tribal discipline. Men were governed by tribal rules of hunting and war. Tribal wars were fought to extermination.

In course of time human labour was replaced by animal labour. Cattle-produce and animal labour yielded a surplus of wealth. It was possible to feed and use men and women captured in tribal feuds. The animal was yoked to the plough and the captive alien harnessed behind. Like animal man became a booty of plunder and an article of use. Thus came slavery, the two-caste society, social laws and fusion of tribal blood.

Two Castes: Arya and Dasa. When Aryan and non-Aryan tribes settled down and commingled, the tradition of uni-caste society gave way to the bi-caste society of *Deva* (gods) and *Asura* (demons) or the *Ārya* and *Dāsa* (master and slave). It was not the result of disintegration of the original *Viś* but was produced by the impact of the hostile aboriginals who were admitted as slaves and wage-earners *(bhṛtaka)* within the Aryan society. The masters and the slaves became two castes or *varṇas* (colour), the white-skinned and the dark-skinned as they are labelled in the *Ṛg-Veda*.

Four Castes. The problem of living was simplified by fire, cattle and slave. With agriculture, followed by other crafts and trade, life became easier. Iron was the next discovery which further accelerated production. No longer was there need of hard collective work. Then the *Viś* itself was split into three parts. The main body, i.e., the Vaiśya followed productive pursuits like agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade. The surplus wealth went towards the maintenace of two new castes *(varṇas)*, the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya, marked not by the colour of their skin but by their profession. The Brāhmaṇa performed sacrifices for general welfare, studied the Vedas and formulated social laws *(dharma)* on the basis of custom and equity. The Kṣatriya was charged with the defence of the realm and the running of the administration. The three *varṇas* specialized in their avocations and each was accorded a place in the social hierarchy suitable to the dignity of its service. Below the three was the fourth caste of Śūdra or *Dāsa* serving the former and no longer an alien race but a subordinate

partner within the Aryan system. The *Puruṣasukta* of the *Ṛg-Veda* gives a mythical story of the origin of the four castes from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the Lord Brahmā.

Interchange of Caste and Vocation. In the beginning the vocations of the *varṇas* were not strictly hereditary. A Kṣatriya could excel in philosophical pursuits and become a Brāhmaṇa. A well-known story in Vedic literature is that of Viśvāmitra who was born a Kṣatriya but became a Brāhmaṇa by acquiring Brahmanical knowledge and virtues. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* gives a similar story about Janaka, king of Videha. A Brāhmaṇa might acquire a kingdom by dint of his valour and become a Kṣatriya. He became known as Brahmakṣatriya. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* the Brāhmaṇas descended from the sage Bhṛgu are described as founders of royal houses. The Vaiśya and the Śūdra could improve their status provided they possessed the necessary talents and virtues. Conversely, by choice or by accident, one might be demoted from a higher to a lower caste. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the Purāṇas give instances of these two categories. Later on, caste and vocation were strictly fixed by heredity according to the laws of the Smṛtis. Social and economic divisions were identified and graded. The Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra were separated from and related to one another by a set of laws framed according to a scheme of division and synthesis.

Rise of individual enterprise necessarily led to the institution of private property. Anyone could recover some wasteland, turn the virgin soil by means of slaves and bullocks and become owner of agricultural land. In industrial arts the old collective enterprise still prevailed but the income was shared and not jointly owned. The trader made his fortune by exchanging the products of agriculture and industry. In the wake of caste and property came the state. The place of the *Viś* was taken by the *rāṣṭra* (country), the *Viśpati* (patriarch) became *Bhūpati* (lord of the land). The *Kulapatis (paterfamilias)* who were sharers in the tribal common-wealth were replaced by *Amātyas* (officers and councillors), paid men of the king. The state protected private property and took a part of private income as revenue *(bhāga)*. It had no hand in social regulation and was only the guardian of the rules of duty *(dharmasya goptā)*.

The caste system was conceived with a recognition of variations in human nature and as a plan to fit these variations in a graded structure according to the needs of society. This was a scheme of cooperation and synthesis to ensure progress. Given sufficient flexibility this was an excellent solution of the dichotomy of the individual and the community.

Caste and Heredity. The law givers sought to give the caste system an inflexible rigidity. The codes of Gautama, Bodhāyana and Āpastamba followed by later canon fixed the *varṇa* irrevocably to birth and imposed restrictions on marriage and social relations. That these laws were meant to be obeyed is shown in descriptive literature. The narratives of the

Rāmāyaṇa and the *Mahābhārata* and the Jātaka stories of the Pāli canon further show that the first *varṇa* not only remained in enjoyment of dignity and position, but also rose to wealth and power. The Brāhmaṇa was assigned revenues of villages or tax-free lands called *brahmadeya* by royal charter. Not all such beneficiaries were *śrotriyas* devoted to Vedic studies or to religion and learning. There were many who preferred the Vaiśya occupations of agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade and usury and amassed fabulous fortunes. The *Dīgha Nikāya* of the Pāli canon mentions Brāhmaṇa owners of thousands of hectares of land which they cultivated by means of slaves and wage earners and who lived like princes on their toil. Even those who stuck to the rites and rituals proper to their caste came to be organized into vocational guilds like other crafts and professions. Manu and Nārada give rules about division of their earnings. Stories of the *Mahābhārata* and of Jātakas represent them as bargaining for sacrificial fee and quarrelling among themselves over their respective shares. All Brāhmaṇas were not, however, secularized. But the fixation of caste to heredity and the unstinted flow of charity from kings and the laity naturally caused large-scale deviation and corruption.

Unlike the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas do not appear in the post-Buddhist period with the precision of a well-defined caste determined by heredity. Statecraft and military vocation were not confined to one group. There is no lack of Brāhmana, Vaiśya and Śūdra royal dynasties in the annals of India. The Sātavāhanas called themselves Brāhmaṇas, the Guptas were Vaiśyas and the Nandas Śūdras. Kings of foreign races like Yavana, Śaka and Kuṣāṇa did not belong to any caste. In theory the Kṣatriyas were devoted to war and civil administration and gifted with the necessary virtues. In the epics and legends the ruling families of Aryan states are Kṣatriyas. In later historical records, however, only the ruling families of the Gaṅgā valley oligarchies are known as Kṣatriya.

The Vaiśyas were the most numerous caste and they show none of the traits of a social class. Some of them climbed up to the highest rung of the economic ladder. The merchant sent his cargo across the seas as far as Mesopotamia and the East Indies and became master of the conventional eighty crores. The *Grāmabhojaka* enjoying local revenue and the big landowner belonged to the same fortunate fraternity. But the Vaiśyas were not limited to these wealthy few. There were small peasants, artisans, hawkers and petty officials who formed the main bulk of the *varṇa* and had no class identity with the commercial and agricultural magnates at the top.

The Śūdras had a perceptible class character. They were mainly slaves and men working for wages. While slavery originated from the right of the strong over the weak, the wage system grew out of destitution and poverty. They worked in the household or workshop or on the farm

of the master. As servants of the upper castes they were an intergral part of the Aryan society.

Below the Śūdras were the degraded races called the *Mlecchas*. They were outside the caste system and the pale of Aryan society.

Ramification of Castes. In course of time the four castes ramified and were interwoven into a baffling maze of subcastes and mixed castes. Intercaste marriage in defiance of canonical laws went side by side with the rise of new crafts and vocations. The progeny of mixed marriage was given a new caste name and a new craft or profession. The legists threatened the transgressors with expulsion but could not help accepting them and their children. Kauṭilya even recognized amorous union, purchase, abduction and rape as legal forms of wedlock, with a stigma clinging to them. The result was further ramification of the caste system. As one passes from the earlier to the later Smṛtis through Manu, Viṣṇu, Yājñavalkya, Bṛahaspati and Nārada, one sees castes mix and multiply in violation of Śāstras' injunctions and by loose popular practice.

Caste and Class. It is an intriguing question whether the caste system, changing and ramifying continually, was the determining factor in society and superseded the force of wealth. Or, could it be that the three upper castes represented the class of property and privilege while the rest were the destitute proletariat ? Were the *varṇas* mere economic classes under the gloss of priestly idealism ?

Undoubtedly, differences in wealth sometimes superseded the differences of birth. But economic changes did not efface caste distinctions and free the individual from the dispensation of his birth and blood. Divisions of wealth were hardly coincident with the hierarchy of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. In the economic pyramid the layers from the top downwards were high officials, merchants, and bankers and landowners *(Amātya, Śreṣṭhi, Grāmabhojaka)* ; small freeholders, artisans and ordinary officials ; labour without right and property, and despised and segregated labour. The third and the fourth would correspond to the Śūdra and the *Mleccha* but the first and the second would not fit in the caste hierarchy. Those Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas who remained faithful to their profession were above want and commanded esteem and influence due to their caste.

Cases are numerous where a caste overlaps class. The Ārya slave was distinctly better off than the Śūdra slave. When an Ārya was reduced to bondage he could be redeemed on payment of his price. The gainful pursuits assigned to the Vaiśya were lower than the pursuits of learning and valour. Yet when a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya stooped down so as to adopt the profession of trade and commerce, he still retained his social precedence.

Property and privilege were separate. Privilege went to the Brāhmaṇa. The Vaiśya, although amassing wealth, gradually descended to the level

of the Śūdra and became a commoner. He lost his caste pedigree and the privileges of Vedic studies and regeneration *(upanayana)*. In Yājñavalkya's Dharma Śāstra, Śūdras are allowed to pursue the Vaiśya calling of agriculture, crafts and trade.

The caste system was devised to solve the differences in society, to reduce competition and to maintain a balance of interests. It was from time to time adjusted to new developments.

Disintegration. Buddhism swept away the organic coherence of the Aryan community. The Brāhmaṇas made a supreme effort to restore unity. The Vedas were compiled and made a rallying point. The scattered myths and legends, faiths and values lingering in racial memory were pieced together in the *Mahābhārata*. And as the mixed races and beliefs spread with irrepressible virility the Smṛti laws raised wall after wall to resist them. The Aryan society became static and immobile.

From the 6th century B.C. the republics which had sheltered free thinking and democratic practice were swept out of the political map. The Buddhist *Saṅgha*, already corrupted by the flow of bounties was split up into factional sects indulging in hair-splitting controversies. Processions with the relics of the Buddha verged on idolatry. The craft guilds, the last bastions of collective enterprise, became jointstock companies in which a few capitalists profited from the labour of the working class. The Śūdra and the *Mleccha* remained sulking in passive discontent and indifferent to the shifting fortunes of their masters. Women descended in social esteem. Their degradation was foredoomed with the mass enslavement and prostitution of females of the defeated tribes. These unfortunate victims of racial pride ultimately spoiled the sanctity of the home. While the chaste housewife lived a colourless life, the wily courtesan *(gaṇikā)* became the centre of romance and allurement.

When the Gupta empire fell and inroads of the Hūṇas followed, there was more dabbling in philosophy than demonstration of martial prowess. The Vedic *brahmavidyā* with its highly pragmatic content was attenuated into the six systems of philosophy mazed in logic and words without the sap of life. *Dharma*, losing its vital elasticity, became a chain of bondage, eternal and immutable *(sanatana)*.

3. Religious Movements

Religion played an important part in the lives of the Indians from the earliest times, as in the case of many other ancient nations of the world. From the pre and proto-historical periods up to the beginning of the 13th century A.D., it assumed numerous forms with manifold designations in relation to different groups of people associated with them. Religious ideas, thoughts and practices differed among these groups,

and transformations and developments took place in them in course of time. These changes were very often brought about by the ideas and actions of intellectual thinkers, while environment and association also played a major part in the process. Religion in India was never static in character. An inherent dynamic strength was indeed at the root of various religious movements that marked this country's history and culture during the period under review.

Pre-Vedic and Vedic Religion. There are no means of definitely ascertaining the nature of the religion of the pre-Aryan settlers in India, though the archaeological finds in the pre and proto-historic sites throw light on it to some extent. It seems that these men believed in the sanctity of the creative force, and venerated the father and mother aspects of the divinity and their emblems. They appear also to have had some respect for the forces of nature like the sun and the moon. The early literature of the Aryan immigrants partly substantiates what we know from archaeology.

The *Ṛg-Veda* indicates the nature of the religious beliefs and practices of the Aryans in India. They believed in many gods like Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Sūrya and Rudra, some of whom were undoubtedly personifications of the forces of nature. Sacrifices, ritual offering of oblations of food, meat and drink to fire in honour of the gods, constituted the main religious practice. Animals were sacrificed and *soma* juice offered and drunk. The subsidiary Vedas, the *Sāma* and *Yajur,* while incorporating much of what was in the *Ṛg-Veda,* elaborated the different aspects of the sacrificial acts, and this ritualism was further elaborated in the Brāhmaṇas. The *Atharva Veda,* though it drew partly from the *Ṛg-Veda,* contained a great deal of adventitious matter indicative of animistic beliefs. The Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas constituted the first bulk of literary output of the Vedic Aryans.

But even in the early period,the seers entertained doubts about the utility and efficacy of the Vedic ritualism. Polytheism was gradually giving place to monotheistic ideas—the various deities were described as different ways of naming one eternal entity *(ekaṁ sad-viprā bahudhā vadanti).* The sage Dīrghatamas to whom tradition ascribes the honour of 'seeing' the *sūkta*, where this idea occurs, can accordingly be regarded as one of the earliest reformers of Aryan India. Occasional references are also found in the *Ṛg-Veda* to persons 'who had no Indra' *(anindrah),* and 'who were presumably non-believers in Indra worship'. The enigmatic frog hymn ridiculing the chanting of *mantras* during the sacrificial performances may also point to an element of disbelief and-doubt in the prevailing ritualism in the minds of some *Ṛṣis*. But all this did not constitute a regular religious movement which was to make its distinct appearance later.

Development of Religious Thought. The Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad sections of the Vedic literature envisage a progressive outlook. The former group of texts usually deal with the interpretative aspect *(arthavāda)*

of sacrificial acts, while the latter, especially some of the major Upanişads are concerned first with pantheism and then with theism centred on one eternally existing absolute entity, *Brahman* or *Ātman*, also known by several other names. These Upanişads, rightly described as the *Vedānta* ('acme of the Vedas'), represent the early stage in the origin and development of the religio-metaphysical concepts—full use of them was made later by the religious leaders and reformers of ancient and medieval India. The different systems of Indian philosophy, the doctrine of the Law of *Karman* and belief in the transmigration of soul, and many other features of subsequent religious movements were contained in these texts in a nascent form. Many sages traditionally associated with their composition can rightly be regarded as some of the most profound thinkers of ancient times who laid down the lines of action to be followed by the religious reformers of India. They can rightly be considered as the pioneers of religious movements which progressed in later times, some following the traditional lines and others proceeding along the paths of unorthodoxy.

Unorthodox Religious Movements. The religious movements that were centred on the historical persons like Mahāvīra and the Buddha about the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. fall under the second group. About that time there flourished several other religious teachers who were connected with such movements. Some early Buddhist texts speak of six foremost opponents of the Buddha, who were the chiefs of peretical sects—Purāṇa Kāśyapa, Maskarī Gosāla, Ajita Keśakambalin, Pakudha Kātyāyana, Sañjaya Belaṣṭhiputra and Nirgrantha Jñātaputra. The second and the last in the list, Maskarī Gosāla and Nirgrantha Jñātaputra (another name of Mahāvīra) were the most important of them all—they were connected respectively with Ājīvikism and Jainism. The creeds preached by some of them contained elements that were not in keeping with the Vedic tradition, and they ignored the infallibility and supernatural origin of the Vedas. The tradition that many of these religious teachers and reformers including Śākyamuni Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra were not the original founders of the movements they headed suggests that these movements might have been developing from earlier times. Another fact to be noted in this context is that many of the new teachers, unlike the Vedic seers who were Brāhmaṇa sages, came from the Kṣatriya caste, just as the original exponents of the doctrine of *Brahman-Ātman* mainly belonged to the royal order. The religions preached by Mahāvira, the Buddha and Maskarī Gosāla were more or less of an ethical character in which abstruse enquiries about God and soul were not encouraged. In this sense they were not theistic creeds in the beginning. The faith preached by the Buddha, however, endorsed the doctrine of the Law of *Karman*, it upheld the belief in repeated rebirths of the embodied *Skandhas* and the inevitability of suffering in the very existence of beings. Many

of these view-points are found in the major Upaniṣads.

Theistic Religions: Element of Bhakti. Almost simultaneously with the appearance of religions of non-theistic nature, creeds of a definitely theistic character came to be evolved. The central figures around which they grew up were not primarily Vedic deities, but came from unorthodox sources. Pre-Vedic and post-Vedic folk-elements were most conspicuous in their origin. There were also some semi-historical personages at the focal points of the movements. The important factor that activated these movements was *Bhakti*, the single-souled devotion of the worshipper to a personal god with the postulation of some moral link. This stimulus led to the evolution of different religious sects like Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śāktism, all of which came to be regarded as components of orthodox Brahmanism. It also had a significant impact in course of time on the popular forms of Buddhism and Jainism.

Folk cults: Yaksa and Naga Worship. The worship of Yakṣas and Nāgas and other folk-deities constituted the most important part of primitive religious beliefs, in which *Bhakti* had a very conspicuous part to play. Early literature as well as archaeology supply us with ample evidence about the prevalence of this form of worship among the people. Several free-standing images of the Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, Nāgas and Nāginis belonging to the centuries immediately before and after the Christian era are found in several parts of the country. The Purāṇic story of Kṛṣṇa's subjugation of Nāga Kāliya really indicates the overthrow of the Nāga cult prevalent in the Mathurā region through the growth of the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa cult there. The folk cults centred on the Nāgas and the Yakṣas, however, appear to have survived in the orthodox Brahmanical fold in the garb of worship of the elephant-headed deity Gaṇeśa, whose hybrid figure was an amalgam of the pot-bellied *(tuṇḍila)* Yakṣa and the elephantine Nāga (the word *'Nāga'* meant both 'a snake' and 'an elephant'). The original importance of the folk-element in religion is also apparent in the fact that the first place was assigned to this god as 'the remover of obstacles' in the list of the five principal Purāṇic deities *(Gaṇeśādi Pañcadevatā* : Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti and Sūrya). If the statements of Śaṅkarācārya's biographers are to be believed the six subdivisions of the sect of the Gāṇapatyas existed even from pre-Śaṅkara times.

Vasudeva-Krishna Worship: Bhagavata—Pancaratra—Vaisnava. A *sūtra* n Paṇinī's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* refers to the worshippers of Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) whom Epic and Puranic traditions describe as a hero of the Sāttvata race. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* speaks of Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, a pupil of the sage Ghora Āṅgirasa who was a sun-worshipping priest. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa appears to have played the most dynamic role in the great Kurukṣetra war, and helped in the establishment of righteousness after the destruction of impiety. He was idealized by his followers during his lifetime and was apotheosized afterwards. The large number of people

who worshipped him exclusively as their personal god were at first known as Bhāgavatas. The Vāsudeva-Bhāgavata cult was a steadily growing religious movement, absorbing within its fold other Vedic and Brāhmaṇic divinities like Viṣṇu (primarily an aspect of the sun) and Nārāyaṇa (a cosmic god). It is a fact that the doctrinal aspect of the cult developed in the early centuries of the Christian era, when one of the names given to it was Pañcarātra. But shortly afterwards, from the late Gupta period, the name mostly used to designate this Bhakti cult was Vaiṣṇava, indicating the predominance of the Vedic Viṣṇu element in it with emphasis on the doctrine of incarnations *(Avatāras)*.

Vaisnava Movement in the South: Alvars and Sri-Vaisnava Acaryas. The history of the Vaiṣṇava movement from the end of the Gupta period till the first decade of the 13th century A.D. is concerned mostly with South India. Vaiṣṇava poet-saints known as Āḷvārs(a Tamil word denoting those drowned in *Viṣṇubhakti*) preached one-souled and loving adoration *(ekātmikā bhakti)* for Viṣṇu and their songs were collectively named *prabandhas*. The wave of *Viṣṇu-bhakti* was supplemented on its doctrinal side by a class of Vaiṣṇava teachers known as the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas. The most famous of the 12 Āḷvārs were Nammāḷvār and Tirumaliśai Āḷvār, while those noted among the early Ācāryas were Yamunācārya and Rāmānuja. The Āḷvārs represented the emotional side of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism and the Ācāryas its intellectual aspect. The two great Ācāryas developed between themselves the doctrine of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* (qualified non-dualism) on the basis of some Upaniṣadic texts in opposition to Śaṅkarācārya's *Advaitavāda*. Two other Vaiṣṇava teachers of the South, who lived shortly after Rāmānuja (*c.* 11th century A.D.), were Madhvācārya and Nimbārka, the founders of the *Brahma Sampradāya* and *Sanakādi Sampradāya* respectively. They were the preachers of *Dvaitavāda* (dualism) and *Dvaitādvaitavāda* (dualistic non-dualism) in Vaiṣṇavism. Nimbārka, though a native of the Deccan, lived most of the time in Mathurā, and his Vaiṣṇavism had a marked emphasis on Radhā-Kṛṣṇa worship.

Saivism. Unlike Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism had its origin in hoary antiquity. The pre-Vedic religion probably had as one of its components the worship of a deity conveniently described as proto-Śiva.

But it is, however, the grammarians who first give us an idea about its growth as a religious movement. Pāṇini in his *sūtra* on the formation of words like *Śaiva* probably refers to a group of Śiva-worshippers of his time (*c.* 5th century B.C.). Patañjali in his commentary on one of the *sūtras* of Paṇini describes a class of Śiva-worshippers named by him as Śiva-Bhāgavatas, who were characterized by the iron lances and clubs they carried and their skin garments.

Siva-Bhagavatas, Pasupatas and Lakulisa. Patañjali's testimony is all the more interesting for the manner in which it has been given. He refers

indirectly and briefly to the forceful and outlandish ritualism of these worshippers of Śiva. This reminds us of the *atimārgika* religious practices of the Pāśupatas described in the *Pāśupata Sūtras* and in the much later *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha.*

The Pāśupata doctrine as amended and organized by Lakulīśa was dualistic in character. *Paśu,* the individual soul, was eternally existing with *Pati,* the supreme soul, and the attainment of *Duḥkhānta* (cessation of misery) by the former was through the performance of *Yoga* and *Vidhi.* The *Vidhi* or means consisted mainly of various apparently senseless and unsocial acts. The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas were no doubt off-shoots of the Pāśupata sect and there is clear epigraphic evidence to show that these were already flourishing in the Gupta period.

Moderate Forms of Saivism in Kashmir and Madhya Pradesh. In contrast with the extreme forms of Śaivism moderate types of the creed appeared in Northern and Central India in the early medieval period. The secluded valley of Kashmir became the venue of the Pratyabhijñā and Spanda-śāstra schools founded respectively by Vasugupta and his pupils Kallaṭa and Somānanda (*c.* 9th century A.D.). Other teachers prominent in the propagation of the monistic tenets of the philosophical types of Śaiva religious movement were Utpalācārya, his *praśiṣya* Abhinavagupta and Abhinava's pupil Kṣemarāja (10th, 11th and 12th centuries A.D. respectively).

A sect of moderate Śaivas known as Mattamayūras flourished at the same time in Central India, and later in some parts of the Deccan. Inscriptions found in Tripuri and its neighbourhood show that many of the Mattamayūra *Ācāryas* whose names mostly ended either in Śiva or Śambhu were the preceptors of the Kalacuri-Cedi kings.

Saiva Movement in the South : Nayanars and Acaryas. The Śaiva movement in the South, like the Vaiṣṇava, flourished at the beginning through the activities of many of the 63 saints known in Tamil as Nāyanārs (*Śiva-bhaktas*). Their appealing emotional songs in Tamil were called *Tevāram Stotras,* also known as *Drāviḍa Veda* and ceremonially sung in the local Śiva temples. The Nāyanārs hailed from all castes, the Brāhmaṇa Tirujñānasaṁbandhar having the greatest respect for his much older contemporary, Tirunāvukkaraśu (Appar), another *Śiva-bhakta* of a low caste. Māṇikkavāśagar, though not included in the list of the 63 Nāyanārs, was also a great Śaiva devotee, and his Tamil work *Tiruvāśagam* is one of the best devotional poems of India.

The emotional *Śiva-bhakti* successfully preached by the Nāyanārs and other Śaiva saints was supplemented on the doctrinal side by a large number of Śaiva intellectuals whose names were associated with several forms of Śaiva movements like Āgamānta, Śudha and Vīra-Śaivism. The Āgamāntins based their tenets mainly on the 28 Āgamas said to have been composed by the various aspects of Śiva himself. The

philosophy of this school was dualistic or pluralistic, and one of its ablest exponents, Aghora Śivācārya, belonged to the 12th century A.D. The Śuddhaśaivas upheld *Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda*, and its great expounder Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya appears to have been influenced by Rāmānuja (13th century A.D.). The Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyata movement was developed by Basava, a minister of the Cālukya king Bijjala Rāya of Kalyāṇa (1157–68 A.D.). There is every reason to believe that it came into existence one or two centuries earlier through the activities of some Brāhmaṇa Śaiva reformers. Basava used his political power and position in furthering the cause of this movement which was as much a social reform as a religious one. In the tenets of this school *Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda* played an important part.

Minor Religious Movements : Sakti and Sun-Worship. Worship of the female principle *(Śakti)* and of Sūrya did not attain the importance of the other two major Brahmanical cults at any time during the period under review. The Mother aspect of the divinity might have been venerated in the pre-Vedic times. In the Vedic age, though gods played a more important part in contemporary mythology, respect was shown also to the female principle as the Divine Mother, the goddess of abundance and personified energy *(Śakti)*. It is, however, a fact that clear reference to the exclusive worshippers of the Devī is not to be found until a comparatively late period. The author of the *Periplus* (*c.* 1st century A.D.) probably refers to a class of such worshippers of the goddess in her virgin aspect as *Kanyākumārī* in his brief account of Comari the southernmost port-town of India. The Gaṅgadhāra Stone Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I (5th century A.D.) records the Tāntric form of worship of the Divine Mother and there is clear reference to this in the *Bṛahat Saṁhitā* (*c.* 6th century A.D.). Some Gurjara-Pratihāra kings of the early medieval period were initiated Śāktas, for they are described in the inscriptions as *Paramabhagavatībhaktas*. But there is no doubt that most of the extant works connected with the Tāntric form of *Śakti* worship were composed in later times. The *Devī-Māhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, however, appears to have been redacted in the Gupta period ; it contains some essential tenets of Devī worship.

Sūrya has been venerated in India from the earliest times. In Vedic and Epic mythology sun and his various aspects played a very important part. But it was only at a comparatively late period that the god figured as the central piece in religious movements. It is possible that an indigenous band of sun-worshippers existed in the centuries preceding the Christian era and afterwards ; there is, however, no doubt that the East Irānian (*Śakadvīpī*) form of the solar cult was introduced in parts of Northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Puranic tradition about Śāmba (a son of Kṛṣṇa) who is stated to have brought the Magas (Indianized form of the Magi, the sun-worshipping priest of Irān) into India, and various other literary and archaeological data bear evidence

in this regard. While sun-worship flourished for a time in certain parts of the country, it never attained the position and importance enjoyed by Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

Buddhism and Jainism. The religious movement started by Gautama Buddha got into its stride during the time of Aśoka. A number of schisms in the Faith had meanwhile made their appearance. Aśoka, who was mainly responsible for extending the bounds of the creed in and outside India, tried to check these trends in vain. Divisions within the *Saṅgha* grew apace and various schools of Buddhism like Sthaviravāda and Mahāsaṅghika with their many branches came into existence by the first century of the Christian era. The Sarvāstivāda subsect of the former flourished in the North, while the Mahāsaṅghika made great headway first in the East and then in the South. The Mahāsaṅghikas preached the supramundane *(lokottara)* character of the Buddha, while the realist Sarvāstivādins believed in his historicity. The former concept was at the root of the development of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, while its earlier forms Śrāvakayāna, Ārhatayāna and Pratyeka-Buddhayāna were collectively nicknamed by the Mahāyānists as the Hīnayāna. The great Kuṣāṇa ruler Kaniṣka I helped in the development of the Mahāyāna movement, though it must have been taking shape earlier. Vasumitra and Aśvaghoṣa, contemporaries of Kaniṣka, contributed to the growth of this doctrine. Its greatest exponent, however, was Nāgārjuna (*c*. 2nd-3rd century A.D.), renowned for his works *Mādhyamaka Kārikā*, *Prajñāpāramitā-kārikā* etc. The Mādhyamaka was one of the two idealistic systems at the root of the Mahāyāna philosophy, the other being Yogācāra. Asaṅga and his younger brother Vasubandhu were the foremost expounders of Yogācāra which paved the way for the Tāntric form of medieval Buddhism known by the names of Vajrayāna, Mantrayāna and Tantrayāna. Some of the prominent *Ācāryas* of the order were Saraha, Lui-pāda, Kambala, Lalitavajra, Padmavajra, and Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna.

The movement centring on the Tīrthaṅkaras, specially Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, also received royal patronage under Candragupta Maurya, Samprati and Khāravela ; but it never attained a position comparable to Buddhism. Schisms appeared in the early stages of its development—the two main ones were Digambara and Śvetāmbara. Jainism never spread outside India, though it had its strongholds in various parts of the country. At one time it flourished in Āndhra, Drāviḍa and Karṇāṭaka, but it was gradually driven out of those regions ; this was due to the phenomenal spread of Viṣṇu and Śiva worship through the activities of the Āḷvārs, Nāyanārs and the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva *Ācāryas*. Jainism made its strongest impact on Rājasthān and Gujarāt where it is still a living force. It did not make any compromise with the medieval currents of Tāntricism as Buddhism did, and this was one of the main reasons why it did not lose its separate entity in the place of its origin.

4. Philosophy

Indian philosophy, which has a distinctive character of its own, originated in the speculations of Vedic sages and reached its final fruition in the Advaita Vedânta of Śaṅkara and his followers.

Philosophical Speculation in the Vedas. It cannot be precisely stated when philosophical speculations had their beginning in India. The Vedic age was not generally the age of deep and critical thinking, but one of religious and vigorous living in the midst of the forces of Nature, personified as gods, as living on the earth, in the sky and in the heaven beyond. Men offered oblations to the gods and asked for cattle, crops, wealth, prosperity, health, longevity, progeny, victory, peace and happiness here and in heaven after death. Occasionally, some wondered as to whether there was any overlord of all the gods. Some Vedic seers came to the conclusion that there was an Ultimate Being which manifested Itself as the various gods. "The Ultimate Being *(Sat)* is one. The learned call It by various names, Agni, Yama and Mātariśvan".

Vedic speculation reached its climax in the famous *Nāsadīya* hymn which frankly admitted : "He from whom this creation arose, whether He made it or did not make it, the highest seer in the highest heaven, he forsooth knows, or does even he not know ?"

Philosophical Ideas of the Upanisads. It was later in the Upaniṣadic period that sages, kings, and common men and women indulged in philosophical speculations. There was speculation about the nature of the Ultimate Reality, the process of Creation, the nature of Self and its relation with the Ultimate Reality, the Highest Value of life and the Right Way of living. The recorded discussions on these and similar topics came to be called Upaniṣads, which became a favourite word for all deep and speculative writings. The number of Upaniṣads is large, but only eleven are considered to be of the proper Upaniṣadic age. They are : *Īśa, Kaṭha, Kena, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Taittirīya, Aitareya, Chāndogya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Śvetāśvatara*. These truly represent the philosophical speculations of the Upaniṣadic age There seems to be a general agreement on the following .

a. The Ultimate, Enduring, and Unitary Reality in the individual is *Ātman* (Self) which pervades and transcends the waking, dreaming and deeply sleeping experiences of man. It is characterized by Consciousness and Bliss, intuited in the fourth state of experience which is free from awareness of objects and ignorance.

b. The Ultimate Reality in and behind the objective world is called *Brahman*. It is from *Brahman* that the entire world originates, it is in *Brahman* that it exists ; and it is in *Brahman* that it merges. *Brahman* is real, infinite and blissful Consciousness. The multiplicity of the world objects sprang from it as sparks from fire. The world comes out of It

and goes back to It. It can only be negatively described, as "not this, not this".

c. The *Atman* behind the individual and the *Brahman* behind the Universe are identical. This is indicated in the *Mahā-Vākyas* (great statements) of the Upaniṣads, such as "I am *Brahman*" *(Aham Brahmāsmi)*.

d. The Universe being a manifestation or objectification of *Brahman*, everything in nature is in its ultimate essence *Brahman* and should be felt as such. In the ultimate analysis there is no plurality of beings *(neha nānāsti kiñcana)*. The One appears as many on account of Its wonderful power *Māyā*.

e. All unhappiness and sufferings of man are due to ignorance of the fact that man is the *Ātman* which is the same as the *Brahman*, free from all limitations, wants, changes and death and full of unalloyed joy. To realize oneself as *Ātman* or *Brahman* is the highest purpose and goal of human life. It is called *Mokṣa*—freedom from ignorance, suffering, limitations, sorrows, and experience of unlimited Consciousness and Absolute Happiness.

f. To realize the *Ātman*, one has to give up all desires for worldly and finite objects, purify one's intellect, live a righteous life, long for the *Ātman* and hear, read, think and meditate on the nature of the *Ātman* and pray for the grace of the *Ātman* to reveal Itself.

g. One who has realized oneself to be *Brahman*, becomes freed from all sufferings, bonds, responsibilities, births and deaths. He lives in amity with all his fellow beings, feeling the presence of the same *Ātman* in all. After the death of the physical body he enters *Brahman* and enjoys the bliss inherent in It.

These doctrines have been echoed and re-echoed throughout Indian history and even today they form the basic principles of our national philosophy, as expounded by Vivekananda, Ramatirtha, Aurobindo, Tagore and Radhakrishnan.

Philosophy of the Epics. After the age of the Upaniṣads came the age of the Epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Both these works were meant to inculcate high ideals of ethics, based on the philosophical views embodied in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. The *Rāmāyaṇa* makes Rāma the embodiment of the highest ethical ideals of ancient India. So is Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Śāntiparva* which are parts of the *Mahābhārata* are highly philosophical and contain the essence of the ethical teachings in the Epic. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is less philosophical, except for its companion volume *Yogavāsiṣṭha Mahārāmāyaṇa*, traditionally believed to have been composed by the same author Vālmīki. This work claims to record the philosophical teachings imparted to prince Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, by his family preceptor Vasiṣṭha.

Philosophy of the Bhagavad-Gita. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* embodies the teachings of Lord Kṛṣṇa imparted to Arjuna on the eve of the Mahābhārata

War. It is highly valued all over India and the world, and has been translated into most of the world's languages. The ordinary human life is characterized by ignorance, suffering, bondage to the 'Law of *Karman*' and repeated births and deaths. There is, however, the possibility of an ideal state which can be realized by man, in which there is no suffering, no bondage, no experience of births and deaths, and in which utmost peace, unending joy and unbounded freedom are experienced ; and when this state is realized nothing else remains to be attained. It is called by various names, such as the state of *Sthitaprajña* (of balanced intellect), *Brāhmī Sthiti* (a state akin to that of the *Brahman*), *Brahmanirvāṇa* (merging in *Brahman*), and *Brahmabhūta* (becoming *Brahman*).

The *Brahman* is extensively described in the *Gītā*, but very briefly. It is said to be "The Ultimate Goal or State *(Gati)*, the Maintainer or Support *(Bhartā)*, the Overlord *(Prabhu)*, the Witness *(Sākṣin)*, the Resting Place *(Nivāsa)*, the Refuge *(Śaraṇa)*, the Friend *(Suhṛd)*, the Origin *(Prabhava)*, Destruction *(Pralaya)*, the Stay or Existence *(Sthāna)*, the Repository *(Nidhāna)* and the Imperishable Seed *(Avyaya Bīja)*.

The way to reach or become *Brahman* or God is called *Yoga* in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The *Yoga* of the *Gītā* is all comprehensive, including within it Self-knowledge *(Jñāna)*, Meditation *(Dhyāna)* of the Self *(Ātman)*, Devotion to God *(Bhakti)* and Selfless performance of one's duties *(Karma)*. Man attains perfection by knowing and worshipping God with his selfless performance of duty. God helps those who strive along this path by bestowing His grace on them. The Self-realized or Godly man does not run away from society, but remains in it and does the work which falls to his lot without desiring or demanding any gain for himself and leaving the reward to God. The life of Lord Kṛṣṇa was a practical example of his teachings and is the best commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

Philosophy of the Yogavasistha. The *Yogavasiṣṭha* also teaches a philosophy similar to that of the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavad-Gītā* but there is some difference. The approach of the *Yogavasiṣṭha* is more rational, empirical, liberal and metaphysical. It lays greater stress on man's own thinking and effort than on the authority of the *Śāstras* (scriptures), dependence on a teacher and Divine Grace. It deals at length with the nature and control of the mind and its powers which are unlimited. Everything in life, health, wealth, power, position, suffering, happiness, bondage and release, is determined by the mind. Our entire world is a creation of the mind which is one but assumes diverse forms for performing diverse functions ; and it assumes the form of the most trivial as well as the most important being in the Cosmos, the Creator (Brahmā). When it desires, imagines and wills, it becomes individuals and objects, and when it ceases to do so it becomes or is *Brahman*. Time and Space are created and determined by the mind which is not apart from *Brahman*.

It is identical with *Brahman* and an expression of Its creative power, which is dormant when it is not operative. The Absolute *Brahman* is the Ultimate Reality beyond all description and can only be experienced within us as our very Self when the mind ceases to function. Man's highest and ultimate goal is to realize oneself as the Absolute *Brahman* which is Consciousness, Power and Bliss.

The method of realizing *Brahman* is called *Yoga*. It consists of a three-fold process : mastery over and control of the *prāṇas* or vital airs ; stoppage of the functions of the mind, bringing it to complete rest ; and meditating on the Self and affirming the Self to be *Brahman*. One may begin with any of the three practices or all of them together. One who has thus attained the experience of the *Ātman* becomes free from all the bonds and lives as a *Jīvanmukta* (freed man). The life of the liberated one is happy, active and harmonious. He lives in the world and performs whatever work falls to his share selflessly and purely as a cosmic function. He is not bound to take a rebirth. He enters the blissful *Nirvāṇa* or continues to stay as an individual serving humanity in accordance with his own choice.

The Puranas and Smrtis. The Purāṇas and some of the Smṛtis (Dharma Śāstras) like that of Manu further amplify and popularize the teachings of the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and *Yogavāsiṣṭha* by mixing them with popular religious beliefs and rituals.

Nine Philosophical Systems. Side by side with the development and spread of Upaniṣadic thought and its popularization through the Epics and the Purāṇas, there arose great philosophical systems, founded by great thinkers who looked upon man and the universe with an unbiased, free and rational mind. It is unfortunate that we know little of their lives and times. The names of only a few are known in the context of the philosophical systems they originated. A large number of such schools of thought must have been prevalent in ancient times. We know nine of them as the most important and influential. They are the Cārvāka, Jaina, Buddha, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta systems. They fall into two groups, *Āstika* and *Nāstika*, the former believing in the authority of the Vedas and the latter discarding it. The first three systems are *Nāstika* and all others *Āstika*. It is difficult to say when and in what temporal order these systems originated. They refer to each other and seem to have originated and grown up simultaneously.

Carvaka System. The Cārvāka system, also called *Lokāyata Darśana* (the philosophy of the masses) propounds gross materialism. Sense-perception is the only source of knowledge ; unconscious matter in the form of the elements of earth, water, fire and air is the only reality ; the physical body composed of material elements is the only essence of man ; the king is the only God ; death is the only end of man ; and the enjoyment of sense-pleasures the only object in life. There is no conscious entity

like mind or soul apart from human body in which consciousness arises temporarily by virtue of a certain fusion of elements. There is no life beyond death, no heaven or hell and so no fear of after-death consequences of good or evil deeds done in this life. There is no 'Law of *Karman*' and no rebirth.

Jainism. Jainism is a philosophy based on the teachings of Mahāvīra, a senior contemporary of Buddha. It takes Reality to be a multiple comprising two main kinds of objects : the *Jīvas* (souls) and the *Ajīvas* (non-souls). The *Jīvas* are infinite in number. They vary in their capacity for knowledge, power and joy. The essence of a *Jīva* is consciousness, power and bliss. Potentially, every *Jīva* has these qualities in infinite magnitude but actually it displays them in varying degrees, being overpowered by the material particles of *Karma-pudgala* with which the souls are intermixed from time immemorial like iron with ore. The more free a *Jīva* is from matter the more capable it is of manifesting its inherent consciousness, power and bliss. Under the category of *Ajīva* come matter, space, motion *(dharma)*, rest *(adharma)* and time *(kāla)*. Both the *Jīvas* and *Ajīvas* have been existing eternally. The world was never created. It is eternal. Jainas do not, therefore, believe in the existence of a Creator. Instead of believing in God, they believe in the existence of perfected souls abiding in the highest region of the world with fully developed consciousness, power and bliss. The Reality as a whole is both one and many, static as well as changing, from different points of view. In fact, the Reality has an infinite number of aspects and attributes *(ananta-dharmātmakam-eva tattvam)*. This doctrine of Jaina philosophy is called *Anekāntavāda*. The Jaina doctrine of *Syādvāda* asserts that statements must be made with caution, keeping in view that they cannot be absolute and that opposite statements are plausible. Jainism recognizes five sources and kinds of knowledge : *Mati*, knowledge obtained through sense-perception and inference; *Śruti*, knowledge conveyed by others through intelligible symbols ; *Avadhi*, knowledge acquired by some supernormal means, such as clairvoyance and clairaudience ; *Manahprayāya*, knowledge of other minds gained by means of telepathy; and *Kevala Jñāna*, knowledge of the perfected souls who have acquired omniscience. The Jainas lay great emphasis on *Ahiṁsā* (non-violence), both in theory and practice

Philosophy of the Buddha and his followers. Buddhist philosophy, based on the teachings of Gautama Buddha, has these main tenets : Life is characterized by suffering *(sarvam duḥkham)*; every being in the world is momentary, changing and unstable *(sarvam kṣaṇikam)*; everything is caused by something else ; nothing has an absolute existence of its own *(samudaya satyam* and *kāraṇa satyam)*; and there is a way out of suffering *(mārga satyam)*. These are the four noble truths. Everything including human personality is composite and subject to constant change. There is nothing like an enduring Self in man, who is composed of five groups

(Skandha) of physical and mental factors called *Rūpa, Saṁjñā, Vedanā, Vijñāna* and *Saṁskāra* (Form, Name, Sensations, Consciousness, and Disposition). Although nothing enduring for more than a moment exists in living beings, there is a perpetual continuity (*sanātana*) and more or less similarity between the passing and incoming states which give rise to the illusion of an identical Self continuing to be the same from moment to moment and from one life to another across the death of the physical body. Buddhism believes in the 'Law of *Karma*' operating in this life and in the next. Every effect is caused and every cause has an effect. The Buddha discovered the twelve-linked chain of causation (of cause and effect) which is Ignorance *(Avidyā)*, Impressions of past actions *(Saṁskāras)*, Consciousness *(Vijñāna)*, Psychophysical Organism *(Nāma-rūpa)*, Sense-organs and the mind *(Sadāyatana)*, Contact of the Sense-organs with objects *(Sparśa)*, Sensations *(Vedanā)*, Thirst for Sense-enjoyments *(Tṛṣṇā)*, Clinging to the enjoyments *(Upādāna)*, Will to be born *(Bhāva)*, Birth or Rebirth *(Jāti)* and Old age and Death *(Jarā-maraṇa)*.

To get out of this chain of causation one must aim at *Nirvāṇa* (cessation of birth and death and of suffering consequent upon them). Nothing more can be said of *Nirvāṇa* than that there is complete cessation of suffering in it and of all that is regarded as evil in life. To enter *Nirvāṇa* one has to give up *Tṛṣṇā* completely, and to follow the Eightfold Noble Path (the *Aṣṭāṅgi Ārya Mārga*) : Right Faith *(Samyak Dṛṣṭi)*, Right Resolve *(Samyak Saṅkalpa)*, Right Speech *(Samyak Vāk)*, Right Action *(Samyak Karmānta)*, Right Living (*Samyak Ājīva*), Right Effort (*Samyak Vyāyāma*), Right Thought *(Samyak Smṛti)* and Right Concentration *(Samyak-Samādhi)*. In some places the Buddha is said to have summarized the whole process in a triple formula, namely, *Śīla* (Right Conduct), *Samādhi* (Right Concentration) and *Prajñā* (Right Knowledge). The first two lead to the last which is the direct cause of *Nirvāṇa* or Liberation. The Buddha advocated "The Middle Path" in which the extremes are avoided.

After the death of the Buddha his teachings were collected, revised and interpreted differently. Several schools of Buddhist thought came into existence, four of which are well-known : the Vaibhāṣika, the Sautrāntika, the Vijñāna-Vāda and the Mādhyamika (Śūnya-Vāda). The last two schools have played a great role in the later development of Indian philosophy as a whole, and particularly that of Vedānta. Aśvaghoṣa was the renowned leader of Vijñāna-Vāda and Nāgārjuna that of the Śūnya-Vāda. According to the former the entire world is ideal (mental) in structure, ideas of the mind are the stuff of the world and the entire world originates from *Ālaya-vijñana*, a kind of Cosmic Consciousness. According to the latter all the objects of the world are mere unreal appearances which cannot be logically characterized as being, non-being, being-non-being, or other than being-non-being, or something still different from these categories. They appear to be real from the practical *(Samvṛtti)* point

of view, but they do not at all exist from the Absolute *(Paramārtha)* view-point. The Absolutely Real is only *Śūnya* (Nothing), on the basis of which everything appears like a mirage.

Astika Systems of Philosophy. Among the orthodox systems of philosophy there is some similarity and affinity between Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, between Sāṁkhya and Yoga, and between Mīmaṁsā and Vedānta. In the first two systems there is an affinity of philosophical doctrines, in the last two affinity is limited to the foundations and procedure, both systems having Vedic texts (one earlier and the other later) as their source, and the method of interpretation of the texts as the process of thinking. The Mīmāṁsakas recognize the Vedas as the final authority in determining the duties of man, and the Vedāntists in gaining true knowledge about Man and the Universe. One is concerned with the *Karma-kāṇḍa* and the other with the *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* of the Vedas, that is, the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upaniṣads respectively.

Vaisesika Darsana. The Vaiśeṣika system is a realistic, analytic, and objective philosophy of the world. It tries to distinguish various kinds of ultimate things from one another and to classify all the objects under distinguishable categories. All the objects of knowledge, according to this system, fall under six categories *(Padārthas)* namely, substance, *(Dravya)*, attribute *(Guṇa)*, action *(Karma)*, genus, *(Jāti)*, differentia *(Viśeṣa)* and inherence *(Samavaya)*. There are nine different, independent, irreducible and imperishable and eternal substances having peculiar characteristics of their own, namely, the five elements—Earth, Water, Air, Fire, and Ether—existing in the form of Atoms, Time, Space, Minds and Selves. The world is a complex and composite formation of these substances, which comes into being and is destroyed at times. When the atoms of the five elements begin to combine, the creation *(Sṛṣṭi)* of the world begins to take place ; and when they disintegrate, the world comes to an end *(Pralaya)*. Creation and dissolution of the world go on in cycles, taking place at pre-determined times.

Nyaya System. The Nyāya system accepts all the categories recognized by the Vaiśeṣika system and adds one *Abhāva* (negation). It also accepts all the substances admitted by the Vaiśeṣika system, and considers God to be the creator (designer) of the world as its efficient cause. He is a soul *(Ātman)* free from the 'Law of *Karman*' and rebirth. His wisdom, desire, and effort are unbounded. He is the author of the Vedas. He cannot create or destroy any of the substances which exist eternally. The 'Law of *Karman*' operates independently of Him. He creates the complex objects of the world out of the pre-existing atom. The soul is co-eternal with God and is infinitely extensive in dimension *(Vibhu)*, but in itself it is not conscious. Consciousness is a quality which arises or emerges in the soul when the latter comes in contact with the mind, senses and the body. In the state of *Pralaya* (cosmic dissolution) and *Apavarga (Mokṣa)* or freedom from

the life of *Saṁsāra* (birth and death) there is no consciousness in the soul. Nyāya makes a detailed study of the sources of Knowledge *(Pramāṇa)* which it recognizes to be four, namely, Perception *(Pratykṣa)*, Inference *(Anumāna)*, Comparison *(Upamāna)* and Verbal Testimony *(Śabda)*. The study of the *Pramāṇas* and *Hetvābhāsa (*fallacies*)* are the special features of this school. That is why it is called *Nyāya* (Logic).

Samkhya System. The Sāṁkhya system is dualistic in its ontology. It believes in two ultimate realities—*Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*. The entire manifested world, both material and mental, with all its objects and processes, is regarded as transformation of *Prakṛti*, the Primordial Substance, the original stuff of all that there is in man and universe except the *Puruṣas* or the Selves which are independently real. The *Prakṛti* is constituted by a triad of fundamental attributes (*Guṇas*)—*Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, the basic causes of thought, movement, and inertia. All the objects, attributes and movements of the world are effects or modifications or transformations of these *Guṇas*. The *Prakṛti* exists in two forms: one, as the potency of everything when there is nothing in manifestation; the other, as the manifested principles—*Mahat*, *Ahaṅkāra*, *Manas*, *Tanmātras*, *Indriyas* and *Mahābhūtas*. *Puruṣa* as mere consciousness is above all modifications and changes. It is something unique and *sui generis*, unaffected by modifications of the mind which is an effect of *Prakṛti*. It is steady like a lamp and illuminates all the activities of the inner and external worlds, simply witnessing them without taking any active part. It is an inactive enjoyer of all that happens. By a mistake or non-discrimination *(Aviveka)* on its part, however, it identifies itself with *Prakṛti* and its modifications and feels as if it were they. All the activities of *Prakṛti* and its modifications originate in this false identification of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*, one taking upon itself falsely the nature of the other, i.e., the *Puruṣa* becoming active and the *Prakṛti* becoming conscious as it were. *Puruṣas* are infinitely many, one behind each individual. They are eternal. The *Prakṛti* works purposively for the enjoyment and release of the *Puruṣas*. It is all in all and works itself without any guidance from God, who is not required in the system for any purpose whatsoever. The *Puruṣa* in bondage gets released by the efforts of *Prakṛti* in the form of *Buddhi* (intelligence) which, when purified by moral action and metaphysical thinking, gives rise to discrimination *(Viveka)* in the *Puruṣa*. The released *Puruṣa* is free from all sufferings and stays in the form of pure consciousness.

Yoga System. The Yoga system is more or less applied Sāṁkhya. It has devised a systematic method of bringing about the release of *Puruṣa* from *Prakṛti* by purifying and controlling and ultimately nullifying the modifications of the mental mechanism *(antaḥkaraṇa* or *citta)* and thereby letting the *Puruṣa* stand and shine in its own pristine purity. The method is called the *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga* which consists in the practice of *Yama* (self-

control), *Niyama* (observance of certain principles), *Āsana* (fixed postures of the body), *Prāṇayama* (breath-control), *Pratyāhāra* (withdrawal of the senses and the mind from the objects of enjoyment), *Dhāraṇa* (fixation of mind on some chosen object), *Dhyāna* (controlled and continued attention to the object), and *Samadhi* (mergence of the mind in some object and then dissolution of it in the Self). In the state of *Samādhi* the *Puruṣa* gets its own experience and realizes its true nature. The Yoga system admits the existence of God as an eternally freed *Puruṣa*, who is the teacher and guide of *Yoga* and on being invoked can help those who practice *Yoga*.

Mimamsa System. The Mīmāṁsā system is not really a philosophy in the sense of tackling ontological, epistemological, cosmological, axiological or theological questions freely and logically on the basis of one's experience and observation. It is a philosophy of interpretation, application and use of texts of the Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa portions of the Vedas. It has devised certain principles according to which the Vedic *mantras* and their application in the field of sacrifices *(yajñas)* could be understood in a systematic manner. It brings order to the chaotic mass of injunctions and statements of the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, called the *Upāsanā* and *Karma-kāṇḍa* of the Vedas. It regards the Vedas as eternal, not created or composed by any being human or divine. It accepts the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika ontology to a great extent and creates its own epistemology by adding one more *Pramāṇa, Arthāpatti* (presumption) and a theory of *Svataḥ-prāmāṇya* (self-validity of knowledge). It discards the truth-revealing function of the Vedic texts, including those of the Upaniṣads. Action and injuction *(Vidhi)* and prohibition *(Niṣedha)* of actions alone are the concern of the Vedas. This doctrine is countered by the Vedānta which is called *Uttara-Mīmāṁsā*.

Advaita Vedanta of Sankaracarya and his followers. Ancient Indian thought reached its culmination in the philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya. Śaṅkara wrote a large number of works including his well-known commentaries on the Upaniṣads, the *Brahma Sūtras* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The philosophical views in his writings came to be known as Advaita Vedānta. The word Vedānta originally meant the Upaniṣads, the last *(anta)* portions of the Vedas. The *Brahma Sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa testify to an attempt at synthesizing and systematizing the teachings of the Upaniṣads. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* is said to present the essence of the thought of the Upaniṣad and also goes by the name of Upaniṣad. Hence the views in Śaṅkara's commentaries on these three works, namely, the Upaniṣads, the *Brahma Sūtras* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā* constitute Vedānta Philosophy (Vedānta *Darśana*). As Śaṅkara held that all these works teach that the Ultimate Reality is One, Only One, and without a second by its side, the Vedānta philosophy expounded by him goes by the name of *Advaita* (Secondless) Vedānta. There are, however, later commentators who do not accept Śaṅkara's interpretation.

The Ultimate Reality, according to the Advaita Vedānta, is *Brahman*. The *Brahman* is the cause of the world and is changeless within itself. All the attributes that we ascribe to *Brahman* are conceived from our own points of view. In reality the *Brahman* cannot be described in terms known to us, because all our terms have been coined to describe the finite forms. It is immanent in all things and transcends them all.

It is the Ultimate Foundation, Source and Goal of all that there is in the Universe. The rise and fall of all the worlds, of all names and forms is an eternal play *(Līlā)* of *Brahman* with its fullness and perfection. In fact, *Brahman* is so complete and perfect that nothing is added to It and nothing is lost to It by the rise or fall of the world-process. The Absolute has an infinite number of Powers *(Śakti)* and the Creative Power (*Māyā*) is one of them. The power is not apart from the powerful. Hence there is no duality.

The world as a whole, and in all its parts, shows signs of purposiveness, intelligence and organization and, therefore, presupposes a Creator and Governor. This creator is God *(Iśvara)* or a cosmic form of the Absolute *Brahman*. He creates a particular world order out of Himself, like a spider spinning a web, and governs it justly in accordance with the 'Law of *Karman*' which is the expression of His own will for justness and impartiality. He is immanent in his world and is omniscient and omnipotent within it. He is not a Second reality to the *Brahman*. He is the *Brahman* limited or associated by Its own Creative Power, which brings forth the world of plurality from within Itself. This power is called *Māyā*. The world comes out of it as a tree comes out of the seed. At the time of *Pralaya* (Cosmic Rest) the world lies dormant and untraceable in the form of mere potency in the Absolute.

For the purpose of carrying out the work of creation, preservation and destruction, God *(Iśvara)* assumes three distinct names and forms, namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra. The cosmos in its objective aspect is the body of the Lord and has as many aspects, parts, functions, organs, principles, sheaths, strata or bodies as are found in the personality of an individual. There is in this respect a thorough going correspondence between the macrocosm (cosmos, *Brahmāṇḍa*) and the microcosm (individual, *piṇḍas)—(Yat piṇḍe tat Brahmāṇḍe)*. There are four levels of consciousness, *Jāgrat* (Waking), *Svapna* (Dream), *Suṣupti* (Deep Sleep), and *Turīya (Samādhi)* and four Egos functioning therein ; five sheaths *(kośas)—Annamaya, Prāṇamaya, Manomaya, Vijñānamaya,* and *Ānandamaya,* three bodies, *Sthūla, Sūkṣma* and *Kāraṇa* (gross, subtle and causal), one physical body, five sense-organs of knowledge, five sense-organs of action, five *Prāṇas*, fourfold Inner Organ *(Antaḥkaraṇa)* with the fourfold functions of *Manas, Buddhi, Citta* and *Ahaṅkāra*. Corresponding to all these there are organs, functions and powers in the cosmos to which Vedānta has given distinct names. The Ultimate Self, the *Ātman* of the individual

is the same as the Absolute *Brahman*, the ultimate foundation of the cosmos. The Cosmic God and the individuals within It are related as the whole and its parts, as the organism and its organs, as the body and Its cells. At the deepest level of exprience, *Nirvikalpa Samādhi*, this relation of the whole and part is transcended; complete identity between God and the individual is realized—they are the same *Saccidānanda Brahman*. It is the goal of everyone to know, realize, feel and display in action this identity. When this is accomplished, all bonds, all suffering, all limitations and all compulsory births and deaths cease.

Post-Sankara Age. The post-Śaṅkara period saw the elaboration of the doctrines of all the above mentioned schools of thought, their mutual criticism, and the evolution of each system in its own way in the light of criticism by others. There was a great development of dialectics in each school which led to highly technical and systamatic works being written by thinkers.

One of the great critics of Śaṅkara was Rāmānuja who worte his own commentaries on the Upaniṣads, *Brahma Sūtras* and *Bhagavad-Gītā*, criticising the Advaita Vedānta views at evrey step.

5. Education

Historical and Social Background. Hindu society from the earliest times considered the education of its members as one of its primary obligations—this, indeed, was an intergral part of the system upon which society was based. The system is known as *Varṇāśrama Dharma*, according to which life was regulated by its division into different classes (*Varṇas*) and stages (*Āśramas*). The classes were based upon division of labour and social functions and were marked out as four to start with, the Brāhmaṇas, who were the custodians of culture and learning; the Kṣatriyas, the governing and military class, in charge of the country's security and defence ; the Vaiśyas who looked after the economic interests of the country, its agriculture, arts and crafts and trade; and the Śūdras who rendered all kinds of social service and specialized in agriculture (*Kṛṣi*), animal husbandry (*Paśupālana*), trade (*Vārtā*) and handicrafts (*Kārukarma*) along with the Vaiśyas. At the beginning classes were not fixed or hardened into castes. The distinction between the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya is not at all rigid in the Upaniṣads which represent Vedic literature at its best. They tell of kings who rivalled the *Ṛṣis* or Brāhmaṇas as men of learning and as teachers. That these early social classes did not signify any inequality is evident from the important hymn in the *Ṛg-Veda* known as *Puruṣa-sūkta* which describes how the body-politic (the *Virāṭ-deha* of the Creator) was made up of the four social classes as integral limbs of the whole.

Caste distinctions were further reduced by a second principle of social organization which divided life into four stages, each with its own rules and disciplines binding upon everyone. Men belonging to those stages were respectively called *Brahmacārin*, *Gṛhastha*, *Vānaprastha* (ascetic) and *Parivrājaka* (a homeless wandering ascetic). The last two stages signify renunciation of the world : the individual, no longer engrossed in the cares and concerns of his personal householder's life, devotes himself to his gradual expansion into the Universal (*Ātman* as the sole and only Reality). These stages or *Āsramas* of life were normal and obligatory for all. Persons belonging to different castes or groups were drawn together by virtue of their conformity to the common rules of the *Āśramas* in which their social differences and inequalities were submerged. The *Asramas*, accordingly, represented the principles of equality and unity, a corrective to the inequality and division inherent in the caste system. The first period of life, that of a student was made binding upon all by the social system so that even higher education was universal and compulsory.

Aims of Education. Learning in ancient India was imparted by the teacher to the pupils who gathered around him and came to live in his house as members of his family. The family functioned as a domestic school, an *Āśrama* or a hermitage where the mental faculties of the pupils were developed by the teacher's constant attention and personal instruction. Education, treated as a matter of individual concern, did not admit of the method of mass production applicable in industry. The making of man was regarded as an artistic and not a mechanical process. Indeed, the aim of education was the developing of the pupil's personality, his innate and latent capacities. This view of education as a process of one's inner growth and self-fulfilment evolved its own technique, its rules, methods and practices. It recognized that the making of man was primarily the training of his mind as the instrument of acquiring knowledge, so as to increase its intrinsic potency and creative capacity. The thinking principle, *manana śakti*, was reckoned higher than the subject of thinking. So the primary subject of education was the mind itself. The great psychologist of ancient India, Patañjali, author of the *Yoga Sūtras*, analyses the conditions of the mind and points out five stages in its growth. First comes *Kṣipta*, the lowest *cittabhūmi* or state of mind, a state of mental madness—the undisciplined mind, restless and distracted, wanders from one object to another, unable to fix its attention on one object at a time ; the next higher *cittabhūmi* is called *Vikṣipta* where the state of mental madness has its lucid intervals marked by attention to some select objects. The third stage is *Mūḍha-citta* : the mind is capable of concentration but only on objects like wealth or woman in a state of infatuation with no sense of values. The fourth stage is *Ekāgra-citta*, where the mind is capable of focussing itself exclusively on one subject. It is the state of 'one-pointed thinking', which is necessary for the acquisition of knowledge. The final

stage of mental growth is named *Niruddha-citta* : the mind is free of all out-going tendencies *(Pravṛtti)* and is completely subjective and concentrated on the Truth it seeks.

Institutions of Learning. According to the ancient Indian theory of education, the training of the mind and the process of thinking, are essential for the acquisition of knowledge. The chase counts more than the game. So the pupil had mainly to educate himself and achieve his own mental growth. Education was reduced to the three simple processes of *Śravaṇa, Manana* and *Niddhyāsana*. *Śravaṇa* was listening to the truths as they fell from the lips of the teacher. Knowledge was technically called *Śruti* or that was heard by the ear and not what was seen in writing. It was the system of oral tradition by which learning was transmitted from teacher to pupil in an unbroken chain called *Guru-pāramparya*.

The second process of knowledge called *Manana* implies that the pupil has to think out for himself the meaning of the lessons imparted to him orally by his teacher so that they may be assimilated fully. The third step known as *Niddhyāsana* means complete comprehension by the pupil of the truth that is taught so that he may live the truth and not merely explain it by word. Knowledge must culminate in realization.

The usual type of educational institution in ancient times was the domestic school known as *Gurukula* or the home of the teacher with whom the pupils came to live as *antevāsin*, members of his family. The admission was made by the formal ceremony of *upanayana* or initiation by which the pupil left the home of his natural parents for that of the preceptor. In this new home he had a second birth and was called *Dvija*, twice-born. He had his physical birth at the home of his natural parents but his spiritual birth at the place of his preceptor, where he accepted *Brahmacarya* with its strict discipline of life, regulations about dress, diet, study, social service and religious practices. Tending the cattle of the *Āśrama* and begging for alms for the brotherhood were the *Brahmacārin's* compulsory duties. It was an educative out-door life. Begging had its moral reactions on the youths. Tending cattle was practical education in dairy farming as a source of nutritive food. Besides these regular schools of instruction, there were special institutions for the promotion of advanced study and research. These are called in the *Ṛg-Veda* as *Brāhmaṇa-Saṅghas*, Academies of learned men, whose discussions hammered into shape the very language of the country, the refined language of Sanskrit *(Saṁskṛta)* as the vehicle of highest thought. These Academies were called *Pariṣads* ; there is a reference to the Pañcāla *Pariṣad* in the Upaniṣads, in whose proceedings even kings participated. Learning was also promoted by discussions at public meetings which were a regular feature of rural life, and were addressed by wandering scholars known as *Carakas*. These scholars toured the country to deliver public discourses and invite discussion. The Upaniṣads

refer to the scholars from East travelling towards the far North in order to contact learned men. A great fillip was given to the spread of knowledge and extension of education by the occasional gatherings of distinguished scholars in conferences. What might count as the earliest literary congress of the world was the Congress of Philosophers which was convened by king Janaka of Videha at his court and helped in the codification of Brahmanical philosophy by discussing the subject under the direction of the master-philosopher, Yājñavalkya. In these deliberations at the highest level, a lady-philosopher named Gārgī was a prominent participant beside men like Uddālaka Āruṇi. Obviously, in those days women were admitted to the highest knowledge and did not suffer from any educational disabilities. There was equality between the sexes in the field of knowledge. The *Ṛg-Veda* mentions women-*Ṛṣis* called *Brahmavādinīs*. At the close of the Congress of Philosphers, king Janaka gave royal recognition to *Ṛṣi* Yājñavalkya by conferring upon him the rich prize of 1,000 cows, each of whose horns carried 5 *padas* or gold-pieces, totalling a gift of 10,000 gold-pieces. The *Ṛṣi's* disciples then drove to his hermitage the herd of 1,000 cattle which were accommodated in the dairy-farm maintained by that forest-university.

Nalanda. The best example of India's achievement in education was the *Mahāvihāra* or University of Nālandā. To this central institution were affiliated the individual *vihāras* or colleges serving as units of residence. Nālandā was a post-graduate university for advanced study and research and counted on its permanent rolls 8,500 students who were taught by 1,510 teachers. We owe this information to the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who was a resident student of the university for five years. Another Chinese scholar named I-tsing spent ten years there. Nālandā was also famous for its "Schools of Discussion" as noted by the Chinese pilgrim who stated that the teachers between them delivered daily 100 discourses which "the students attended without fail even for a minute".

It may be noted that Nālandā as a centre of advanced study included in its enrolment a large proportion of foreign students who hailed from countries like Korea, Mongolia, Japan, China, Tukhāra, Tibet and Ceylon. Some of these foreign students assumed Indian names. For instance, Hiuan Chao called himself Prakāśamati, Tao-shiṅg Candradeva and Tao Hi Śrīdeva.

Nālandā counted as its teachers master-minds like Śīlabhadra, the President of the University, Nāgārjuna, Ārya Deva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, and Dinnāga, some of whom were founders of philosophical systems.

The university had its own seal bearing the inscription, *Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārīya-Āryabhikṣu-Saṅghasya*. It had a library which was housed in three buildings one of which was of nine storeys and named Ratnasāgara, 'ocean of gems of learning'. Nālandā had hostels *(vihāras)*

whose tops "kissed the clouds" *(ambudharavalehi)*, as stated in an inscription of a Maukhari king.

The university was maintained by grants of lands. Emperor Harṣa made to it a gift of 100 villages. At the time of I-tsing it owned 200 villages.

It was a centre of study for humanities, religion and philosophy and also for arts and crafts *(śilpasthānavidyā)* including medicine. It produced images in stone and bronze under its great masters, Dhīman and Biṭpālo, father and son, natives of Varendra.

Foreign students had their own hostels. The most renowned was the hostel or *vihāra* for students from Java constructed with a donation from their King Bālaputradeva, 'Lord of Suvarṇa-dvīpa and Yava-bhūmi'; this is recorded in an inscription of the then reigning king of Magadha, Devapāladeva, to whom the donation was sent. The endowment provided the students with all their necessaries such as food, clothing, accommodation *(satra)*, bed *(śayanāsana)*, medicines *(bheṣajyādi)* and pens *(lekhanādi)* together with their religious needs *(bali* and *caru)*.

6. Literary Activities

(a) Sanskrit

Vedic Literature. The word *'veda'* is derived from the root *vid*, to know, signifying 'knowledge *par excellence*'. The Veda according to Indian tradition is divided into two sections, Mantra and Brāhmaṇa. In some Mantras the gods are only eulogized, while in others they are invoked for bestowing long life, wealth, and heaven. The word *Brahman* sometimes means Mantra. The derivative meaning of the term Brāhmaṇa is 'discussion pertaining to Mantra'. Actually, the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Vedic literature, which is composed in prose, deals with the application of different hymns in different sacrifices. The Brāhmaṇa, again is divided into three parts : Brāhmaṇa pure and simple, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad.

The Mantras, for a long time remained undivided. But when sacrifices came into prominence the hymns were classified. The four chief priests who were engaged in performing the *Śrauta* sacrifices were called *Hotṛ*, the invoker, *Adhvaryu*, the executor of the sacrifice, *Udgātṛ*, the singer, and *Brahman*, the high priest. In accordance with the work performed by the first three priests, the Vedic hymns were compiled into three parts. Each compilation was called a Saṁhitā. The Saṁhitā containing verses or *Ṛks* for recitation by the *Hotṛ* was called *Ṛk Saṁhitā* ; the collection of passages to be used by the *Adhvaryu* was called the *Yajus Saṁhitā* ; and the songs to be chanted by the *Udgātṛ* were known as *Sāma Saṁhitā*. The fourth Veda called *Atharva Veda* seldom enjoyed the sanctity attached to the three earlier Saṁhitās.

The *Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā* consists of 1,028 hymns. It is divided into 10 *maṇḍalas* and sometimes into 8 *aṣṭakas*. The former division is more popular. Some of the *maṇḍalas* are ascribed to different families of seers e.g., Gautama and Kāṇva. The hymns are addressed to gods such as Agni, Indra, Varuṇa etc. The *Ṛg-Veda* is the foundation of all Vedic literature. It consists of lyrics mainly in praise of different gods, and their contents are largely mythological. It represents a stage of development of the human mind in which natural phenomena were personified into gods. These hymns are of great value to us as an expression of the oldest religious faith of the Aryans in India. As works of art, too, they deserve a prominent place in world literature. There are also hymns in the *Ṛg-Veda* where we find references to theories on life after death and destiny of the soul, along with philosophical speculation on the universe and its creation.

The *Sāma Veda* consists of stanzas (excepting 75) taken from the *Ṛg-Veda* and arranged solely with reference to their place in the *Soma* sacrifice. The Saṁhitā is not without value for the history of Indian sacrifice and magic, and the *gānas* attached to it are certainly important for the history of Indian music. It may be called the book of chants *(sāman)*.

The *Yajur Veda* is the book of the *Adhvaryu*. The collection of various *mantras* for the purpose of recitation and the rules to be observed at the time of sacrifice is designated as *Yajur-Veda Saṁhitā*. The method of collection is in accordance with the act of sacrifice. This Veda is in prose and stands in sharp contrast to the *Ṛg-Veda* which is in verse. The *Yajur Veda* is divided into two branches, *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda* or *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* and *Śukla Yajur Veda* or *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*. The former book is older than the latter, and its Mantra and Brāhmaṇa parts are not separated.

The *Ṛg-Veda, Sāma Veda* and *Yajur Veda* are collectively known as *Trayī*. In later years the *Atharva Veda* was incorporated in the group. The *Atharva Veda* is in the main a book of spells and incantations appealing to the demoniac world and teems with notions about witchcraft current among the lower classes of people. They are of immense value as representing the religious ideas at an early period of Indian civilization. In form this is similar to the *Ṛg-Veda*, consisting for the most part of metrical hymns, and it has two branches, the *Paippalāda* and the *Śaunaka*.

The Brāhmaṇas belong to the second great class of the Vedas. Their chief purpose is to explain the mutual relation of the sacred texts and their ceremonial as well as symbolical meanings with reference to each other. It may be said that the Brāhmaṇas deal with the science of sacrifice. They give rules for the performance of sacrificial ceremonies. To the *Ṛg-Veda* belong the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Kauṣītaki* or *Sāṅkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa*. To the *Sāma Veda* belong the *Tāṇḍyamahā Brāhmaṇa* and the *Jaiminīya Brahmaṇa*. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* is part of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Śukla Yajur Veda*. The Brāhmaṇas of the *Ṛg-Veda* emphasize what is of importance to the *Hotṛ*

priest, while the Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāma Veda* are chiefly concerned with the duties of the *Udgātṛ* and those of the *Yajur Veda* with sacrificial acts to be performed by the *Adhvaryu*.

The later portions of the Brāhmaṇas are called Āraṇyaka and the final parts of the Āraṇyakas are philosophical books named Upaniṣads which belong to the latest stage of the Brāhmaṇa literature. The Āraṇyakas are no longer rules for the performance of sacrifices or explanation of the ceremonies. They deal with the mysticism and symbolism of sacrifice and priestly philosophy. In the Āraṇyakas we also find rules laid down for the sacrifices which are purely mental.

The Upaniṣads mark the culmination of Indian thought. The word *upaniṣad* is derived from *upa-ni-ṣad*, to sit down near some one ; and it originally meant the sitting down of the pupil near the teacher for the purpose of confidential communication. There are many Upaniṣads, but twelve of them are of greater importance. The Upaniṣads *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki* belong to the *Ṛg-Veda* ; *Chāndogya* and *Kena* belong to the *Sāma Veda* ; *Taittirīya, Kaṭha* and *Śvetāśvatara* belong to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda* ; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Īśa* belong to the *Śukla Yajur Veda* and *Praśna, Muṇḍaka* and *Māṇḍūkya* belong to the *Atharva Veda*. What inspires us with the highest respect for these ancient thinkers of India is the earnestness and enthusiasm with which they endeavoured to fathom the divine principle.

It has been stated in one of the Upaniṣads that there are two kinds of knowledge, the higher and the lower. The higher is that which helps us to know the imperishable *Brahman*, the lower can be gathered from the four Vedas as also the six Vedāṅgas viz., phonetics, ritualistic science, grammar, etymology, metrics and astronomy. The Vedāṅgas are not called *Śruti*, because they are of human origin. These Vedāṅgas are written in the form of Sūtras.

The Sūtras are composed in a peculiar prose style intended for memorization. The Sūtras serve a purely practical purpose. The method of sacrifice has been stated in the Kalpa Sūtras. They are divided into three sections: Śrauta Sūtras, Gṛhya Sūtras and Dharma Sūtras. The Śrauta Sūtras give directions for the laying of the three sacred sacrificial fires for the *Agnihotra* sacrifice, the animal sacrifice, *Soma* sacrifice etc. The Gṛhya Sūtras deal with the domestic ceremonies and the sacrifices to be performed by the householder. The Dharma Sūtras are concerned with the laws, manners and customs of people in general.

It is very difficult to determine the age of the Vedas and the time when they were actually written. According to Max Müller, the *Ṛg-Veda* was composed before 1000 B.C. According to Lokamānya Tilak, the *Ṛg-Veda* appeared before 6000 B.C. Winternitz has concluded that the earliest part of the Vedas was composed before 2000 or 2500 B.C. and the work was completed between 750 and 500 B.C.

Epics: Ramayana. Indian tradition makes Valmiki the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The story is that of prince Rāma of Ayodhya who was banished from his kingdom for fourteen years because of jealousy of his step-mother Kaikeyī and he went to the forest accompanied by his wife Sītā and brother Lakṣmaṇa. There Sītā was abducted by Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā, and after a bitter struggle she was rescued.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is essentially a poetic creation, influenced the thought and poetry of later ages in course of which new matter came to be added to the original composition. The work now comprises seven books and contains 24,000 verses. Its text has been preserved in three recensions, North-Western, Southern and Eastern; the Bombay recension is believed to have preserved the oldest form of the Epic. It is evident that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was not written at one time ; there is a difference of style and language noticeable in the first book and next five genuine books. Further, the portrayal of the hero as it appears in the first and the seventh book differs in the remaining books. It is difficult to fix any specified period for the entire poem. Winternitz believes that if the *Mahābharata* attained its present form in the 4th century A.D., the *Rāmāyaṇa* must have received its final shape at least a century or two earlier.

Mahabharata. The *Mahābhārata* unlike the *Rāmayaṇa* may be regarded as a whole literature and not one poetic production. Its central theme is the great Kurukṣetra battle of eighteen days fought between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. In this great battle, almost all the contemporary kings of India joined one side or the other. The result was total annihilation of the Kauravas ; and the Pāṇḍavas finally attained sovereign power. With the passage of time new legends and episodes of kings and various aspects of human life described in its social and political bearing came to be added to the central theme. This process continued for centuries till about the early part of the Christian era the Epic attained its present shape in a hundred thousand verses. The *Mahābhārata* is divided into eighteen books (*parvans*) and there is a supplement called the *Harivaṁśa*. The famous *Bhagavad-Gītā* belongs to the *Bhīṣmaparvan* and is a holy book which has been widely read and admired for centuries.

The epic passed through three principal stages of development before it assumed its present form. Literary and inscriptional evidence suggests that by A.D. 500 the *Mahābhārata* had become more than an Epic; it was a sacred book and a religious discourse. It should be noted that the *Mahābhārata* did not exist in the 4th century B.C. in its Epic form ; the transformation of the original story into our present compilation took place over the long stretch of years between the 4th century B.C. and the 4th century A.D.

Puranas. The word *purāṇa* means 'old narrative'. In the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Buddhist texts the word is found in connection with *Itihāsa*. Amarasiṁha, the Sanskrit lexicographer, states that a Purāṇa

should describe five topics; (1) *Sarga* (creation), (2) *Pratisarga* (secondary creation), (3) *Vaṁśa* (geneology), (4) *Manvantara* (Manu-periods) and (5) *Vaṁśānucarita* (dynastic history).

The origin of the Purāṇas must be traced to the time when in the course of a religious revolution Buddhism was gaining ground as a formidable opponent of the Brahmanic culture. Devotees were anxious to preserve the relics of Hindu culture, and Vyāsa, the great compiler, was destined to meet the demand of the age. Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harṣacarita* mentions *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Kumārila (c A.D. 750) regards the Purāṇas as the sources of law. The Purāṇas seem to be older than the present redaction of the *Mahābhārata*. It has been suggested that they were written during the Gupta period.

These works possess a unique importance both as history and religious literature. Eighteen in number, they have been classified from the standpoint of the three cosmic qualities, *sattva, rajas* and *tamas*. The *Sāttvika* Purāṇas are *Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Garuḍa, Padma* and *Varāha*. The *Rājasa* Purāṇas are *Brahma, Brahmāṇḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya* and *Vāmana*. The *Tāmasa* Purāṇas are *Śiva, Liṅga, Skanda, Agni, Matsya* and *Kūrma*. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is unquestionably the most famous work in this genre. Besides these eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, there are also eighteen Upapurāṇas.

Smriti. Apart from the Śrauta Sūtras and Gṛhya Sūtras there were in ancient times a number of Dharma Sūtras which may be viewed as rudimentary texts on civil and religious law. Among the Dharma Sūtras mention must be made of the Dharma Sūtras of Gautama, Hārīta, Vasiṣṭha, Bodhāyana, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin. The most outstanding and popular work on Brahmanical laws is the *Manu Smṛti*. Among the other important works on law may be mentioned the *Nārada Smṛti*, the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*.

It is generally supposed that the Sūtras may be assigned to the 5th or the 4th century B.C., while the present text of the *Manu Smṛti* probably belongs to the 1st century B.C., i.e., the period of the Kāṇvas.

Avadana Literature. The vast bulk of *Avadāna* literature is a good example of Sanskrit writing by Buddhist poets. The word *avadāna* signifies a great religious or moral achievement, such as sacrifice of one's own life ; but it applies also to the building of sanctuaries or the founding of an institution for the supply of incense, flowers, gold and jewels to the sanctuaries. *Avadāna* stories are designed to inculcate the truth that dark (ignoble) deeds bear dark fruits while white (noble) acts beget white fruits. In this sense they are also tales of *Karman*.

The *Avadānasataka* heads the list of works of *Avadāna* literature and is comparable to the *Karmaśataka* preserved in Tibetan translations. Another collection of *Avadāna* literature is the *Divyāvadāna*. This book, possessing special importance from the view point of sociology, belongs to the Hīnayāna school.

Belles lettres. The two Great Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, are undoubtedly the precursors of Sanskrit *Kāvya* literature, and it is hardly necessary to trace the latter's origin to Vedic hymns or to discover its prototype in the *Nārāśaṁsī* and *Dānastūti* panegyrics, in the *Sāma Veda* hymns, in the magnificent descriptions of Vedic gods and goddesses, or in the legends and gnomic stanzas occurring in the Brāhmaṇas. Patañjali mentions three *ākhyāyikās* : *Vāsavadattā*, *Sumanottara* and *Bhaimarathī*. There is reference also to two other works, the *Kaṁsavadha* and the *Balibandha*, probably dramatic compositions. It must be stated here that we have no definite knowledge of the growth and development of *Kāvya* in the period between the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. ; none of the extant *Kāvyas* may be assigned to this period. What we can say with confidence is that the facts mentioned above warrant the conclusion that a strong school of lyric poetry existed about the early centuries of the Christian era and probably still earlier.

The theory of the renaissance of Sanskrit literature sought to establish that Brahmanic culture passed through its dark age at the time when India was continuously facing foreign invasions; and that the earliest revival of this culture is to be found in the time of the Guptas. Recent research has tended to discard this theory with all its ingenuity. Inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era unmistakably show that the study and development of Sanskrit *Kāvya* was never impeded. For instance, the inscription of Rudradāman at Girnār dated A.D. 150 is written in prose of the full-fledged *Kāvya* style in conformity with the rules of grammar. Another inscription close to the above date, a record of Śri Pulumāyi's reign at Nāsik, is written in Prākṛt prose.

Early Buddhist Works in Sanskrit. The scholars were for long ignorant of the vast literature produced in Sanskrit by Buddhist writers. The Buddhist Sanskrit literature includes the rich literature of the Mahāyāna school and the Hīnayāna school as well. The most important work of the Hīnayāna school is the *Mahāvastu*. A storehouse of stories, the *Mahāvastu* is not an integral whole as different parts of it were composed in different periods. Though belonging to the Hīnayāna school, it betrays some affinity to Mahāyānistic thought. The *Lalitavistara* is believed to be one of the most sacred Mahāyāna texts. This book is of great importance from the standpoint of literary history since it supplied materials for the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa.

Court Epics. The most outstanding Buddhist writer in Sanskrit is Aśvaghoṣa. He belonged to the 1st century of the Christian era and adorned the court of Kaniṣka. The masterpiece of Aśvaghoṣa, the *Buddhacarita*, tells the life history of Gautama Buddha ; he wrote another epic named *Saundarānanda*.

After Aśvaghoṣa the most celebrated Indian poet is Kālidāsa who is generally believed to have flourished in the reign of Candragupta II of the

Imperial Gupta dynasty (A.D. 380–413); his best works were written perhaps during the reign of Kumāragupta I (A.D. 413–453). His *Kumārasambhava* is an epic in seventeen cantos of which only the first eight are believed to be genuine. Its theme is the marriage of Lord Śiva and Umā and the birth of Kārttikeya. The *Raghuvaṁśa* is another epic of Kālidāsa. It has nineteen cantos based on the history of kings of the Ikṣvāku family in general.

The epic *Kirātārjunīya* in eighteen cantos written by Bhāravi is based on the *Mahābhārata*. The poem describes how Arjuna obtained the *Pāśupata* weapon from Śiva. It is not difficult to surmise the date of Bhāravi—his name is mentioned along with Kālidāsa in the famous Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, dated A.D. 634.

The *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Rāvaṇavadha* comprising of twenty-two cantos, was written by Bhaṭṭi with the sole object of illustrating the rules and principles of grammar and rhetoric. The poem depicts the life history of Rāma from his birth upto the time of Rāvaṇa's death. The author reveals in his work that he lived in Valabhī under Śrīdharasena. It is probable that Bhaṭṭi belonged to the later half of the 6th and the first quarter of the 7th century A.D.

Kumāradāsa composed the *Jānakīharaṇa* in twenty-five cantos—the theme is drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He is said to have been the king of Ceylon in the 6th century A.D.

Māgha, the author of the *Śiśupālavadha*, probably lived in the 8th century A.D. He is mentioned by Ānandavardhana, the great rhetorician of the 9th century A.D. The *Śiśupālavadha* is a work in twenty cantos based on a legend of the *Mahābhārata*.

The fascinating story of Nala and Damayantī in the *Mahābhārata* forms the central theme of Śrī Harṣa's masterpiece, the *Naiṣadhacarita* or *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. The work was composed in the later half of the 12th century A.D. It is in twenty-two cantos.

Drama. The origin of the Sanskrit drama is an interesting study in the history of Sanskrit literature and the divergent views on the subject can hardly be reconciled. It is an undeniable fact that Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* is the earliest known book on Sanskrit dramaturgy.

A Sanskrit drama must have five critical junctures of plot (*sandhi*), viz., *mukha* (protasis), *pratimukha* (epitasis), *garbha* (catastasis), *vimarśa* (peripeteia) and *nirvahaṇa* (catastrophe). Further, Sanskrit dramaturgists laid down the rule that there should be perfect fusion of sentiment and theme. But it must be said that, generally speaking, these writers gave more importance to the portrayal of sentiments than to the delineation of character or plot. This fact is largely responsible for the plethora of typical characters rather than individualized figures in the majority of Sanskrit dramas handed down to us.

The Sanskrit drama is classified into two types—the major (*rūpaka*)

and the minor (*uparūpaka*). The major type includes *naṭaka, prakaraṇa, bhāṇa, vyāyoga, samavakāra, prahasana* ; the minor type includes *nāṭikā, troṭaka, prasthāna* and others.

The Indian drama can be traced back to the 5th century or 4th century B.C.. The *Mahābhāṣya* mentions two dramas, *Kaṁsavadha* and *Balibandha*. The most outstanding early Sanskrit dramatist is Bhāsa. Scholars widely differ on the authenticity and authorship of the plays ascribed to him. Bhāsa is mentioned by Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Rājaśekhara and other later writers with great respect. The Bhāsa-plays are taken from three sources—the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata* and various popular tales. The plays based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* are *Pratimā* and *Abhiṣeka. Madhyamavyāyoga, Dūtaghaṭotkaca,* and *Karṇabhāra* are based on the *Mahābhārata*. Indian critics claim that *Svapnavāsavadattā* is the best of Bhāsa's dramas.

The date and authorship of the famous ten-act play *Mṛcchakaṭika* ascribed to Śūdraka, is still a disputed point. According to some scholars it was written by Daṇḍin. The discovery of the thirteen dramas of Bhāsa proves that *Mṛcchakaṭika* was written after his own *Cārudatta, c.* 3rd century A.D. Kālidāsa mentions the names of Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra, but he does not say a word about Śūdraka. The name of king Śūdraka is found in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī, Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Skanda Purāṇa*.

Kālidāsa wrote *Malavikagnimitra, Vikramorvasıya* and *Abhijnanasakuntala* and is acclaimed as the greatest of Indian dramatists. *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, the most mature product of his genius, has gained world-wide recognition.

Three dramas are ascribed to Harṣa, king of Kānyakubja, who reigned from A.D. 606 to 647 and was a contemporary of Bāṇa. The *Ratnāvalī* is Harṣa's masterpiece. He also wrote *Priyadarśikā* and *Nagananda*,

Bhavabhūti, the next great name after Kālidāsa, is mentioned by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as a poet in the court of king Yaśovarman o' Kānyakubja whose probable date is A.D. 736. The dramas *Mahāvīracarita, Mālatīmādhava* and *Uttararāmacarita* are ascribed to Bhavabhūti.

Lyric Poetry. Classical Sanskrit literature is rich in lyric poetry. The name of Kālidāsa stands high in the realm of Sanskrit lyrics. His *Meghadūta* is the finest work in this genre. The *Ghaṭakarpara-Kāvya* written by Ghaṭakarpara, who was according to tradition one of the nine gems in the court of king Vikramāditya, is another lyric poem of repute. Bhartṛhari, assigned to the 7th century A.D., has to his credit the three *Śatakas*, viz., the *Śṛṅgāraśataka*, the *Nītiśataka* and the *Vairāgyaśataka*. The *Amaruśataka* is also a very popular lyric poem written by Amaru, verses from which have been frequently quoted in contemporary and later works on Sanskrit poetics. The *Caurapañcāśikā* of Bilhaṇa 11th-12th century A.D. is a lyric describing a lover's recollections of the sweet company of his beloved. Jayadeva, the last great name in Sanskrit

poetry, flourished in Bengal during the reign of king Lakṣmaṇasena in the 12th cenutry A.D. His *Gītagovinda* ranks high among Sanskrit lyrics.

Historical Writing. It is strange that in the wide range of early or medieval Sanskrit literature one seldom finds any significant work of history. Kalhaṇa is the most important of all ancient Indian historians, and the history of Kashmīr would have remained obscure without his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, believed to have been written in A.D. 1148. The beginnings of Indian history may be traced to the Purāṇas which give genealogies, the very bedrock of history. *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati another historical work is in Prākṛt and belongs approximately to the 8th century A.D. Padmagupta wrote *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* in A.D. 1050. Sandhyākaranandin, who flourished during A.D. 1057–1087, wrote the *Rāmapālacarita*. Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, a poem in eighteen cantos, glorifies the poet's patron, Vikramāditya VI, a Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa.

Prose Literature. In the realm of literary expression the Indian mind has always preferred verse to prose. Even commentaries and lexicons were written in verse. In the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda* we come across the earliest specimens of Indian prose-writing. *Atharva Veda* may also be considered in this context. The language of the Brāhmaṇas is simple yet elegant. The prose portions of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*, and the medical compilations of Caraka are noteworthy. The writings of Śabarasvāmin and Vātsyāyana and the commentaries of Śaṅkara on the *Brahma Sūtra* and Upaniṣads are good specimens of Sanskrit prose.

The extant prose literature may be divided into two classes, romance and fable. The prose-romances are of two main types—*Ākhyāyikā* and *Kathā*.

Daṇḍin (7th century A.D.), wrote the *Daśakumāracarita*, a work of the *Ākhyāyikā* type. Subandhu, who lived at the beginning of the same century wrote *Vāsavadattā*. Bāṇabhaṭṭa is undoubtedly the greatest of Indian prose-writers; he wrote *Harṣacarita* glorifying king Harṣa. Another work of his, *Kādambarī*, narrates the love-story of Candrāpīḍa and Kādambarī in their several births.

The short stories in ancient Indian literature may be classed under three different heads : popular tales, beast-fables and fairy-tales. The most outstanding collection of popular tales was the *Bṛhatkathā*, a Prākṛt work of great importance, now lost to us. It is, however, fortunate that the story of the lost work has been preserved in Budhasvāmin's *Ślokasaṁgraha* (composed between the 8th and the 9th century A.D.), Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (A.D. 1037) and Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (A.D. 1063–68). The *Pañcatantra* attributed to Viṣṇuśarman is an important work on beast-fable. The *Hitopadeśa*, another work of the beast-fable genre, was written by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, whose date cannot be later than the 11th century A.D.

(b) Sanskritic Languages

Pali and other Prakrits. Pāli, the language of the holy texts of Theravāda Buddhism, had a wide connotation. Originally it meant 'a series, a line'. Later it indicated the sacred words of the Buddha as also the texts which embodied Buddhist teachings; and finally it signified the language of the texts. According to tradition, soon after the Buddha's death a council was convened at Rājagṛha, where the sacred sayings of the Teacher were laid down for the first time. Tradition also suggests that the first two parts of the canons, the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta Piṭakas*, were prepared there and given the shape in which they are found today. A hundred years later, the second council was called at Vaiśāli, and its main purpose was to settle certain dissensions, which had appeared among the monks, threatening to destroy the solidarity of the great monastic congregation. During the reign of Aśoka (273–232 B.C.) the third council was held at Pāṭaliputra under the presidentship of Tissa Moggaliputta—here the canons in their essential parts were completed and finally accepted. The canons of the Theravāda sect bear the general name *Tripiṭaka* meaning 'three caskets'. These caskets are in fact great collections to which various literary works belonged. These were divided into three main classes, each representing the fundamental nature of some aspect of monastic life and its thinking. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* (casket of monastic discipline) deals with the monastic discipline and the texts belonging to it embody the rules which Buddhist monks must observe for achieving purity of conduct; the *Sutta Piṭaka* (casket of *suttas*) lays down the principles of religion; and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* contains expositions on the scholastic philosophy which include discourses on various subjects, such as ethics, psychology, theories of knowledge and metaphysical problems.

The *Vinaya Piṭaka* is a source for the knowledge of the *Saṅgha* (congregation), as the *Sutta Piṭaka* offers knowledge of the *Dhamma*. It is, in fact, a commentary on the *Pātimokkha Sutta*. The *Khandhakās* contain regulations on the course of life in the monastic order and have two sections—the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*. The third part, the *Parivāra*, an insignificant composition by a Ceylonese monk, is a manual of instruction about the contents of the *Vinaya*.

The *Sutta Piṭaka* is divided into five *Nikāyas* (groups). The *Dīgha Nikāya* "long collection", comprises 34 long *Suttas*. Of these the sixteenth, the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, is the most important and gives us information on the last few days of the Buddha. The *Majjhima Nikāya*, "collection of middle-sized reports on instructions", contains 152 *suttas*. The *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, "collection of instructions divided into groups," contains 56 groups of the *suttas*. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, "by-one-limb-more collection," is divided into 11 chapters; here the

suttas are so arranged that the first chapter deals with things which occur only once, the second with those which occur twice and so on. The *Khuddaka Nikāya* "collection of little pieces," contains texts of a diverse character which are scattered literary works. The foremost among the pieces of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* is the *Khuddakapāṭha* which is only a small prayer-book. The *Dhammapada* comes next; it contains 423 gnomic stanzas enjoying unusual popularity among the people. The *Udāna* is a collection of impassioned utterances of the Buddha. The *Itivuttaka* "thus-has-been-said," comprises maxims spoken by the Buddha to his disciples. The *Suttanipāta* has some archaic pieces, which are the most beautiful in the entire Buddhist literature. The *Vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu* form the most uninteresting parts of the canon; the former describes the grandeur of the celestial palaces where the gods live and the latter the miserable existence of the departed souls who have to expiate for their sins. Then come the *Thera* and the *Therī-gāthās*, "songs of monks and nuns", which are very appealing due to their lyric quality. The Jātakas, which come next, give an account of the former existences of the Buddha.

The *Niddesa* or the *Mahāniddesa* is a commentary on the two chapters of the *Suttanipāta*. The *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, which deals with knowledge, belongs to the *Abhidhamma* literature in view of its contents. The *Apadānas*, holy legends, describe the activities of young monks and nuns who have attained the position of *Arhats*. The *Buddhavaṁsa* is a legend in verse, which narrates the life and activities of the 24 Buddhas, who preceded Gautama. The *Cariyāpiṭaka*, a selection of 35 metrical Jātakas, reveals that in each of his previous existences Bodhisattva acquired the ten *pāramitās* (perfections).

The *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, "casket of scholastic philosophy" is the latest of the three caskets; for the understanding of earlier doctrines and later Buddhistic philosophy its importance cannot be minimized. The most important among these books is the *Kathāvatthu*, which is ascribed to Tissa Moggaliputta.

Besides this canonical literature there was a long series of non-canonical literature in Pāli. Of these the *Milindapañha* is the most important. Its subject-matter is a very interesting dialogue between Milinda (i.e., the Graeco-Bactrian king Menander, 125–95 B.C.) and the monk Nāgasena over some problems of the Buddhist faith. The non-canonical literature was greatly enriched by the contribution of certain commentators, particularly of Ceylon. Among the non-canonical works one finds the *Dīpavaṁśa* and *Mahāvaṁśa*, two great chronicles of Ceylon, as also some grammatical, metrical and lexicographical texts in Pāli.

In its wider sense the term Prākṛt indicates all the Middle Indo-Aryan speeches which came into being between Sanskrit on the one hand and modern Aryan languages on the other. In this sense Pāli is also a kind of Prākṛt, but since it had sectarian value and was exclusively used as the

speech of the Hinayāna Buddhism, it is considered distinct from Prākṛt.

It is to be noted that from the earliest times down to the 1st century A.D. inscriptions were composed exclusively in Prākṛt. The foremost among these are the Aśokan inscriptions, over 30 in number, which are the first dated documents among the Indian literary records. From ancient times playwrights used different dialects of Prākṛt in Sanskrit dramas. But as they did so more or less mechanically and in conformity with the conventions of dramatic theory, the Prākṛt dialects neither represent popular life nor reflect in any way the linguistic conditions in society. There are, however, certain dramas which are composed exclusively in Prākṛt and are technically called *Saṭṭakas*. The *Karpūramañjarī* (*c*. A.D. 900) of Rājaśekhara, which depicts the development of love between Caṇḍapāla and Karpūramañjarī, is the most important work of this type.

Jaina canonical works occupy a very important place in Prākṛt literature. The first attempts to systematize the preachings of Mahāvīra were made in the Pāṭaliputra Council in the 4th century B.C.; but they were finally rearranged, redacted and committed to writing in the Valabhī Council in the 5th century A.D., under the presidentship of Devardhi. The canonical texts are composed in the Ardhamāgadhī speech which is known as *Ārṣa* and comprise both the late and archaic portions. The contents of the texts are quite varied and they deal with multifarious subjects comprising almost all the branches of human knowledge.

Anthologies of detached stanzas both on love and maxims are found abundantly in Prākṛt literature. The most remarkable among such texts is the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Sātavāhana Hāla which comprises 700 stanzas about love depicting the varied phases of South Indian rural life.

Narrative literature and epic poems are fairly extensive in Prākṛt. The most noteworthy among them are the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, composed in Paiśācī dialect and *Setubandha* of Pravarasena.

Among the scientific texts there are two lexicographical works in Prākṛt —the *Pāiyalacchināmamālā* (A.D. 972–73) by Dhanapāla and the *Deśīnāmamālā* by Hemacandra.

Apabhramsa. Though Apabhraṁśa is a kind of Prākṛt, the occurrence in it of some peculiar linguistic traits accelerating its steps towards an analytical character demands that it should be considered as a distinct unit of speech. Besides, a fairly extensive literature, particularly a kind of narrative stories, has developed in Apabhraṁśa.

The beginnings of the use of this speech may be traced in the drama *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* of Aśvaghoṣa. Apabhraṁśa features have been noted in the *Pañcarātra* of Bhāsa (3rd century A.D.). The *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta betrays knowledge of this speech, which the commentator calls Ḍhakkī—it may be identified with Apabhraṁśa. In the *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa there are 16 stanzas in Apabhraṁśa, the genuineness of which is challenged by some scholars.

The metre *Dohā* peculiar to Apabhraṁśa was adopted as a powerful form of expression of religious and philosophical thoughts which the saints wanted to propagate in an unassuming manner among the people. As a result of the activities of Jaina monks we find works like the *Paramātmaprakāśa*, and the *Yogasāra* by Joindu, the *Pāhuḍadohā* by Rāmasiṁha (10th century A.D.), the *Sāvayadhammadohā* by Devasena (10th century A.D.) and the *Vairāgyasāra* by Śubhācārya. Contemporary writers of Tāntric Buddhism also utilized this popular measure and composed poems in *Dohā* metre as is evident from the *Dohākōṣa*, embodying philosophical stanzas from Tillopāda, Kāṇhapāda, Sarahapāda and other teachers of Buddhist esoteric doctrines.

Stray poems dealing with morals, maxims, ethics, religion, discourses and legends are very commonly found in Apabhraṁśa.

Apabhraṁśa claims to have developed a fairly extensive literature in narrative poetry which includes voluminous texts on the life and activities of the Jaina heroes.

Among the non-Jaina works the most conspicuous is the *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati (14th century A.D.).

Modern Indo-Aryan Languages. The emergence of modern Indo-Aryan languages out of the last stage of Middle Indo-Aryan (Apabhraṁśa) is of considerable importance in so far as they assumedmutually independent forms and acquired the status of different literary languages, though drawing upon their common ancestor languages —Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa. In their earliest phase they regarded the later Apabhraṁśa works as their own. Literary heritage of this kind continued to be commonly claimed by Gujarātī and Hindī even as late as the 16th century.

Such claims are based on common sources of these languages—in the earlier stages distinctly separate identity of different modern Indo-Aryan languages was not recognizable. During the period upto A.D. 1206 they could hardly get the time to stabilize and develop into adequate vehicles of literary expression. Moreover, at least two centuries had yet to pass before the rise of that strong social force in the form of the *Bhakti* cult which moved the people speaking these languages to creative effort. It is, accordingly, difficult to say whether the literature in question belongs to the modern Indo-Aryan languages.

The modern Indo-Aryan languages which have acquired the status of a literary language are—Assamese, Bengali, Gujarātī, Hindī, Kashmīrī, Marāṭhī, Oṛiyā, Panjābī, Sindhī and Urdū.

The earliest forms of Assamese are found in the *Dohākoṣa* and *Caryāgīti* of the *Siddha* cult of Buddhism. The language of these works is the later form of Middle (and not the earliest form of modern) Indo-Aryan., The first written work in Assamese is the *Prahlād Caritra* by Hema Sarasvatī who lived in the court of Durlabha Nārāyaṇa, a king in Western Assam. The

exact period of Durlabha Nārāyaṇa's reign is not known but it is believed that he ruled in the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

Bengali also claims the compositions of the *Siddhas*, i.e., *Dohākośa* and *Caryāgīti*, in so far as its earliest form is concerned. Hara Prasad Sastri discovered *Caryācaryaviniścaya*, *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *Ḍākārṇava* in Nepāl and suggested that they represented Bengali as it was in the 10th–11th century A.D. But Bengali is quite different from the language of these Buddhist works which really belong to the Middle Indo-Aryan group.

Rāmacarita, a Sanskrit work by Abhinanda, of the 8th century A.D., claims to represent the first Bengali writing; another Sanskrit work of the same name was composed by Sandhyākaranandi in the 11th century A.D. The fact that these works were composed in Bengal, does not entitle them to be included in Bengali literature. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* was also composed in Bengal in the 12th century A.D.; and it gave great impetus to Bengali literature which began to be written not earlier than the 14th century A.D. Whatever Bengali literature existed before that time was only in the form of folk songs and folk tales.

The earliest pieces of Gujarātī literature also may be traced to folk literature which is even now prevalent among the shepherds and cowherds. These folk tales and songs often sung in chorus and accompanied by dance, deal with romance, chivalry, nature and the eternal love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. A few Jaina works are sometimes cited as the earliest works of Gujarātī. But they really belong to Middle rather than to Modern Indo-Aryan Group. In fact, literary production in Gujarātī also did not start before the 14th century.

The earliest examples of Hindī as well are unjustifiably sought in the compositions of the *Siddhas*. Their language is Apabhraṁśa and not Hindī. This may be mentioned here because of the large number of words, expressions, usages, metres, forms of verse, thought content, moods and attitudes inherited by Kabīr and other poets of the early Sant school of Hindī.

Although among the *Siddhas* are included Gorakhanātha and his followers called *Nātha Panthī Yogīs*, they are treated separately in this survey since their language is of later date and more modern than that of the other *Siddhas*. Gorakhanātha is said to have lived in the later half of the 9th century A.D. but there is disagreement about this date. In the *Gōrakhabānī*, forty books, some of them very short, are ascribed to Gorakhanātha. It is difficult to say how many or what portions of them are genuinely Gorakhanātha's composition. The subject matter of these books relates to lessons in yogic practices, moral teachings, and ways of religious and chaste life. After Gorakhanātha there is a long line of *Nātha Panthī Yogīs*, but we cannot say how many of them lived before A.D. 1206. Dhundhīmala and Ghorācūlī at any rate, belong probably to the 12th

century A.D. The compositions of these *yogīs* are contained in the *Nātha Siddhoṅ kī Bāniā*. Whatever their authenticity, it seems fairly credible that Hindī had taken the form of a language of literary expression before A.D. 1206 in the *Nātha* writings; they were, however, poor in literary values and may be called a literature of utility rather than of expressive power. As regards language of this literature, it is difficult to say whether it lent definitely towards the eastern form of Hindī or it was close to the language of Rājasthān.

From the 11th century A.D. we find a long tradition of *Rāsa* or *Rāso* literature mostly produced in Rājasthān. This is of two varieties; one composed in ballad form and meant for group-singing accompanied by dance and the other written in a more literary style, using different metres and meeting a well-knit story of a hero's romantic and warlike pursuits. Of the first category *Upadeśa Rasāyana* of Jinadatta Sūri (*c.* A.D. 1143), *Bharateśwara Bāhubalī Rāsa* and *Buddhi Rāsa* of Śālibhadra Sūri (*c.* A.D. 1184) and *Jīvadayā Rāsa* and *Candanabālā Rāsa* of Āsiga (A.D. 1200) are works pertaining to the teachings of Jainism and mostly lack literary quality. The only commendable work of the *Rāsa* variety is *Bīsaldeva Rāso* of Narapati Nālha.

The greatest work in this tradition, *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*, is ascribed to Canda Baradāī, a bardic poet of the court of Pṛthvīrāja Cauhān of Delhi and Ajmer. The literary merits of *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso* are undisputed. Its language is a kind of Braj-bhāṣā specially suited to bardic literature. The variety of metres used in the work is simply bewildering, the descriptions are amazingly detailed and the atmosphere in the work is surcharged with either heroism or revelry. It is regarded as the first epic poem in Hindi.

In Kashmīrī, the only work which may be mentioned is *Mahānaya Prakāśa* by Śitikaṇṭha (13th century A.D.). But the language of this work is Apabhraṁśa and the subject-matter non-literary. Literary activity in Kashmīrī, started not earlier than the 14th century A.D.

In Marāṭhī, literary activity began with Mukund Rāi (A.D. 1128–1198) who wrote *Viveka Sindhu* and *Paramāmṛta*. The subject-matter of these works is religious, moral and didactic. After Mukund Rāi, Marāṭhī literature was produced under the auspices of the Mahānubhāva cult, Mahātmā Cakradhara being its founder. It appears that in Marāṭhī, religious literature began to be produced much earlier than in other modern Indo-Aryan languages. That is understandable, because the *Bhakti* movement which started in the South came to Mahārāshtra earlier than to Northern India.

Like Assamese, Bengali and Hindī, Oṛiya also lays its claim to compositions of the *Siddha Yogīs* contained in *Caryāgīti* and *Dohākoṣa*.There are special reasons for this claim too. Some of the *Siddhas* like Śabarīpā and Luipā were originally residents of Orissa. Moreover, like the Hindī poets of the earlier Sant school, the *Pañcha Śākhā* school of Oṛiyā poets

were largely influenced by *Siddha* literature. Oṛiyā literature also includes *Saptāṅga Yoga Dhāraṇam* said to have been composed by Gorakhanātha; however, like all other works ascribed to Gorakhanātha, its authenticity is in dispute. Another early Oṛiyā work *Mādlāpañji* which narrates the history of Oṛiyā royal dynasty and of the Jagannātha Temple is said to have been written by the first king of the Gaṅga dynasty, Rāja Choḍa Gaṅgadeva in A.D. 1042. But it is held by some scholars to be a work of the 16th century A.D.

The first poet claimed by Panjābī is Farīdu'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shakarganjī (A.D. 1173–1265), better known as Bābā Farīd Shakarganjī, a muslim mystic divine who wrote mostly in *Śloka* style on devotion to Nature and God, and the inner meaning of religion, purity and simplicity of life. His poetry is emotional, idealistic, and full of divine pessimism. His language is said to be Lahndā or Western Panjābī. But at the same time, on the basis of his language, Bābā Farīd is claimed by Urdū also. In fact, Panjābī in its earlier form hardly differed from Hindī. After Bābā Farīd Shakarganjī no literature in Panjābī seems to have been produced before the 14th century A.D.

Since partition, Sindhī has been geographically a language of Pākistān, although spoken by a people, who have migrated to India. Sindhī has, no literature belonging to the period before A.D. 1206.

Linguistically, Urdū is a literary style of Hindī laden with words of Arabo-Persian stock and written in an adapted Perso-Arabic script. Its early names given by the writers themselves are Hindī, Hindui or Hindavī, which distinguish it from the foreign, Persian language. Urdū was employed at the early stage for religious propaganda or for poetry in a restricted field. We have already mentioned the name of Farīdu'd-dīn Shakarganjī. The little compositions attributed to him are of high literary value. Muḥammad 'Urfī in his *Tadhkirah* (A.D. 1228) has mentioned an earlier poet Mas'ūd to whom he attributes the writing of one *Dīwān* in Hindawī (Urdū), besides two in Persian. Unfortunately, not a single poem of Mas'ūd has yet come to light. He was a contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and belonged to the 12th century A.D. preceding Shakarganjī. Amīr Khusraw (A.D. 1259–1325) and Khwājah Muḥammad Ḥusainī (A.D. 1318–1422) belong to a later period. Ḥusainī figures as the first literary writer of Dakhnī in which the earliest specimens of Urdū literature are available in a large measure.

(c) Dravidian Languages

The languages mostly spoken in Cis-Vindhyan India belong to one or the other of the Dravidian group, a major exception being Marāṭhī. Minor dialects (without script) like the Koṅkaṇī in Western Mysore

and Saurāshtra in Madurai, and more undeveloped dialects like those of the gypsies, and Toḍas form exceptions to this generality; still, broadly speaking, it will be correct to say that mostly Dravidian languages are spoken in South India. Of these, Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayālam are the important ones, and each has a script of its own and is enriched by long literary tradition. Minor languages like Tulu (spoken mostly in the South Kanara district of Mysore) have no script and use the Kannaḍa script instead. Of the four Dravidian languages, Tamil has a vast literature, the origin of which goes back to centuries before Christ, while Telugu and Kannaḍa might have existed as local dialects before they attained literary status in the early medieval period. Malayālam, a good part of the vocabulary of which is indistinguishable from early Tamil, assumed an independent status as a language of literary merit only a few centuries ago. These languages have influenced one another and have welcomed the fresh breeze of non-Dravidian literary norms, both Indian and non-Indian.

Tamil. Tamil is the oldest among the spoken literary languages of South India. Eighteen or twenty centuries ago, Tamil was the language spoken in South India (south of the Nīlgiris and Venkaḍam). Subsequently, i.e., after the 8th century, the coastal strip to the west of a line extending south from the meeting point of the Western and Eastern Ghāts became linguistically isolated and Malayālam began to evolve on independent lines.

From available evidence it can be said that there is a body of literature in Tamil which has had unbroken development over twenty centuries. The earliest known phase of this literature is usually designated the *Śaṅgam* literature for the reason that the anthologies of odes, lyrics and idylls which form bulk of that literature were composed at a time when the Pāṇḍyan kings of Madurai maintained in their court a body of eminent poets who in a sort of unofficial way functioned as a board of literary censors. Later poets and scholars like Saint Nāvukkaraśar and the commentator on the *Iṛaiyaṉār Ahapporuḷ* used the expression *Śaṅgam* to denote this association of scholars. Though it is difficult to accept all the interesting but obviously legendary details about this *Śaṅgam* given by later writers as authentic history, yet it would be equally difficult to reject the fact of the existence of an institution like the *Śaṅgam*. The preface to the *Tolkāppiyam* speaks of the practice of learned treatises being critically examined by court poets. So it may not be historically inappropriate to speak of a *Śaṅgam* literature.

A good part of the literature that was produced during the *Śaṅgam* period has perished. That is because after a collection of some choice poems had been rendered into schematic anthologies of some kind or other and had become standard texts, the rest was lost in the course of time. Legendary and traditional accounts mention the loss of many texts

on the occasion of a 'deluge' which compelled the Pāṇḍyan kings to shift their capital first from Ten-Madurai to Kapāṭapuram and then from there to Madurai on the Vaigai. The currently extant body of *Śaṅgam* literature is but a fraction of a vast literature. What now exists as anthologies was perhaps the most excellent and the most deserving to be preserved.

Earliest Tamil Works. The *Agattiyam* (a *magnum opus* and a grammar of letters and life in three parts) allegedly written by Saint Agattiyar, if it ever existed at all, is now extant in small shreds of *sūtras* here and there, quoted by medieval commentators. The historicity of that saint is itself a matter of controversy among scholars, and one does not know the extent of his influence on later writers. The *Tolkāppiyam* was written by Tolkāppiyar (to whom Naccinārkkiniyar, a medieval commentator, ascribes Brahmanical parentage) supposed to be a disciple of Agastya and a contemporary of eleven other scholars who were all disciples of the same *Ṛṣi*. It is a work on Tamil grammar, literary tradition and sociology. *Puṟapporuḷ Veṇbā Mālai*, a medieval work on the grammar of the *Puṟam* literature, says that the twelve scholars jointly produced *Panniṟupaḍalam* (the Twelve Chapters), a grammatical work on *Puṟam* literature, which is not extant. The *Kākkaipadiniyam*, an extinct work on prosody, is also ascribed by tradition to that period. It would be futile to discredit the whole tradition as the concoction of a later age; it would be equally inadmissible to accept the overgrowth of legends on this matter. But there will be little difficulty in treating the *Tolkāppiyam* as the earliest Tamil literary work extant today. Traditionally, that work is supposed to lay down the grammatical rules which governed the literary compositions of the *Śaṅgam* age. Obsolete prescriptions and archaic structures in its text and considerations of stylistics would place it earlier than the *Śaṅgam* literature; and that is reason enough to ascribe its plausible date to the 3rd century B.C. Yet there are scholars who would place the *Tolkāppiyam* in the 4th or 5th century A.D. The *sūtras* of the *Tolkāppiyam* are elaborate and extensive in range. Orthography, construction, prosody, figures of speech, social practices, literary conventions, human psychology in so far as it relates to epic and dramatic literature, the grammar of the *Aham* (love) and *Puṟam* (war, government etc., in fact all but *Aham*) and the allied conventions are set forth in detail in this work. It is schematic and divided into three sections, each consisting of nine *Iyals* (sub-chapters) and has a total of 1,612 *sūtras*.

The *Tolkāppiyam* is the fountain of all literary conventions in Tamil literature; later changes and innovations occurred only under the sanction of permissive clauses incorporated in due places in that early work. The influence of Sanskrit on it was peripheral. Apart from the different and singular alphabetic system adumbrated in the Tamil grammar, forms of prosody like *Veṇbā* and *Kalippā*, the restriction of all figures of speech

to the simile and elaborate attention paid to the *Aham* and *Puram* classification of literature are the chief features of the *Tolkāppiyam;* these gave a distinctiveness to Tamil literature, marking it off from its sister literatures in the Dravidian group.

Sangam Anthologies. The *Śaṅgam* anthologies are in two main groups, the *Aham* and the *Puram*. Evidently, since the quantity of literatre gathering under the patronage provided by the kings of the Tamil country was vast, scholars put together what they deemed to be the most excellent among the existing works. Some of the anthologies were made even during the *Śaṅgam* age, e.g., *Ahanānūṛu* compiled by Rudraśarman at the instance of the well-known *Śaṅgam* prince Ugraperuvaḷudi, and *Aiṅguṛunūṛu* compiled by Gūḍalūr Kiḷār at the instance of Mandarañjeral Irumporai, another *Śaṅgam* king. It may be presumed that this process of compiling anthologies went on till about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Dates assigned to anthologies relate only to the dates of compilation and not to any of the poems compiled; and the dates determine the upper chronological limit alone and not the lower limit, for poems by different authors not known to be contemporaries might belong to different periods.

The other major collection of the *Saṅgam* works is the *Pattuppāṭṭu* (Ten Idylls). These are longer poems. While the *Murugaṛṛuppaḍai* by Nakkīrar is revered by the devotee of Murugan, *Śiṛupuṇaṛṛuppaḍai, Perumbāṇāṛṛuppaḍai, Maduraikkānji* and the *Paṭṭinappālai* are cherished by the historian for the historical information they contain.

The epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai* belong to the early centuries of the Christian era, and according to tradition one was composed soon after the other; and Iḷango Aḍigaḷ and Śāttanār, the authors of the epics, were contemporaries. There is a reference in the *Śilappadikāram* to the Ceylonese king Gajabāhu being present on the occasion of the installation of a temple to Kaṇṇagi, the Goddess of Chastity, by Cera Śenguṭṭuvan. Gajabāhu I of Ceylon is known to have ruled in the second half of the 2nd century A.D., and so Śenguṭṭuvan (and hence the *Śilappadikāram*) is assigned to that century.

The dating of these works is not necessary for an appreciation of their epic qualities and poetic merit. Written in a grand style, the *Maṇimekalai* is full of fine poetry, and its dramatic element is handled with mastery by the author who is remarkable for his versatility. In the *Arangeṛṛukkāḍai* and the *Āicciyār Kuṛavai*, he reveals his profound knowledge of music and dance. Incidentally, this epic is the only important ancient work which gives glimpses of the development of the fine arts in the *Śaṅgam* age.

Śāttanār, the author of the *Maṇimekalai*, was in all probability a Buddhist for his ardent attachment to that religion and its precepts is obvious. *Maṇimekalai* was the name of the daughter of Kovlan, a merchant of

Puhār, the hero of the *Śilappadikāram*. The *Maṇimekalai's* main aim seems to be to expound the excellence of the Buddhist religion through the medium of the travails of *Maṇimekalai* consequent on the loss of the city of Puhār when the sea eroded into the coast. A good deal of social and historical information as in the *Śilappadikāram* is found in this work too. Even if this epic lacks the grand style of the *Śilappadikāram*, it has a peculiar grace which marks it off from other epics in Tamil literature.

The age prior to that of the Imperial Pallavas witnessed the composition of most of the eighteen *Kīḷkaṇakku* works—these include the *Kuṛaḷ*, *Nālaḍiyār*, *Paḷamoḷi*, etc. This is enough to prove that the translation of the *Kīḷkaṇakku* works into 'Minor works' is erroneous; they are called *kīḷ* as distinguished from the *mel* (the *Eṭṭuttogai* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu*) because the poems constituting the latter consist of more lines and are composed in *ahaval* or *kali* metre, while the former are short poems written mainly in the *veṇbā* metre.

Most of the anthologies of the *Śaṅgam* age have invocatory stanzas prefixed to them by Perundevanār who is reputed to have translated the *Bhāratam* into Tamil (a poetical work in *veṇbā* metre with archaic prose passages occasionally interspersed). This work is practically lost except for a few stanzas quoted in medieval commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam*. The poet's catholicity of religious outlook is in keeping with the general attitude of religious tolerance characteristic of that age. There is no reason to confuse this poet with another bearing the same name and also the author of a *Bhāratam* in Tamil, a contemporary of Pallava Nandivarman III. This *Bhāratam* by Perundevanār and another work *Tagaḍūr Yāttirai* (composed by Ariśil Kiḷār, Poṇmuḍiyār and others) celebrating the Cera victory over Adigaimān of Tagaḍūr are outstanding examples of epic works of the *Śaṅgam* age which have largely perished.

The chief merit of the *Śaṅgam* works is their absolute devotion to standards and adherence to literary conventions. The *Kuṛaḷ* (by Tiruvaḷḷuvar) is universally accepted as a work of immense importance and has been translated into many languages, Indian and foreign. It is a compound of the *Dharmaśāstra*, the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Kāmasūtra*, and everywhere in the work the author's mastery of the art of versification is manifest. His thoughts are impeccable and preachings unobjectionable. But it has to be conceded that the contents of this masterpiece have little scope for poetic excellence. As in the case of many great men, nothing definite is known about the personal life of the author of the *Kuṛaḷ*.

The *Nālaḍiyār*, an anthology in the *veṇbā* metre, is understandably pessimistic in its outlook, while the *Paḷamoḷi* by Mūṇṛuṛai Aṛaiyar adopts the novel method of exemplifying morals by proverbs. The *Ācārakkovai*, a quaint work which prescribes the daily routine for an orthodox Hindu, betrays the influence of Sanskritic *Śāstras*, and this work particularly should belong to the later part of the *Śaṅgam* age.

On the confused borderland between the *Śaṅgam* age and the age of Pallava dominance, some literary works of merit and significance were produced. Kongu Velir's *Peṛungadai*, an abridged rendering of the *Bṛhatkathā*, is in the grand style of epics. It is, as many other ancient Tamil works, not available now in full. It does not concern itself with all the stories in the *Bṛhatkathā* but is a rendering of Udayana's tale alone. The *Muttoḷḷāyiram*, a collection of very fine *veṇbās* praising Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍyan kings in an appropriate graceful manner and with the most inevitable similes, is another work of which a good part seems to have perished. According to tradition, this was a collection of 2,700 stanzas, 900 each for the Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya princes. The authorship of this work is not known. The only other work composed in *venbā* metre in the whole range of Tamil literature which can bear comparison with this is the *Naḷaveṇbā* of Puhaḷendi.

Age of Devotional Poetry. The end of the *Śaṅgam* age may be said to herald the birth of a new age in Tamil literature. It was the age of devotional poetry, Śaiva as well as Vaiṣṇava. The *Śaṅgam* literature was the product of a society which was religious in its general predilections but still a stranger to the *Bhakti* cult. The *Paripāḍal Tirumurugāṛṛuppaḍai*, the *Kuṛavais* and the *Śilappadikāram*, though devotional poetry of a sort, are distinctly different from the Prabandha of the Āḷvārs or the Tevāram of the Nāyanārs. In the former, religious fervour is more catholic and devotion to particularized gods is still absent. The opposition to the Jainas and the Buddhists, so noticeable in the Tevāram hymns, is a later feature in Tamilian social life. With exclusive attention being paid to this type of devotional literature, the lyrics, odes and idylls and the great epics composed in long *ahaval* metre went out of use and the *viṛuttam* type of composition became current; the great Śaiva hymnologist Tirujñānasambandar wrote Tevāram hymns in innumerable *viṛuttam* varieties and these poems were mostly intended to be set to music and sung. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the *viṛuttam* found in the *Śilappadikāram*, for which there is definite sanction in the *Tolkāppiyam*, is essentially different from the *viṛuttams* one comes across in the *Divya Prabandha* and the Tevāram hymns.

Of the two classes of devotional poetry, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva, the former may be said to have had an earlier beginning, i.e., sometime in the 5th century A.D. Though there is no reason to identify Poygaiyār with Poygai Āḷvār, the former along with Pey and Būtam, traditionally asserted to be contemporaries, were in all probability the earliest among the Vaiṣṇava hymnologists. They are known as the trio of the first Āḷvārs (*Mudal Āḷvār Mūvar*). If we add Tirumaḷiśai-Pirān, Tirumaṅgaiyāḷvār, Periyāḷvār, Āṇḍāḷ, Nammāḷvār, Tiruppāṇāḷvār, Toṇḍaraḍippoḍiyāḷvār, Kulaśekhara and Madhurakaviyāḷvār to this trio we get the total of twelve Āḷvārs whose hymns are put together and styled the *Nālāyiram*. Nādamuni,

a great Vaiṣṇava, used this final redaction accomplished for the hymns of the Āḷvārs what Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi did later for the Tevāram hymns. Of these Āḷvārs, Nammāḷvar, a Vellāḷa saint, is by Vaiṣṇava tradition regarded as the greatest exponent of the *Bhakti* theme in amost systematic manner; his *Tiruvāymoli* is highly revered by the Vaiṣṇavas. Periyāḷvār who belonged to Śrivilliputtūr, was himself a staunch devotee but his putative daughter Āṇḍāḷ surpassed him in fame. Among her poems the *Tiruppāvai* in particular is exceedingly touching in its simplicity and fervour and enjoys great popularity. Tirumaḷiśai was a contemporary of Mahendravarman I while Tirumaṅgai belonged to the 8th century A.D. The latter wrote profusely and with considerable religious conviction. In him, as in Sambandar, we see the Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava conflict perceptibly revealed. Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi and Kulaśekhara Āḷvārs were minor contributors to the *Nālāyiram*.

The Śaiva *Bhakti* movement produced a mass of literature during the four centuries after *c.* A.D. 600. These were edited into *Aḍangals* by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi of the 10th century A.D. The Tevāram surpasses the *Nālāyiram* in its popularity and wide-spread acceptance probably because it is the religious text of a larger community. Besides, Sambandar the greatest among the Śaiva saints also played the most significant role in the struggle against the heterodox religions of Buddhism and Jainism. Among the earlier saints, Kāraikkāl Ammai, the author of *Arpuda Tiruvandādi*, and Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkon, who wrote *Kṣetra Tiruvandādi*, should be mentioned. According to Nambi's redaction, the first three *Tirumuṛais* contain Sambandar's 384 *padigams*, the second three contain Nāvukkaraśar's 307 *padigams* and the seventh *Tirumuṛai* has the 100 *padigams* of Sundarar. Nāvukkaraśar, who lived in the reign of Mahendravarman I, was also a contemporary of Sambandar, Śiruttoṇḍar and Appudi Aḍigal. It is difficult to believe that Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār belonged to the 8th century A.D. Though basically the Tevāram consisted only of seven *Tirumuṛais* and included hymns composed only by Sambandar, Nāvukkaraśar and Sundarar, later on redaction was enlarged to include the hymns and poems of Māṇikkavāśagar also; the *Tiruvāśagam* (the eighth book of the canon) and the *Tirukkovaiyār* and still later the *Periya Purāṇam* of Śekkiḷār also became a *Tirumuṛai* (the twelfth). The eleventh *Tirumuṛai* includes a collection of various poets of different ages from Kāraikkāl Ammai to Paṭṭinattuppiḷḷaiyār and verses ascribed to *Śaṅgam* poets also figure here. The Nakkīradevar, Kapiladeva Nāyanār and others figuring among the authors of the eleventh *Tirumuṛai* were evidently later poets bearing the names of respected predecessors. The *Tirumurugāṛṛuppaḍai*, a *Śaṅgam* poem, is also included here.

Sambandar was a Brāhmaṇa native of Kali (Kaḷumalam) whose outpourings in praise of Lord Śiva during a short career rank among the finest poetical works in Tamil literature. While they were the medium

of contemporary classical music, they helped to spread the *Bhakti* cult and to lessen the popularity of heterodoxy. Sambandar's versatility is marvellous. He regarded his relationship to God as that between son and father; in contrast Nāvukkaraśar was an absolute 'slave' to the master, Sundarar a 'friend' and Māṇikkavāśagar 'a true devotee'. Tirunāvukkaraśar's hymns are truly soul-stirring and his *Tiruttaṇḍagams* are charged with a religious fervour rarely found elsewhere. He lived over a long period and passed through tragic days but he never deviated from the path of piety. Sundarar's contribution is quantitatively the least part of the Tevāram, but his *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* which enumerates the Śaiva saints has served as the basis for the *Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandādi* of Nambi (early 11th century A.D.). Āṇḍār Nambi, likewise, provided the source for Śekkiḷār's *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* (12th century A.D.).

Close on the heels of the age of Sundarar came Māṇikkavāśagar, who was in a sense the greatest exponent of the *Bhakti* theme among the Śaivas—his *Tiruvāśagam* made a stirring appeal to the religious mind. His associations with Madurai and Chidambaram added to the holiness of those places. There is a tradition that he converted a number of Buddhists from Ceylon to Śaivism. His *Tirukkovaiyār*, on which Perāśiriyar has written a commentary, is a *Kovai* of the traditional *Aham* type, though it is usually interpreted as an allegory.

Apart from these religious works, there were others which vainly and somewhat weakly tried to continue the older traditions of Tamil literature. The *Iraiyaṇār Ahapporuḷ*, the authorship of which goes back perhaps to a much earlier age, received a commentary from one Nakkīrar. The *sūtras* of this work are very brief, but the commentary is elaborate and it has set the standard for the interpretation of *Aham* themes in Tamil literature. The *Ahapporuḷ Viḷakkam* of a later age simplified these complicated interpretations and nuances to suit the requirements of junior scholars, as the Naṇṇul did for the *Tolkāppiyam*. The commentary on the *Iraiyaṇār Ahapporuḷ* is a landmark in the attempts to standardize *Aham* conventions. The work in its present form belongs to the 8th century A.D. and has had many interpolations. This has happened also to the commentary, its prose style suffered at the hands of anonymous meddlers who did not follow the classical standards associated with ancient Tamil literature.

The *Nandikkalambakam*, by an anonymous author who was a contemporary of Nandivarman III, and the *Bhārata Veṇbā* by Perundevaṇār also of the same age complete the tale. The *Kalambakam* is the earlier of its type and is in praise of Nandivarman III (*Teḷḷāṛu eṛinda*); the work is not fully extant. The *Bhārata Veṇbā* also is available only in parts; it is mostly poetry with a quaint old type of prose interspersed.

This age of religious literature which commenced from about A.D. 500 and continued till the dawn of the Imperial Coḷa age witnessed the

emergence of another class of literature, relating to mysticism. In this class the most important work is the *Tirumandiram* of Tirumūlar. It is the tenth book (*Tirumuṟai*) of the Śaiva canon. Tirumūlar was a *Siddha*, a sect of *Yogīs* specializing in mystic practices and thought. His 3,000 verses in the *Tirumandiram* are extremely abstruse and defy understanding by all except the initiated; but, once explained, they become sources of profound philosophical reflection.

The beginnings of the epic age (i.e., the age in which the great epics in medieval Tamil literature were composed) coincide with the advent of the Imperial Coḷa period. It was a period during which the Jainas, and the Buddhists to a lesser extent, competed with the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas in the field of literature. Impartially viewed, it would be apparent that the contribution of the former was not inferior to that of the latter. The age of the *Jīvaka Cintāmaṇi* (early 10th century A.D.) is reached after the appearance of certain other epics (*kāvyas*) like *Valaiyāpati* and *Kuṇḍalakeśi*, and it was the time when another work *Śūlāmaṇi* by Tolāmoḷi Tevar, classed among the five minor *kāvyas* was composed. The *Cintāmaṇi* is entitled to special mention in any account of Tamil literature because of the vital role it played in the development of religious thought and also because of its inherent literary excellence. It was composed by a Jaina ascetic Tiruttakka Tevar. It is the first epic in Tamil to be written in the *viṟuttam* metre and to that extent clearly betrays Sanskritic influence on Tamil literary modes. Practically all the epics and Purāṇas which came after the *Cintāmaṇi* accepted this work as a model and were immensely indebted to it. Kamban's indebtedness to the *Cintāmaṇi* is obvious to a careful reader of both the epics.

The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* dates from the invasion and conquest of Kaliṅga by Kulottuṅga I. It is ascribed to Jayangoṇḍār, but perhaps that was not the author's real name. This kind of literature has ample scope for flights of imagination; the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* reaches rare heights of poetic excellence, which has not been surpassed by any later work of that order.

Oṭṭakkūttan, poet-laureate of the Coḷa court, earned the title of *Kavi-ccakravartī* from the three successive Coḷa kings, Vikrama Coḷa, Kulottuṅga II and Rājarāja II, on each of whom he composed an *Ulā*. Besides the *Ulās*, he composed a *Paraṇi*, no longer extant, on the Kaliṅga war of Vikrama Coḷa. His *Takkayāgapparaṇi* deals with the legend of Dakṣa's sacrifice. The village of Kūttanūr on the banks of the Ariśil river (Thanjāvūr district) keeps the poet's memory alive. Kamban was the author of a Tamil rendering of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He called it the *Rāmanāṭaka* and it is by all standards a great work. His is no mere translation of the original in Sanskrit by Vālmīki. The work contains nearly 12,000 stanzas. Kamban was acknowledged as master of the *viṟuttam* style which had been introduced by the author of the *Cintāmaṇi*. The work became as epochal as the *Kuṟaḷ* itself.

Tradition has it that during the reign of Vīra Rājendra or soon after the *Kandapurāṇam* of Kacciappar, another monumental work, was written; some scholars, however, suggest the 16th century A.D. as its date of composition.

The last phase of devotional literature in Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism manifested itself during this period. The redaction of the Śaiva canonical texts was done by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, who was himself author of many poetical works of which *Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandādi* is the most significant. The *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* by Śekkiḷār, popularly known (at a later age) as *Periya Purāṇam*, is a great work composed during the reign of Anabhaya Coḷa (Kulottuṅga II) in an endeavour to counteract the extraordinary popularity of the Jaina epic *Cintāmaṇi*. Perhaps the author and his patron (the Coḷa king) succeeded in their efforts. This *Purāṇam* details in poetry the biographies of the sixty-three Nāyanārs and is in outline the story of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār. It was composed at Chidambaram under royal patronage and became immediately popular and has maintained its tremendous hold on the devout Saivas even today. If the work is inferior to the *Rāmanāṭaka* in the brilliance of imagination and simile, it is certainly superior to it in mastery of narrative and religious fervour. Plagiarists have had a more free hand with the *Rāmanāṭaka* than with the *Periya Purāṇam*.

This was also the age of great grammatical works mostly by Jaina authors; though some Buddhists also contributed to the grammatical literature of this age. The Hindus confined themselves to commenting on the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Śaṅgam* classics and the epics. *Yāpparungaḷam* and *Yāpparungaḷakkāigai*, two works on prosody, were composed by Amita Sāgara. The *Vīraśoḷiyam* by Buddhamitra tries to derive Tamil grammatical canons from Sanskrit models. The *Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram*, popularly ascribed to a grandson of Kambar, does for Tamil what the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin does for Sanskrit. Guṇavīra Paṇḍita, a Jaina scholar, composed his *Neminātham*. But all these works on grammar were practically eclipsed by the famous *Nannūl* by Pavanandi, a Jaina monk.

The Vaiṣṇava commentators on the *Nālāyiram* evolved a new kind of hybrid expression called *maṇipravāḷa* (basically Tamil with a high percentage of Sanskrit words thrown in and sounding very pedantic) which has attained, on account of its religious association, a certain measure of sanctity but is exclusive to that type of literature.

Śaiva philosophical literature which contributed largely to Śaiva *Siddhānta* philosophy had its origin also during this period. Meykaṇḍār's *Śivajñāna Bodam* was preceded by two great philosophical works the *Tiruvundiyār* and the *Tirukkaḷiṛṛuppaḍiyār*.

Telugu. In the early stages, there was much in common between Telugu and Kannaḍa. No notable literary work in Telugu was produced before the *Mahābhārata* was translated into this language by Nannaya (11th

century A.D.). Nominally a translation, it may be regarded as an original work because of its freshness of treatment. The same author wrote a grammatical work, the *Āndhra Śabda Cintāmaṇi*. Bhīma Kavi, who was patronized by Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga of Kaliṅga, wrote *Kavijanāśraya*, a work on Telugu grammar, and the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇa* relating to the shrine of Bhīmeśvara at Dākṣārāma. He is also credited with the authorship of the *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīya*, the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* treated together. The work is not extant now.

Malayalam. This is the latest among the languages constituting the Dravidian group. There can be little doubt that its vocabulary was derived largely from an ancient western dialect of Tamil. Its early alphabet must have been akin to the Tamil alphabet but was remodelled by the introduction of the Grantha *akṣaras* and by the need to express Sanskrit sounds satisfactorily. Later Malayālam works were all indebted in a large measure to Sanskrit.

Kannada. Though references to Kannaḍa place names and Kannaḍa people have been made from very early times, no literary work in Kannaḍa belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era has been found so far.

We first come across a Kannaḍa inscription assigned to about A.D. 450. From that time a dim vision of Kannaḍa literature may be obtained until about the close of the 9th century A.D. through scattered Kannaḍa inscriptions written in the Pūrvada Haḷa-Gannaḍa language (ancient old Kannaḍa). Sanskrit words had made their entry into the Kannaḍa language by then and the language employed in those early inscriptions was fairly well developed. Till about the 8th century A.D., the inscriptions were invariably in archaic prose. From about the beginning of the 8th century, poetical compositions not only of historical value but of great literary worth appear in inscriptions. This Haḷa-Gannaḍa has many affinities with Tamil also.

The earliest extant work in Kannaḍa is the *Kavirājamārga* whose authorship is generally ascribed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Nṛpatuṅga Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 814–880). As the title suggests, it is a work on rhetorics and poetics. It consists of three chapters: *Doṣānuvarṇa Nirṇaya* (defects in composition), *Śabdālaṅkāra* (figures of speech) and *Arthālaṅkāra* (figures of speech based on *artha*). It is interesting to note that in the prefatory verses the author gives useful information about Kannaḍa language, Kannaḍa country and Kannaḍa people. In the work there is reference to Haḷa-Gannaḍa which is now known as Pūrvada Haḷa-Gannaḍa. Nṛpatuṅga enumerates several types of literary compositions (*cattāṇa*, *bedaṇḍe*, etc.) as also poetic conventions. He mentions the names of several authors and extols the cultural attainments of the Kannaḍigas. Many important writings must have preceded the *Kavirājamārga*, since a work on poetics could not possibly be the first production in a language.

From the close of the 9th century to about the middle of the 10th century A.D., the period was one of great artistic vitality. It saw the perfection of the *campū* style of composition in which beautiful poems set in diverse metres are interspersed with pithy prose passages. The great master-pioneer of this art was Pampa (A.D. 941). He is called the father of Kannaḍa poetry and he is to Kannaḍa what Vālmīki is to Sanskrit.

Pampa's great argument for writing poetry was to make known *Kāvya-dharma* and *Dharma*. With these twin ends in view, he composed his immortal epics *Ādi Purāṇa* and *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* (popularly known as *Pampa Bhārata*) dealing only with parts of the original story in Sanskrit. In the *Vikramārjuna Vijaya*, Pampa struck upon a novel plan of utilizing the materials of the *Mahābhārata* to commemorate the valiant deeds of his royal patron, Cālukya Arikeśari, by making him the hero of the epic in the role of Arjuna. He also portrayed a set of characters (probably historical) reminiscent of those in the *Mahābhārata*. His *Ādi Purāṇa* is a Jaina epic dealing with the cycle of births, the lives and the sacred works of the *Ādi Tīrthaṅkara*. In poetic skill, beauty of description, delineation of character and development of *rasa*, Pampa is unrivalled.

Almost all the later poets followed Pampa as their model. There were two great poets who continued the service of the muse almost in that great epic manner—Ponna (A.D. 950) and Ranna (A.D. 993). Ponna's *Śānti Purāṇa* is a great epic with Śāntinātha, the eighteenth Tīrthaṅkara, as its hero. Another work, the *Bhuvanaika Rāmābyudaya*, which is not available in its entirety, is based on the life and achievements of Bhuvanaika Rāma, a vassal of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. He was also the author of the *Jinākṣaramāle* Ranna was a born master of his art and was fully conscious of his great poetic powers. Like his illustrious predecessors, he produced both religious and secular works, the *Ajitanātha Purāṇa* (Life of the second Tīrthaṅkara, Ajitanātha) on the one hand and *Gadāyuddha* or *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya* on the other. By their monumental works the great trio Pampa, Ponna and Ranna have immortalized Kannaḍa, earning the well merited title *Ratnatraya* (the three gems) for themselves and the epithet "Golden Age" for their period.

The later *campū* poets indulged in dull and monotonous imitation. Form became more important than the spirit. Whatever the theme, the time-honoured "eighteen descriptions" and the conventional figures of speech always found their place. Some of the writings tended to become pedantic and artificial due to the heavy importation of Sanskrit vocabulary and constructions with which the common man was not quite conversant.

During this period there were two great prose works in old Kannaḍa, *Vaḍḍārādhana* by Śivakoṭyācārya and *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣara-caritre* by Cāvuṇḍarāya, usually known as *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, both narratives pertaining to Jaina theology.

In the work of Nayasena III we find a protest against too much use of Sanskrit in Kannaḍa. He compares such admixture to a commingling of oil and ghee. His statement expresses the feeling of the people of his time and forecasts the advent of a new era.

The Nadu Kannada Period. The middle of the 12th century heralded a new era. Under Basaveśvara (A.D. 1160) the Vīraśaiva religious movement received a new and vigorous orientation. The Vīraśaiva mystics wanted their message to reach everyone irrespective of caste or creed. Simple Kannaḍa, they thought, was the best medium for instruction and appeal. Basaveśvara and his mystic contemporaries Allama Prabhu, Akkamahādevī and Cennabasava became the pioneers in inventing a new type of prose composition called *Vacanas* noted for their simplicity, directness, rich experience and a peculiar poetic beauty. There were many *Vacanakāras* during the latter half of the 12th century A.D. and in the following two centuries. They enriched Kannaḍa literature with their innumerable mystic utterances.

7. Science, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, Chemistry and Metallurgy.

Science. The first urban civilization to flourish in India was that of the Indus Valley people. The archaeological remains at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro reveal certain skills, practices and techniques which show knowledge of applied science. These techniques were used in irrigation, metallurgy, making of fired bricks and pottery and its glazing as well as simple reckoning (Arithmetic) and measurement of areas and volumes. The writings of these people have, however, not yet been deciphered.

A good deal more is known about the achievements of the Aryans from their sacred books as well as books on Astronomy, Mathematics and Medicine. There is evidence of exchange of knowledge with China as well as with the Arab countries and Greece. A dozen books of Indian origin are listed in a bibliography contained in the official history of the Sui dynasty of China completed by Weicheng in A.D. 610. Brahmagupta's *Brahmasphuṭa Siddhānta* as well as *Caraka* and *Suśruta Saṁhitās*, ancient Indian works on medicine and surgery respectively, were translated into Arabic about the 9th or 10th century A.D. These constitute a formative influence on science in Arabian countries and through it on the science in Europe during the Middle Ages.

Mathematics. Mathematics has been called by the general name of *Gaṇita* which includes Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Astronomy and Astrology. Arithmetic is called by several names such as *Paṭṭin Gaṇita* (calculations on board), *Aṅka Gaṇita* (calculations with numerals) and *Dhūlikrama* (work on dust). *Dhūlikrama* has its Arabic equivalent

Ḥisāb-al-ghubār and the numerals used in dust work (Arithmetic) are called *ghubār* numerals which are believed to have been evolved out of ancient Indian Brāhmī numerals. Geometry is called *Rekhā Gaṇita* (line work) and Algebra, *Bīja Gaṇita* (seed analysis); Astronomy and Astrology are included in the term *Jyotiṣa*. There are two distinct and almost unconnected periods in Hindu Mathematics, the earlier one in Vedic times and the later during A.D. 400 to 1200. In the first, Geometry appears in the context of religious sacrifices. Śulva Sūtras (meaning rules of the chord) which form part of the Vedic Kalpa Sūtras give geometrical methods for constructing altars and sacrificial places of given shape and area.

The priest who compiled the Śulva Sūtras knew the methods of making squares equal in area to triangles, rectangles, circles and to sums and differences of squares. Much earlier the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (9th or 8th century B.C.) gave similar constructions. Indian Geometry was independent of Greek influence.

In the later phase there was a great geometer named Brahmagupta (*c.* A.D. 628) whose work concerning cyclic quadrilateral is of high merit. He found that a cyclic quadrilateral with sides a, b, c, d has an area :—

$A = \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$ where $S = \frac{a+b+c+d}{2}$. This is a remarkable extension of Hero's formula for the area of a triangle. He also found that the diagonals *m* and *n* of the cyclic quadrilateral are given :—

$$m^2 = (ab+cd)\ (ac+bd)\ /\ (ad+bc)$$

$$n^2 = (ac+bd)\ (ad+bc)\ /\ (ab+cd)$$

Except for this work of merit, the Hindus do not seem to have taken much interest in Geometry.

Greek Trigonometry was based on tables of chords of arcs of a circle, first prepared by Hipparchus. Āryabhaṭṭa I gave a new direction to Trigonometry by preparing tables of half chords calling them *jaya* (virtually sines) of the half angle. This half chord is now the perpendicular of the right angled triangle which is half of the previous isoceles triangle with vertex at the centre. Calculations are now based on the Pythagorean theorem. As reference to the circle was no longer necessary, calculations became easier. The Hindu mathematicians used cosine (*koṭjaya*) as well as versed sine (*utkramajaya*). The Arabs supplemented this work by introducing the ratios tangent and cotangent thus completing the transformation to modern trigonometry.

A contribution of very great value was made by an unknown Hindu mathematician in the 5th century A.D. when he introduced the method of writing numbers known usually as the Arabic notation but called by the mathematicians the Hindu-Arabic numeral system, or the place value or positional notation. When we write a number such as 345 (three hundred and forty-five) 3 in the third place from the right stands for three hundred

and 4 in the second place for forty and five in the first for five only. Thus the value of a digit depends upon its position in the row of digits as well as upon its absolute value. This system of writing numbers is called the place value or positional system. The earlier systems did not have symbols from 1 to 9, but only those for 1,10,100, 1000, etc., i.e., different powers of 10. The Roman notation with symbols I, X, C, M is an example. In the Roman notation if we omit symbols for 5, 50 or 500, three hundred and forty-five would be written as CCCXXXXV. The value of the number is the same irrespective of the positions of the symbols. It is obviously a lengthy and awkward way. Again multiplication and division are very difficult in such systems. A mechanical device consisting of a frame with wires and beads known as the abacus was more or less a necessity in such systems and was in universal use. The Hindus from early times used symbols for 1,2,3.....9,10,20...90,100,200....900, 1,000, etc., a much larger number of symbols than most other people had until this unknown mathematician (the author of the new system or notation) dispensed with the symbols beyond 9 and introduced a symbol for zero. He further fixed places for units, tens, hundreds etc. If in any number such as three hundred and five, there were no tens, a zero was put in the second place to indicate the absence of tens. This new system is much shorter, makes the abacus unnecessary and is in fact an abacus on paper. Methods of multiplication, division and finding square roots and cube roots based on the new notation were developed and with slight changes the methods as developed by the Hindu mathematicians are in use even today. The operations of multiplication, division etc., are carried out much more easily in this system than in the earlier systems. To appreciate this, one may try multiplication and division with Roman numerals.

The system has usually been called Arabic because it was transmitted to Europe by the Arabs. But there is no longer any doubt about its Hindu origin.

The notation with the methods of calculation began to spread in Asian countries and later in Europe. By A.D. 650, it was known in Syria and by A.D. 825 in the Arabian Peninsula where Alkhwārazmī wrote a book in Arabic explaining the notation and the way of working with it. In A.D. 1202, Leonardo, a merchant of Pisa who had learnt the methods from Arab merchants wrote a book in Latin explaining the notation (*figurae Indorum*) and the relevant methods (*modus Indorum*). For four hundred years there was opposition to the use of the notation but it was in use all over Europe by A.D. 1600. The notation brought Arithmetic within the reach of ordinary minds and has done for Arithmetic what script has done for language.

Ancient Indian mathematical texts discuss problems on common fractions (with any numerator), rule of three (five, seven, nine), simple and compound interest, mixtures, cisterns etc. The rule of three (as much as in elementry Arithmetic) originated in India and is first found in

the books of Āryabhaṭṭa I, though the reason for the rule is not given. The method of checking operations by casting out nines is also attributed to Indians.

Though interest in Arithmetic was mainly due to its usefulness in trade and commerce as well as in Astronomy, it also had an entertainment value at social gatherings where mathematical problems were set and solved orally as pastime as well as tests of intellectual acuteness. Oral reckoning appears to have been developed to a high degree.

Problems which are usually solved by algebraic methods were first attempted by Āryabhaṭṭa I. In his *Āryabhaṭṭīya* written in A.D. 499, this first Indian algebraist deals with rules for the solution of a large number of algebraic problems. These include summation of series such as Arithmetical progression, Geometrical progression, squares and cubes of natural numbers and permutations and combinations. He was successful in finding integer solutions of indeterminate equations of the first degree. Brahmagupta in the 7th century A.D. developed rules for operating with negative quantities and with zero. He began to apply Algebra to astronomical problems. In indeterminate analysis he succeeded in finding complete integral (whole number) solutions of equations like $ax \pm by = c$. It is curious that indeterminate equations received much more attention than determinate ones. In this field the most successful was Bhāskara (12th century A.D.) who showed how to find any number of solutions of $Ax^2 + 1 = By^2$, if one set of roots was known. This piece of work has received high praise. The Hindus admitted negative as well as irrational numbers and recognized two roots of a quadratic equation. The method of solving quadratic equations by completing squares is sometimes referred to as the Hindu method. Developing methods of working with surds, Bhāskara discovered two identities as follows:

$$\sqrt{2a \pm 2\sqrt{b}} = \sqrt{a + \sqrt{a^2 - b}} \pm \sqrt{a - \sqrt{a^2 - b}}$$

Partial symbolism in Algebra is the real contribution of Indian mathematicians to Algebra.

Astronomy. The Hindus gave Astronomy the highest place of honour among the sciences when they compared it with the plumage on the head of a peacock or with the reputed jewel in the head of a snake. Early interest in Astronomy and calendar is indicated by a *śloka* in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* which mentions the Sun, Moon, *nakṣatras*, seasons and regular and intercalary months. The *nakṣatras* are the 27 groups into which the stars forming the background of the Moon are divided, one such group being passed by the moon in one *tithi* (lunar date, slightly shorter than a solar day). The *tithis* were (and to same extent are even today) important as religious and social functions could be held only on auspicious *tithis*. In about 40 verses of the *Ṛg-Veda* (known as Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa) rules are given for making an almanac *(pañcāṅga)* for a cycle or

period of 5 years of 1,830 days, divided into 60 regular and 2 intercalary months (strictly lunar). Accurate observation of the path of the Moon and the Sun among the stars led to perfecting this calendar, so that months did not change their place in the solar year.

In Vedic times Jupiter and Venus were the only planets recognized as such. Mercury, Mars and Saturn are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* but the planets had no importance in early Astronomy. Pre-Ptolemaic Greek Astronomy including the ideas about epicycles and accentrics appears to have come to India between A.D. 100 and 400 and stimulated Indian astronomers to reshape their Astronomy. By A.D. 400, a much more elaborate astronomical system was built up after modifying and adapting the Greek ideas and using (in several cases) more accurate values of the astronomical constants. Periods of revolution of the Sun, Moon, five planets and two nodes (the points of apparent intersection of the lunar and solar orbits, raised to the status of planets and named Rāhu and Ketu), obliquity of the ecliptic, lunar perallax, relative size of the moon and the earth were known accurately. The spherical earth was supposed to be floating unsupported by anything in space but its rotation and revolution were not accepted. An erroneous theory that all the planets including the Sun and the Moon have the same linear velocity was also current. All this knowledge was used for developing accurate methods of predicting the times of eclipses, conjuctions and oppositions of planets. *Sūrya Siddhānta* is the best known book on Hindu Astronomy. Its author has hidden his identity by saying that the knowledge was revealed by the Sun-god himself to a devoted Asura. The text has been modified and the contents changed two or three times between A.D. 500 and 1500. The system can even now enable prediction of eclipses with an error of 2 or 3 hours only. Hindu astronomers were keen computers but few of them appreciated the value of accurate observation. The description of the instruments and of the methods of observation in *Sūrya Siddhānta* is not impressive.

Āryabhaṭṭa I (born in A.D. 476) was the first of the great astronomers and wrote *Āryabhaṭṭīya* at the age of 23. Many of his pupils became well known astronomers. Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.) wrote *Pañca Siddhāntikā* which gives the summary of five astronomical books current in his time. Brahmagupta (7th century A.D.) is held in high esteem as astronomer as well as geometer. He appreciated the value of observations in Astronomy and wrote *Brahmasphuṭa Siddhānta* and *Khaṇḍa Khādyaka*, both of which were translated into Arabic and influenced Arabic Astronomy. Bhāskara II is regarded as a great teacher. He wrote *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*. One of the chapters in this dealing with Mathematics is the well-known work *Līlāvatī*. Though these astronomers wrote their own books, they all held the *Sūrya Siddhānta* in high esteem and considered their own works as commentaries on *Sūrya Siddhānta*.

These men were more keen on Astronomy than on Mathematics but their contributions to the latter are better remembered.

Medicine. *Āyurveda,* the name of the Indian medical science, literally means science of longevity, and its origin dates back to pre-Aryan times. Over seven hundred hymns in the Vedas particularly *Atharva Veda* refer to topics connected with *Āyurveda.*

Diseases mentioned in the Vedic hymns are fever, cough, consumption, diarrhoea, dropsy, sores, abscesses, leprosy and siezure. They are said to be caused by the demons and spirits entering one's body or by the wrath of gods. Thus *Jalodara* (water belly) is caused by Varuṇa as a punishment to perjurers and fever by a demon entering one's body. The remedies are prayers to appease the gods and charms to expel demons. Side by side with these irrational ideas, there are hymns describing correctly the symptoms of pulmonary tuberculosis and connecting dropsy with heart disease, thus showing the existence of rational ideas as well.

The period of rational medicine starts about 800 B.C. and from that time until about A.D. 1000 is the golden age of Indian medicine. In this period medicine became a regular subject of study at centres of learning like Takṣaśilā and Vārānasi. The school at Vārānasi specialized in surgery and *Suśruta Saṁhitā* is a compendium of its teachings compiled in the 4th century A.D. The teachings of Ātreya at Takṣaśilā collectedby his pupil Agniveśa and compiled by Caraka in the 1st century A.D., have come down as *Caraka Saṁhitā*. Vāgbhaṭṭa in the 8th century A.D. wrote two books on principles of medicine. On these three authors, particularly the first two, all later Hindu medicine is based.

Caraka and *Suśruta Saṁhitās* reached as far as Manchuria through translations in Tibetan and other Asian languages Arabic translations of *Caraka* and *Suśruta Saṁhitās* in the 8th century A.D. influenced European medicine during the Middle Ages. *Caraka Saṁhitā* was last printed in Arabic in A.D. 1550.

Dissections were rare and consequently anatomy and physiology could not develop. Functions of the internal organs such as lungs and brain were not understood. Thinking was considered to be a function of the heart. There were supposed to be three elementry substances in the body—wind, bile and phlegm and on their proper balance the health of the body depended. The proportion of these in the body was determined by the character and temperament of a person and the diseases, he was likely to suffer from. The Greeks believed in four humours, blood being the fourth one. The Hindus appear to have developed their medicine independently of the Greeks.

Besides the three elementry substances in the body there are, according to this system, seven secondary ones, chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow and semen, on the condition of which depends the health of the individual. Disease progresses from chyle to blood, from blood to flesh,

and when it attacks the first three or four it becomes incurable. Hence it should be attended to early. This kind of physiology could not help the advancement of medicine.

Over 1,100 diseases are mentioned in the *Suśruta* including fever of twenty-six kinds, jaundice of eight kinds and urinary complaints of twenty kinds. Small-pox was common and supposed to be caused by goddess Śītalā and the remedy was worship and propitiation of the deity. A rational treatment was also known. Inoculation of some kind against it seems to have been discovered. Fever was the king of diseases. Dropsy, leprosy, haemorrhoids, fistula, gonorrhoea, tetanus, and in women abnormal positions of the foetus, were the most dangerous and hardest to treat.

Treatment was dietetic as well as medicinal, a great deal of stress being laid on the former. The methods of treatment involved the five procedures —emetics, purgatives, enemata, oil enemata and sneezing. Inhalations, leechings, cupping and bleeding were also resorted to.

Religion enjoined certain practices which were hygienic rules in disguise. Two meals were prescribed with directions as to the nature of the diet, time of diet and amount of water to be taken. Bathings, anointing the body with oil, cleaning the teeth and eye-washes were to be a daily routine. Fasting, austerity and control of desires were recommended as elixir.

The *materia medica* was very extensive. Over 760 plants are described by *Suśruta;* all parts, root, bark, juice, resin, flower etc., were used. Cinnamon, sesame, peppers, cardamom, ginger and garlic are household remedies even today. Milk of humans and animals was used. Among inorganic substances, arsenic, sulphur, potash, common salt, alum and sal-ammoniac were also employed. Oxides, chlorides and sulphates of tin, iron, copper, silver and gold and mercury came into use from the 8th century A.D. Some were used as stimulants and rejuvenators. A salt-free diet was prescribed for nephritis and fat and fleshy foods for tuberculosis.

Diagnosis was based on the use of all the senses. Ear applied to the chest helped distinction of the nature and extent of lung trouble.

Demons were supposed to cause mental diseases only, yet magic and prayers did not completely go out of medicine. Diagnosis and treatment, however, were far more rational and greatly in advance of the Vedic period

Surgery. In Vedic times surgeons accompanied armies to the battle-field to extract arrows, amputate limbs and substitute artificial ones. Surgery was a separate discipline. At the time of the first compilation of *Suśruta* it was made part of unified medicine. *Suśruta* considered it "the highest division of the healing arts and least liable to fallacy".

Serious operations performed were the following: taking the foetus out of the womb, including caesarian section; treatment of fistula; repair of prolapse of the rectum; removal of stone from the bladder; tapping the abdomen for dropsy and couching for cataract. Plastic surgery for the nose (cut as a punishment for adultery) was also practised.

Chemistry and Metallurgy. The excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in the Indus Valley point to a well developed metallurgy of copper and bronze in about 2500 B.C. The fine glaze on the pottery of the period is probably the earliest in the ancient world.

The Vedic Aryans tanned leather, fermented grains and fruits (for wines) and could dye wool.

By the beginning of the Christian era, there was large-scale production of copper, iron and steel, brass, silver and gold and their alloys. Indian steel was highly valued all over the ancient world and was exported in large quantities. Tin and mercury were imported and worked. Glass beads were made in quantities. Mild and caustic alkali as well as some mineral acids were known. A Chinese traveller writes about the Brāhmaṇas possessing a liquid (probably a mineral acid) capable of dissolving most substances.

From the 7th century A.D. alchemy begins to appear in literature. A large number of people searched for methods of making precious metals and the elixir of life. They failed in their objective but chemistry of metallic salts was learnt in the process of research. So "killed metals" (probably metals converted to sulphides or oxides) particularly "killed mercury" were prepared and highly valued as medicines.

Two products of ancient Indian metallurgy and engineering (both probably from the 4th century A.D.) deserve mention. A statue of the Buddha, found at Sultānganj in 1864, is almost pure copper, over 2.13 metres in height and weighing nearly a tonne. Another statue, 24.38 metres high is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang but it has not been found. The famous iron pillar at Mahrauli (Delhi) is 7.32 metres in length and tapers down from a diameter 40 cm. at the base to 30 cm. at the top and weighs about 6 tonnes. It has withstood rain and weather for centuries without rusting. The absence of manganese (or any other metal) which is necessary for rusting may be the reason of its weather resistance. Whatever the explanation, the making and setting up of such statues and pillar in about A.D. 400 required no ordinary chemical or engineering skill.

CHAPTER V

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

A. ARCHITECTURE

The story of Indian architecture covers a long period of five thousand years. It was essentially a product of the soil, and whatever touched it in its long course of development practically grew into it giving it new form and colour in each successive phase.

1. Pre-historic and Proto-historic Architecture

The earliest remains of the builder's art are those of the pre-historic settlements of peasant communities in Baluchistān and Sind. The constructions were most rudimentary; the conditions improved in the succeeding phase with the growth of highly developed urban communities. Along the valley of the Sindhu and its tributaries, from Rūpar in the north to Suktagendor in Makrān in the south and to Lothāl in Gujarāt, seventy such settlements have been discovered; some of them represent small villages, others small towns, while about five hundred kilometres apart were two large cities—Harappa on the left bank of the river Rāvi in the Punjab and Mohenjo-daro on the right bank of the river Sindhu in Sind. This urban culture dates back to the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.

The remains of the two cities reveal a remarkable sense of town planning. Each city was divided into several blocks of houses by broad streets running north-south and east-west and crossing one another almost at right angles. These blocks were further subdivided into individual residential buildings by smaller lanes. At the western end stood an imposing citadel. The constructions were of burnt-brick, mud-brick being occasionally used in the foundations and as inner core of rampart walls. The mature and advanced technique of building in brick is shown by the use of such constructional principles as breaking the bonds between the courses, binding the corners and a course of headers alternating with several courses of stretchers. Openings were probably spanned by corbelling, and rooms by flat roofs of timber supported on wooden beams and rafters. Wood seems to have been used also for doors and window openings. Remains of staircases indicate the existence of upper floors in not a few instances. All these bespeak a high degree of excellence in the technique and art of building. Further, what impresses one is the fact that the inhabitants of these cities enjoyed a comparatively high standard of civil

amenities, such as bath rooms in individual houses, public baths, underground drainage with cess pits at intervals, rubbish shoots, etc. The regular arrangements for all such amenities suggest that the planning and lay out of the cities was vested in an organization corresponding to a municipal corporation of the present day. The most outstanding monuments of the architecture of the proto-historic phase are the Great Bath at Mohenjo-daro and the citadels and granaries in the two cities.

2. Early Historical Architecture

A long stretch of time separates the proto-historic phase of architecture from the early historical. The Vedic Aryans, who appeared next on the scene, lived in houses built of wood, bamboo and reeds. Since their religion was simple, such houses were adequate for their daily ritualistic needs. They contributed little to the development of architecture except for the fact that the types of these houses, copied in brick and stone, provided a few significant forms pointing to the wooden origin of early historical architecture.

In the 6th century B.C. India entered a significant phase of her history. Two new religious systems arose and there was a new orientation of the Vedic religion. Almost simultaneously larger states sprang up. These factors provided the climate for the development of arts and crafts. With the expansion of Magadha into an extensive empire this development received further impetus. From this period it is possible to trace the history of Indian architecture in an almost unbroken sequence. The remains of early historic architecture bear the deep impress of earlier wooden prototypes including structural techniques evolved in wood. Early historical cities, as represented in reliefs of early Indian art, point to the same. The transition from wooden to brick or stone forms was gradual and lithic forms, suitable and appropriate to the nature and logic of the material, took a fairly long time to be evolved.

With the advent of larger states and flourishing trade and commerce, as revealed in the Jātaka stories, cities again began to play a vital role in the life of the community. Few vestiges of an early city have survived, but it is possible to glean some information from literary and archaeological sources. References in Buddhist literature, *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* and the Epics, as also the account of Megasthenes on the composition and functions of the municipal corporation of the capital city of Pāṭaliputra make a glowing picture of rich and prosperous cities. The city of Sagala, as described in the *Milindapañho*, represents a standard-type—quadrangular, usually square in plan, surrounded by a moat or moats and protected by a wall all around. A gateway at the middle of each

side is approached by a bridge across the moat. Four main streets from the four principal gateways converged to the centre of the city.

Early Indian reliefs at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā provide the outer view of the city wall with its moat, gate-house and defensive towers, and give occasional glimpses of the buildings inside. The city walls are usually shown as made of brick, occasionally of wood, sometimes with re-entrant angles of which the salient corners were provided with projecting bastions. At the top the walls end in a coping or in battlements. The gate-house is flanked by two lofty towers, each rising to several storeys—the topmost has a wagon-vaulted roof with gable ends. A city building usually faced a court, occasionally flanked by subsidiary erections at the sides, but left open in front. Often it rose to several storeys, the uppermost having a vaulted roof with gables at the ends and with pointed finials at the top. Along the fronts of the upper storeys ran balustraded verandahs, while the ground floor was sometimes an open pillared pavilion. The open court was sometimes approached by a light wooden *toraṇa* (gateway).

Every essential of wooden technique was scrupulously copied in these lithic representations and leaves little room for doubt that the buildings were essentially made of wood. The wooden technique in the erection of the stone balustrades and gateways of the early *stūpas* (Bhārhut and Sāñcī) is a corroborative evidence of an age of wood in Indian architecture. In spite of the frail and flimsy character of the material, the cities with their buildings seem to have been imposing in dimensions and appearance. The description of the city of Pāṭaliputra given by classical writers supports this view to a great extent. Excavations at Kumrahar and Bulandi Bāgh in the suburbs of Patna have brought to light interesting remains of the massive wooden rampart and splendid palace of the old city. The nature of the material precluded any extensive change in the shape and form of the building, but the simplicity in this regard is amply compensated for by the varied wealth of ornament; of this an idea may be obtained from the elaborate cave facades which are imitations of structural modes and patterns in wood.

3. Religious Architecture

It was in religious architecture that the genius of Indian builders played a significant role in creating, developing and perfecting a number of significant forms. The growth of Buddhism and Jainism and the rise of the sectarian cults of Hinduism gave a great impetus to the progress of architecture. With Buddhism was particularly associated the *stūpa*, a domical structure of brick or stone masonry. Shrines known as *caityas* with the votive *caitya* installed for worship, as also monasteries (*vihāras*,

saṅghārāmas), were essential features of Buddhist religious establishments. The early sanctuaries of the Jainas have perished, but cave dwellings for recluses still exist. The *Bhakti* doctrine and its offshoot, the cult of the divine image, produced a tremendous impulse for the erection of temples enshrining images. An abundance of building activity marks the later centuries of the pre-Christian era. Structural monuments of this early phase, apparently in perishable materials, have not survived. A continous movement may be traced in respect of the *stūpa* and other architectural forms connected with cave excavations. In course of time, there was an increasing use of durable materials like stone or brick in structural practices, particularly in the construction of temples, and it is possible to trace the history of this form of Indian architecture from its beginning till its maturity and final culmination.

Stupa. The *stūpa* was a conventional representaion of a funeral tumulus, evolved out of earthen funerary mounds (*śmaśāna*), in which the ashes of the dead were buried. Buddhist tradition mentions the erection of a number of *stūpas* immediately after the death of the Buddha—eight of them over his corporeal relics and the ninth over the vessel in which such relics were originally deposited. Here the votaries of the Buddha were simply following a long established custom. Before the master was defied and his image introduced in the Buddhist cult, relic worship occupied a prominent place in the rituals of early Buddhism and the *stūpa*, as the container of the relics, gained in sanctity and importance. It was raised for a number of purposes, besides the original one, enshrining the relics, and became practically an ubiquitious symbol of the Buddhist faith.

Although varying in detail and elaboration according to time and space, the *stūpas* seem to have been evolved out of a simple dome-shaped hemispherical structure on a circular base. Tradition has it that Aśoka pulled down the original *stūpas* and re-erected them, besides raising up many new ones. In these monuments, the form of the *stūpa* acquired a precise architectural character which served as a model for the later ones. The extant Aśokan *stūpas* have undergone successive restorations and additions. However, this general pattern may be recognized in the great *stūpa* at Sāñcī. Built of brick at the time of Aśoka, it was encased in stone about two centuries later and enlarged to nearly twice its original size. It comprises of an almost hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*) flattened at the top, supported on a low circular base (*medhi*) approached by a double ramp on the south and enclosed by a balustrade serving as an upper procession path. Over the dome is a square pavilion, literally box (*harmikā*) enclosed again by a balustrade surrounding the sacred parasol (*chatra*). The whole structure is surrounded by a massive rail with four imposing gateways on the four sides; these stone adjuncts evidently replaced the original wooden ones. The technique of construction is essentially wooden. In contrast to the rail which is severely plain, the gateways are covered

with elaborate carvings. There are also early *stūpas* in which the rails as well as the gateways bear profuse carvings.

This simple design of the *stūpa* underwent many developments in the succeeding centuries. In the evolutionary process the tendency was towards elongation and increase of the height of the structure as a whole. As the height of the dome, the hemispherical shape of which is almost ritual, was governed by its diameter, a possible course to increase the height of the structure was to add a number of components in the lower and upper sections. This tendency to verticalism was emphasized again by increasing the height of each such component. So in course of time the circular base was transformed into a tall cylindrical drum. The whole structure again was raised on a square plinth, sometimes with a single projection, or more, on each face. The crowning *chatra*, originally one, gradually increased in number in a tapering row of flat discs, the topmost usually ending in a point. Side by side with these additions, there was a corresponding elevation of the component parts, each of the lower components forming the substructure was subdivided into a number of stages for the sake of balance.

This evolutionary process is illustrated by the few fragmentary remains of the post-Christian epoch, the lithic representations of votive *stūpas* found in sacred Buddhist sites and rock-cut *caityas* in *caitya* sanctuaries. Confirmation may be found in the graphic description of the Kaniṣka *stūpa* at Peshāwar left by the Chinese pilgrims who state that it consisted of a basement in five stages and a superstructure of carved wood in thirteen storeys surmounted by an iron column with thirteen to twenty-five gilt copper umbrellas. Representations of *stūpas* on *toraṇa* architraves at Mathurā seem to indicate that the superstructure over the basement comprised a lofty drum supporting a comparatively small dome. The Kaniṣka *stūpa* at Peshāwar represents a transition from the simple *stūpa* to the Far Eastern pagoda.

A number of important *stūpas* once stood at Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeṭā, Bhaṭṭiprolu, Ghaṇṭaśāla and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā in the lower course of the Kṛṣṇā. Though none of them now exists in its entirety, sculptured replicas on their casing slabs enable us to determine the shape and form of these southern *stūpas* which show interesting developments. A distinctive feature is the rectangular projection on each face of the lofty drum of which the front is in the form of an altar-piece supporting five free-standing pillars, known as *āyaka-khambas* or 'worshipful columns'. This feature is unique in India, having perhaps a parallel in the *vāhalkada* projection in the Ceylonese *dagobas*. The mode of erecting these *stūpas* is also of interest. The body of the *stūpa* was composed of two circular walls, one at the hub and the other at the outer end, with radiating partition walls joining the two. The intervening spaces were packed with earth and the monument was given the required shape. This inner body

was next encased in richly carved slabs usually of limestone. With the free-standing *āyaka* pillars ranged on the front faces and with rich embellishments of the balustrades, the drum and even the dome, these southern *stūpas* presented a new expression.

Caitya Shrine. The *caitya* shrine in its typicalform was a long rectangular hall, apsidal at the rear end and divided into three sections by two rows of pillars along the length of the hall meeting at the back end. The few remains of structural *caitya* halls are extremely fragmentary; in most cases only the foundations are left, and in plan, they conform to the typical *caitya* shrine. Western India abounds in rock-hewn monuments of this class, and from these it is possible to ascertain other characteristic features of such shrines. The nave is covered by a barrel-shaped vault and the two aisles by two vaults, each being half the section of that of the nave. Over the entrance doorway is placed a huge arched window, shaped like a horse-shoe, dominating the entire scheme of the facade. In rock-cut architecture, no new form was evolved; instead, the form of structural buildings of this class was adapted and adjusted.

A circular chamber suits best the circular design of the votive *caitya* and the above typical form of a long apsidal shrine with the votive *caitya* installed at the rear end seems to have evolved out of a circular shrine chamber with the votive *caitya* within a peripteral range of pillars, as we have in the fragmentary remains of a shrine at Bairāṭ (Jaipur, Rājasthān) belonging to the time of Aśoka. Rock-cut counterparts of such circular shrines are also seen in the Tulaja *leṇa* group at Junnar and in a cave at Guṇṭupalli. Though much later in date, they recall this archetypal design of the circular *caitya* shrine. The next stage in evolution is found in two caves at Barābar (Bihār), the Sudāmā and the Lomaśa Ṛṣi, both Mauryan in date. Each consists of two apartments, a rectangular one at the outer end with the entrance doorway and, separated from it by a solid wall with a narrow connecting passage, a circular (oval in case of Lomaśa Ṛṣi) one at the back. The apartments are cut along the face of the rocks and the doorway of the latter carries at the top a framework of arched shape after the pattern of the curved roof in wood. An identical design of a Buddhist shrine of two apartments is furnished by a cave at Koṇḍāne where the circular chamber at the back is found to contain a votive *caitya*. Though later in date, the design of the circular sanctuary preceded by a hall of approach seems to imply a transitional stage in the evolution of the *caitya* shrine of the typical apsidal form which is obtained by converting the two apartments into one by elimination of the wall separating the two. There is a bold move also in driving the long apsidal hall axially into the depth of the rock.

Rock-cut *caitya* shrines of the typical form in Western India may be divided into two groups representing two phases of development. Of the early group, the shrine at Bhājā, near Poona, seems to be the oldest

(*c*. 2nd century B.C.), representing in some respects an initial movement in this direction. Numerous shrines of this class were excavated at Koṇḍāne Pitalkhorā, Bedsā, Nāsik, Kānheri, Ajaṇṭā (IX & X), Kārle and other places in Western India. A study of the design and setting of the interior pillars and of the scheme of facade ornamentation may enable one to arrange them in chronological and stylistic sequence. The *caitya* cave at Kārle (*c*. 1st century A.D.) is the most mature expression of this early movement, at once grand and imposing in its noble proportions, richness of carving and the striking and organic combination of the colonnade and the vault at the interior.

The later group of cave-shrines, particularly Ajaṇṭā (XIX and XXVI) and Ellora (X) also known as Viśvakarmā, register significant change in the psychology and attitude of the Buddhist votaries. Ajaṇṭā (XIX), the earliest in this group, belongs to the closing years of the 5th or the early years of the 6th century A.D. The plan and general layout remain the same in each case, but a change in attitude is reflected in the style of ornamentation of the facade as also of the interior. In the earlier group the ornamentation of the facade consists of repetitive architectural motifs like the rail, the *stūpa*, the *caitya* window and pilaster; the enormous horse-shoe opening over the doorway in the centre dominates the entire scheme in which figure sculptures are strikingly absent. The ornamental scheme in the later group, with predominant importance of figure sculptures, stands in marked contrast to the above. In these later shrines, they are made to cover every possible space, eliminating or reducing the earlier architectural motifs. In Ellora (cave X) even the horse-shoe opening over the doorway, a distinctive and almost a ritual feature in shrines of this kind, has substantially diminished in size. In each of these caves, above and below on the facade, on the walls of the excavated court, in the elaborate frieze of the triforium over the colonnade of the interior, and, most significantly, on the body of the votive *caitya* itself appear figures of the Buddha, the 'worshipful one', standing or seated, all carved in bold relief. This new style reflects the change from the earlier aniconic attitude to an extremely iconic one. With this change the *caitya* as the votive object gradually dwindles in sanctity and importance in relation to the image which becomes the supreme object of veneration.

Monastery. A monastery (*vihāra, saṅghārāma*) was planned in much the same way as a private dwelling house, i.e., with four ranges of cells or sleeping cubicles on four sides of an open quadrangular courtyard. In course of time the monasteries became large establishments and served, besides their usual purposes, as important educational centres. Fragmentary remains of many of these have been excavated in the North as well as in the South. The remains at Nālandā and Pāhārpur are the most noteworthy. The monastery at Nālandā belongs to the 5th century A.D. and one at the Pāhārpur (Somapura *mahāvihāra* of old) was established

towards the close of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century. Both survived many vicissitudes till the Muslim conquest. Hiuen Tsang has left a graphic description of the monastery at Nālandā. He refers to its many-storeyed and imposing buildings, and tall and stately temples. The excavated remains indicate that this establishment comprised several-storeyed monastic blocks, each being an aggregate of four ranges of cells with continuous corridors around an open courtryard and aligned in a row; opposite and separated from the monastic blocks by a broad promenade stood a row of temples. The two groups, which faced each other, were surrounded by high protecting walls with other accessory buildings, coherently disposed within the enclosure. The Somapura monastery at Pāhārpur, planned on much the same lines, consisted, however, of a single extensive structure with as many as 177 cells. Running corridors in front were aligned on four sides of an enormous open quadrangle, at the centre of which stood the colossal temple of an interesting design and form. Built of bricks and storeyed in elevation, these two monastic establishments bear testimony to the technical skill of the builders and an orderly sense of grouping the various accessories into an organic whole.

Rock-hewn monasteries show a slight deviation from the above plan. The typical one has three ranges of cells on three sides of a central hall opening out into a pillared gallery in front. It took some time, however for this characteristic plan to be established. The earliest of such caves, the Barābar caves for the Ājīvikas belonging to the 3rd century B.C. consisted each of a single cell only. Occasionally such cells or a number of cells in a row are provided with a pillared verandah in front (Jaina caves at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri, Orissa, belonging to the 1st century B.C.), sometimes double-storeyed in elevation (Mañcapurī cave, Udayagiri). The Rāṇīgumphā at Udayagiri, also double-storeyed, has three ranges of cells on three sides of an open courtyard, the plan being facilitated by the peculiar formation of the rock with projecting scarps on its two flanks.

The classic plan of cells radiating from a central quadrangular hall and the facade opening out into a pillared verandah took definite form in the rock-cut monasteries of Western India. Like the *caitya* shrines they may be divided into two groups indicating two phases of development. The early group is marked by a certain simplicity, the decoration which consists of imitations of structural motifs is confined to the facade and the doorways of the monastic cells in the interior. The most notable in this group are Ajaṇṭā, (VIII, XII and XIII), Nāsik, (X and III), the Gaṇeśa *leṇa* at Junnar and the monastic caves at Koṇḍāne and Pitalkhorā. They belong to the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. The last two caves introduce a new feature, that of pillars forming a square at the centre of the hall. Kārle has examples of storeyed

vihāras of the rock-cut order. Both these features are known to have gone through interesting developments in the later phase.

The rock-cut mode reaches its most exuberant expression during the 4th to the 8th centuries A.D. The rock-cut monastery becomes larger and more decorated as in the *vihāra* caves at Ajaṇṭā (XVI,XVII,I,II,XXIV), Ellora (II, V, VIII, IX, XI, XII) and Aurangābād (III, VII), all in Mahārāshtra, and Bāgh in Madhya Pradesh. The classic plan remains, but with notable innovations. One is the peristylar arrangement of the central hall, usually more spacious in contrast to the usually astylar formation in the former group. Of varied designs and with rich embellishments, the pillars and their architraves add to the decorative beauty of the spacious interior, further enhanced at Ajaṇṭā and Bāgh by exquisite paintings. A new development may be seen in the location in each monastery of a chapel or sanctuary, the image of the Master is installed in a chamber recessed in the depth of the rock at the middle of the rear end of the hall. At Aurangābād (VII) and Ellora (VIII), the image sanctuary in each case is situated as a free-standing shrine at the centre of the monastic hall. Again, at Ellora (II and XII, second storey) the central halls are provided with galleries for images instead of monastic cells on the lateral sides, each in the form of a kind of iconostasis. Ajaṇṭā (VI) and Ellora (XIand XII) are storeyed in elevation; the last two cave structures rise to three storeys.

Brahmanical and Jaina Caves. The brilliant expression of the rock-cut mode is exemplified also in Brahmanical and Jaina monuments. The earliest of the Brahmanical shrines are to be seen in group of caves at Udayagiri (Madhya Pradesh), belonging approximately to the early 5th century A.D. The majority represents small rectangular shrines (occasionally natural caverns enlarged and given the required shape) with a pillared structural portico in front. Cave No IX, perhaps the latest in the series, introduces four pillars forming a square at the centre for support of the roof of the shrine chamber. At Bādāmi, the design develops into that of a pillared verandah, and a columned hall with the square sanctum *cella* cut deeper at the far end (6th century A.D.). In the Drāviḍa country the cave style was introduced in the 7th century by Mahendravarman Pallava. A shrine of this mode in the South usually takes the shape of a shallow rectangular hall, or *maṇḍapa* (*mantapam*) as it is locally called, with one or more cells cut further deep on one or more sides of the hall. The facade is composed of a row of pillars with brackets supporting the architrave and their design and decoration give useful data for determining the chronological and stylistic sequence of these caves.

The Brahmanical caves at Ellora are distinguished for the boldness of their design, spaciousness of their dimensions and skilled treatment of the facade and the interior. Of the sixteen excavations belonging to this faith, the Daśāvatāra (XV), the Rāvaṇa-kā-khāi (XIV), the

Râmeśvara (XXI) and the Dhumar *leṇa* (XXIX), besides the far- famed Kailāṣa—an entire temple-complex hewn out of the rock in imitation of a distinctive structural form—are the most important. They may be divided into three types. The first, represented by the Daśāvatāra cave, comprises a many-columned hall with the sanctum *cella* dug out at its far end and the lateral sides of the hall disposed each as a kind of iconostasis. In the second type the sanctum, a free-standing cubical *cella* with a processional passage around, is shaped out of a mass of rock at the centre of the back end of the hall. Of the two caves of this class, the Rāvaṇa-kā-khāi and the Râmeśvara, the latter is the more eminent because of the magnificent wealth of sculptures overlaying all its parts and the rich and elegant design of the massive pillars of the facade with their charming and graceful bracket figures. The Dhumar *leṇa* (middle of the 8th century A.D.), belonging to the third group, is the most elaborate of the Brahmanical cave-shrines. It consists of a cruciform pillared hall, having more than one entrance and court, with the free-standing square *cella*, shaped out of the rock, near the back end. This cave is probably the finest among the Brahmanical excavations, the more well known cave at Elephanta following its pattern generally.

Two caves, one at Bādāmi and the other at Aihole (middle of the 7th century A.D.), represent the earliest of the Jaina caves of this phase. Each exhibits a pillared quadrangular hall with the sanctum *cella* dug out at the far end. The Jaina caves at Ellora date from the 9th century. Of these the Choṭā Kailāsa (XXX), the Indra Sabhā (XXXII) and the Jagannātha Sabhā (XXXIII) are important. The first is a reduced copy of its more famous namesake. The second and the third are each partly a copy of structural form and partly cave excavation. In the forecourt of each is a monolithic shrine preceded by a gateway, both shaped out of the rock, while behind rises the facade of the cave in two storeys, each reproducing the usual plan of a pillared hall with a chapel at the far end and cells at the sides. Though identical in plan and arrangement, the Jagannātha Sabhā lacks the balance and organic character of the Indra Sabhā.

Temple. Perhaps the highest achievement of Indian architecture is seen in the temple. With its stately height and dignified proportions, varied forms and wealth of carvings, the Indian temple is a most impressive structure. It had, however, very modest beginnings, and it was through a progressive movement spread over centuries that the distinctive styles and forms took definite shape.

a. Early Temple Styles

The erection of sanctuaries for the images of gods dates back perhaps to the 2nd century B.C. Several *deva-gṛhas* (houses of gods) of pre-Christian

centuries have been excavated in extremely fragmentary state. Presumably built of perishable materials, these sanctuaries afforded little scope for the application of the principles of architecture as an art. The Gupta period ushered in the practice of building with lasting materials, especially in dressed stone and brick. The initial stage is marked by a certain hesitancy, but in course of time the builders became aware of the freedom and elasticity afforded by the new structural practice and the scope and possibilities consequent thereto. Freed from the limitations inherent in wood or bamboo constructions and in cave excavations, Indian builders handled their material, especially stone, so dexterously and efficiently as to evoke the admiring observation that they built like Titans and finished like jewellers.

The Gupta period marks the beginning of Indian temple architecture. As the extant monuments show, this has a formative age in which there was experimentation in a number of forms and designs, out of which two significant temple styles arose, one in the North and the other in the South. The Gupta temples are simple and unpretentious structures, but their bearing upon later developments is of great significance. The following well defined types may be recognized:

(1) Flat-roofed, square temple with a shallow pillared porch in front.

(2) Flat-roofed, square temple with a covered ambulatory around the sanctum and preceded by a pillared porch, sometimes with a second storey above.

(3) Square temple with a low and squat *śikhara* (tower) above.

(4) Rectangular temple with an apsidal back and a barrel-vaulted roof above.

(5) Circular temple with shallow rectangular projections at the four cardinal faces.

The fourth type is represented by a temple at Ter (Sholāpur district) and the Kapoteśvara temple at Cezārla (Kṛṣṇā district), both belonging to the 4th or 5th century A.D. The fifth is represented by a solitary monument known as Maṇiyār Maṭha (shrine of Maṇi Nāga) at Rājgīr, Bihār, which is now in a fragmentary condition. It appears to be supported on an earlier *stūpa* basement and follows the plan of the latter. The Durgā temple at Aihole, apparently allied to the fourth in design, has, however, a flat roof with a *śikhara* over the sanctum—evidently an attempt to adapt and remodel an old and established form to new needs. The fourth and the fifth types which appear to have been survivals or adaptations of earlier forms, do not seem to have had any marked effect on subsequent developments.

The other three types of Gupta temples may be regarded as the forerunners of medieval Indian temple styles. Representative examples of the first include temple No. XVII at Sāñcī, Kaṅkālī Devī temple at Tigāwā and Viṣṇu and Varāha temples at Eraṇ, all in Madhya Pradesh. Each of them consists of a simple square sanctum *cella* with an open pillared

porch in front. The richly carved door frame projects a little beyond the line of the front wall, while the other three walls are kept severely plain. The nucleus of a temple, namely a cubical *cella* (*garbha-gṛha*) with a single entrance and a porch (*maṇḍapa*), appears for the first time as an integrated composition in this type of Gupta temples. Elaborations of this basic form were soon to emerge.

The second type of Gupta temples is represented by the Pārvatī temple at Nācnā Kuṭhārā, the Śiva temple at Bhūmarā (both in Madhya Pradesh) and the Lād Khān at Aihole. Each consists of a flat-roofed square sanctum *cella* (in the Lād Khān two pillared naves of square shape, one within the other) inside a similarly roofed bigger square hall. The bigger hall, which provides a covered ambulatory (*pradakṣiṇā*) around the inner sanctum, is preceded by a slightly smaller rectangular porch of the open type in front. A variety is afforded by the Pārvatī temple at Nācnā Kuṭhārā and the Lād Khān at Aihole in each of which there is an upper storey above the inner chamber. A trellis or trellises in each of the ambulatory walls for admission of light into the hall lent some relief in the treatment of the exterior walls.

Notable examples of the third type are seen in the so called Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh (Jhānsī district) and the brick temple at Bhītargāon (Kānpur district). Each consists of a square sanctum *cella* supported on a high basement and covered by a squat *śikhara*. Though there is the same simplicity of design, as in the first two groups, certain significant developments may be noticed. A high platform as the base and a tower as the superstructure of the sanctum add much to the elevation of the composition. Instead of plain bare walls, the Daśāvatāra temple, built of stone, has on each of its three faces an alto-relievo sculpture between two pilasters. This arrangement, besides setting forward the walls on three sides to balance the projection of the door frame in front, leads to a diversification of light and shade on the exterior and introduces a decorative scheme of great significance for the future. In the Bhītargāon temple this effect is further emphasized by a regular offset projection in the middle of each side which results in a cruciform ground-plan.

The second and the third types of Gupta temples, to be called storeyed and *śikhara* types, represent elaborations of the first in respect of both the ground-plan and elevation. In the following centuries these two types are known to have undergone further developments and to have crystallized to form two distinctive temple styles respectively in the South and the North.

b. Emergence of Medieval Temple Styles

The Indian *Śilpaśāstras* recognize three main styles, the *Nāgara*, the *Drāviḍa* and the *Vesara*, along with a geographical distribution of each,

The *Nāgara* style is said to have been prevalent in Northern India in the region between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas; the *Drāviḍa* in the Drāviḍa country, i.e., the territory between the Kṛṣṇā and Kanyākumāri; and the *Vesara* in the territory between the Vindhyas and the Kṛṣṇā. A close study of the temples themselves according to the geographical distribution of the *Śilpaśāstras* tends to show that the medieval temples respectively of Northern India and the Drāviḍa country are distinguished from each other both in ground-plan and elevation. The *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa* styles can thus be explained with reference to the temples of North India and the Tamil-speaking South respectively. Temples of the Deccan, lying between these two zones, are known to have evolved a hybrid style, borrowing elements and features from the *Nāgara* as well as the *Drāviḍa*. With regard to the evidence supplied by the monuments, the three styles of the *Śilpa* texts ultimately resolve into two, the *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa*.

Every temple of North India, irrespective of its situation and date, reveals distinctive features in planning and elevation. The North Indian temple is a square with a number of graduated projections (*rathakas*) in the middle of each face which gives it a cruciform shape in the exterior. In elevation it exhibits a tower (*śikhara*), gradually inclining inwards and capped by a spheroid slab with ribs round the edge (*āmalaka*). The cruciform ground-plan and the curvilinear tower may, hence, be regarded as the fundamental characteristics of a *Nāgara* temple. In these respects the archetypes of the *Nāgara* temple may be seen in the third (*śikhara*) type of Gupta temples in which these features may be found to occur, more or less in a rudimentary stage. A temple of the Tamil country has the sanctum *cella* situated invariably within an ambulatory hall and a pyramidal tower formed by an accumulation of storey after storey in receding dimensions. These are to be regarded as the distinctive characteristics of a *Drāviḍa* temple. The second type of Gupta storeyed temple, showing the beginnings of such a ground-plan and elevation, may reasonably be recognized to have been its precursor. These two styles of temples also exhibit a few other definitive features which may be found respectively in the above two types of Gupta temples.

(*i*) *Nāgara Style*

The *Nāgara* style of temple architecture has a long and varied history. The development of the Gupta archetypal design was concerned chiefly with the two basic factors of the style. The cruciform ground-plan began in the Gupta temples with a single projection on each face. This arrangement led to a division of the wall on each side into three vertical planes or surfaces (*rathakas, rathas*) and the corresponding plan came to be

known as *triratha*. In course of time the number of projections was increased for greater diversification of the walls and there emerged *pañcaratha*, *saptaratha* and even *navaratha* plans. The form of the *śikhara*, hardly recognizable in the extremely dilapidated Gupta monuments, gradually assumed a pleasing curvilinear shape. The unbroken contour of the tower together with the projections of the plan carried up the body in a similar manner led to an emphasis on vertical lines, further enhanced by a progressive increase of height. The term *rekha*, applied to this form of the *śikhara* in the Orissan canonical texts, is very appropriate.

Temples with the above distinctive characteristic of the *Nāgara* style are distributed over a greater part of India, from the Himālayas in the north to Bijāpur district in the south, from the Punjab in the west to Bengal in the east. In other words, the style transcends the canonical limit far to the south. There appeared regional variations and ramifications in the formal development of the style, though they did not alter its basic characteristics.

Of all the regional developments of the *Nāgara* style that of Orissa is one of the most remarkable. The Orissan temple remains nearest to the original archetype and has justly been described as exhibiting the *Nāgara* style 'in its greatest purity.' In Orissa is found again a set of canons of architecture and the terms they use to designate different sections and parts of the temple may be applicable also to other temple groups of the *Nāgara* style.

The typical Orissan temple comprises two main features: the sanctum *cella* covered by the curvilinear tower and the assembly hall (*maṇḍapa*), called *jagamohana* in Orissa, surmounted by a pyramidal roof formed by a succession of receding platforms or *piḍhās*. The latter is called the *piḍhā deul* in distinction to the former which is known as the *rekha*. Each of these two components offers a counterplay in the design of the other and along the vertical axis each is divided into a number of distinct sections, called respectively the *piṣṭa* (basement platform, not an essential part though), the *bāḍa* (cube of the sanctum *cella* or of the assembly hall), the *gaṇḍī* (superstructure) and the *mastaka* (parts forming the crowning section). The three lower ones are square in cross section while the *mastaka*, of which the topmost part is the *āmalaka*, is circular. Each of these sections has further subdivisions of which those of the *bāḍa* may be useful for a study of the evolutionary sequence.

Temple building activity in Orissa is centred round the sacred city of Bhuvaneśvara extending along the coast in the north-east and south-west and covering roughly the present area of the State. The earliest temples in Orissa (Śatrughneśvara group, Paścimeśvara, Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara and Bhuvaneśvara), all more or less fragmentary, have close affinity with the archetypal design of the Gupta *śikhara* temple. Each of them consists of a square sanctum *cella*, *triratha* in plan, surmounted by a tower which

in the last two has a distinctly curvilinear contour. In conformity with the *triratha* plan the *bāḍa* is divided into three segments along the vertical axis, namely the *pābhāga* or the plinth, the *jāṅgha* or the wall section and the *baraṇḍa* or the transition from the *bāḍa* to the *gaṇḍi*. This last has the shape of a recessed frieze of sculptures between two projecting mouldings. The *rathas* are carried up the body of the *gaṇḍi* as *pagas*. Next comes the finely preserved Paraśurâmeśvara temple (Bhuvaneśvara) which illustrates an advance on the archetypal design in its anticipation of the future *pañcaratha* plan and in having in front a *maṇḍapa* (*jagamohana*) with a clerestory roof. The small but exquisitely decorated Mukteśvara temple (Bhuvaneśvara) is perhaps the finest monument of this early style. The sanctum *cella* and its *jagamohana*, now more organically related, stand within a balustraded court with an elegant *toraṇa* in front—two columns supporting a superstructure of arched shape. The sanctum is *pañcaratha* in plan and the *jagamohana* with a pyramidal superstructure approaches more nearly the typical Orissan form of the *piḍhā deul*. The *pagas* on *gaṇḍi*, in continuation of the *rathas* in the lower section, are named in Orissan canons *rāhā-paga* (the central one), *anurāhā-paga* (two intermediate ones on either side of the central) and *koṇaka-paga* (the two corner ones). Along the vertical axis the *bāḍa* is, in each case, divided into three sections, as in the earlier temples, the moulding of the *pābhāga* and the treatment of *jāṅgha* and *baraṇḍa* being much more elegant. The *śikhara* likewise is superbly treated. With the corners carefully rounded off and the surface covered with exquisite ornamentation, the most important being the delicate tracery of *caitya* window motifs, the entire effect is one of sensitive refinement.

The Mukteśvara does not as yet signify any definite departure from the archetypal design of the *Nāgara* temple. Belonging approximately to the 9th century A.D., it represents a mature expression of the *Nāgara* temple in Orissa. Temples of similar design and form may be found in other *Nāgara* zones indicating a stage in the evolution of the *Nāgara* temple prior to the emergence of any regional characteristics. The Siddheśvara, the Kedāreśvara and the Brahmeśvara temples (Bhuvaneśvara) represent the transition from the *Nāgara* form to the typical Orissan form. Of these, the last is dated in the second half of the 11th century. In each of these temples, along with a *pañcaratha* ground-plan there is fivefold division of the *bāḍa*, the *jāṅgha* being subdivided into lower and upper sections by one or more courses of mouldings (*bāndhanā*) running along its middle. There is a greater number of mouldings in the *pābhāga* and the *baraṇḍa* take the shape of several courses of shallow mouldings. Again, at the bottom the *gaṇḍi* is found to have *śikhara* replicas (*aṅga-śikharas*), one on each *paga*, and the figure of a rampant lion projecting from the *rāhā-paga* on each face. In the Brahmeśvara the *jagamohana* roof is surmounted by a domical member with the *āmalaka* as its crown. These are new developments, absent in the

earlier temples of the *Nāgara* design in Orissa, but immensely significant for their ultimate crystallization into distinctive characteristics of the later Orissan temples. These characteristics exclusively confined to monuments in Orissa, may be described as typically Orissan. With the rounding off of the sharp angles at the corners there was a tendency of the different sections of the *gaṇḍi* being transformed into miniature *śikhara* replicas, an early stage of which is to be recognized in the above three temples. In Orissa this tendency found emphatic expression in the Rājārāṇi temple (Bhuvaneśvara), notable also for its rich exterior decoration. But its many *aṅga-śikharas*, each with its own mass and volume, had the effect of breaking up and dissolving the forceful outline of the *rekha* tower which seems to have been of great significance to the Orissan builders. Naturally then, they could hardly accept a position in which the essential prerequisite of the *rekhā* tower was likely to suffer. By the close of the 11th century A.D. a happy solution was reached by confining the *aṅga-śikharas* to the *anurāhā-pagas* only, and casually to the *rāhā-paga* on the front face; this was done in such a manner as not to disturb the linear ascent of the main tower.

In course of time the *Nāgara* temple in Orissa assumed a particular and individual form. Its principal characteristics were the five-fold division of the *bāḍa* and *aṅga-śikharas* on the *anurāhā-pagas*, besides rampant *gaja-siṁha* motif projecting from the *rāhā-paga* of the *gaṇḍi* on each face. The majestic temple of Liṅgarāja (Bhuvaneśvara) represents this Orissan type in its maturity. Situated within a large quadrangular court, enclosed by massive walls and with a monumental portal in the east, the complex consists of four adjuncts extending in axial length from east to west, viz., *bhoga-maṇḍapa* (refectory hall), *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* (dancing hall), *jagamohana* (audience hall) and the *deul* or the sanctuary proper. Of these, the *deul* and the *jagamohana* constitute the original scheme; the other two are later additions. In the original scheme all the characteristic features of the typical Orissan temple are displayed in the most elegant and organic manner. The great tower of the *deul* rises to a height of 50 metres. The height of the pyramidal roof of the *jagamohana* is a little over 30 metres. In the tower the stupendous mass is effectively broken up by the vertical *pagas*, while the *aṅga-śikharas* on the *anurāhās* ascending in graduated courses add to the fluency of the outline. The pyramidal mass of the *jagamohana*, again, is broken up in horizontal sections. In each the plastically modelled mass of different forms offers an effective counterplay in the design of the other. Judged as a whole, the Liṅgarāja temple is one of the supreme creations of Indian architecture, representing the Orissan temple in its most brilliant expression.

The Liṅgarāja, which is to be dated about A.D. 1100, supplied the norm to subsequent generations. Of the temples built on this model, few, not even the celebrated Jagannātha temple at Purī, reach the massive grandeur

and dignity of the Liṅgarāja. However, the far-famed Sun temple at Konārak, built during the reign of Narasiṁha I (A.D. 1238–64), excels the Liṅgarāja in the nobility of its conception and the perfection of its finish. Grand and impressive even in its ruin, the Konārak temple represents the fulfilment and finality of the Orissan architectural movement.

The Vaital *deul* at Bhuvaneśvara, with its rectangular plan and vaulted roof of two stages, belongs to a conception that is apparently alien to Orissa. A few other temples of this design and form are to be found in Orissa and other parts of Northern India. In Orissa the type is known as *Khākharā*.

In Central India was developed another expression of the *Nāgara* style, typical temples being found at Khajurāho (Madhya Pradesh). The direction of development of the *Nāgara* design here was almost the same as in Orissa. The evolutionary process had a full and unrestrained play in Central India where the *Nāgara* temple reached one of its most exuberant expressions. The process was a long one and temples in different parts of this region illustrate identical stages of development, as in Orissa, till the emergence of typical Central Indian features.

The process of variegating the temple structure by dividing and subdividing the body, both horizontally and vertically, was carried a little further in Central India. A typical Central Indian temple is usually *saptaratha* in plan and the cube of the *bāḍa* is divided into seven sections by two *bāndhanās*. The *jāṅghas*, thus diversified horizontally as well as vertically, offer a background for a pageant of elegant sculptures, all conforming to the varied composition of the walls. The evolutionary tendency with regard to *aṅga-śikharas* was carried to its logical conclusion, clusters of them imparting a plasticity and volume hardly paralleled elsewhere. Boldly projected and rising one above the other, they signify a restless upward urge which, not infrequently, hampers disciplined movement. This restlessness is indicated further by projections of the *pagas* beyond the top of the *gaṇḍī*. Another typical feature is supplied by *āmalakas* forming the crowning member of the principal *śikhara* and of the *aṅga-śikharas*.

A typical Central Indian temple is, again, a component of a large number of elements, all joined together in one axial length and raised over a substantial and solid terrace. From the back to the front they are the *garbhagṛha* (sanctum *cella*), the *antarāla* (vestibule), the *maṇḍapa* (audience hall) and the *ardha-maṇḍapa* (frontal portico hall), the last leading to the tall flight of steps forming an impressive approach. The first is covered by a *śikhara*, the second by an ornamental pediment abutting on the *śikhara*, and the third and the fourth by a *piḍhā* roof with a slight domical outline. In Orissa such halls are usually astylar, but in Central India pillars have been introduced in the interior as well as at the lateral ends to support the roof. These pillars with their architraves, supporting the domed ceiling, afford suitable background for elegant carvings with the

result that the interior of these halls is richly ornamented in strong contrast to the bare and dull appearance of the interior of the Orissan hall. Again, the halls in Orissa are closed, but in Central India they are open on the lateral sides, the openings between the pillars forming balconied windows shaded by projecting eaves. Along the sides there are seats (*kakṣāsanas*) with sloping balustrades. In the more ambitious monuments the sides of the *maṇḍapa* hall form transepts which, going round the sanctum *cella*, constitute an inner ambulatory with balconied windows on three sides. These openings not only provide well-lighted halls, but also throw intense shadows athwart the intermediate section of the complex, providing a sharp contrast to the solids in the lower and upper sections of the temple scheme. This contrast of solids and voids lends an unparalleled effect.

The typical Central Indian characteristics, gradually evolved, reached their fruition in the temples at Khajurāho of which the Kandarya Mahādeva represents the most notable creation. The course of evolution is indicated by several interesting temples in different parts of Central India. The *Pañcaratha* temple at Baroli (near the Chambal falls), with three divisions of the *bāḍa*, introduces for the first time the double *āmalaka* and projections of the *pagas* beyond the *gaṇḍi*. The Amarkanṭaka temples of Keśavanārāyaṇa, Macchendranātha and Pātāleśvara have a sanctum, an *antarāla* and a *maṇḍapa* as a unified scheme, and along with the *Pañcaratha* plan with fivefold division of the *bāḍa*, exhibit balconied windows and *kakṣāsanas* on the lateral sides of the *maṇḍapa* hall; the last two are a central complement of four pillars for support of the roof. The triple shrined temple of Karṇa at Amarkanṭaka has three shrines, each laid out in the *saptaratha* plan with a sevenfold division of the *bāḍa*. The Virāṭeśvara Śiva temple at Sohāgpur (Rewā district) records further advance with the sanctum, *antarāla*, *maṇḍapa* and *ardha-maṇḍapa*, all on the same axis raised over a common low platform; compositionally the Central Indian temple complex may be said to have reached its typical form in this structure. With three tiers of elegant sculptures in three sections of the *jāṅgahas* separated by *bāndhanās* and a line of *aṅga-śikharas*, one on each *paga*, with the *rāhā* repeating the pattern on a bigger scale, the Virāṭeśvara Śiva temple offers the nearest approach to the typical Central Indian style which is at its richest in the magnificent creations at Khajurāho.

The Khajurāho temples were built during the supremacy of the Candella rulers of Jejākabhukti. In spite of a general agreement in plan and composition, they admit of a division into two broad groups. A few temples (Vāmana, Ādinātha, etc.) without the *aṅga-śikharas* around the main *śikhara* illustr te probably the earlier structural practice. The majority (the most emine t being the Devī Jagadambā, Dulādeo, Pārśvanātha, Lakṣmaṇa, Viśvanātha and Kandarya Mahādeva), however, show an exuberant play of *aṅga-śikharas*. This group may be further subdivided into what

may be described as *nirandhāra* and *sāndhāra* temples, the former is without the inner ambulatory and the latter has this feature formed by the continuation of the transepts of the *maṇḍapa* around the sanctum *cella*. The Kandarya Mahādeva temple represents the peak point of the Central Indian architectural movement, and is at once brilliant in its conception and imposing in its perfect finish and grace. In vertical section the temple is seen to be a mountain of masonry with the superstructures of the different components rising and falling alternately and ultimately converging on the main tower. The three elaborate tiers of sculptures (nearly 900 in number) on the *jāṅgha*, following the alternate projections and recesses of the plan, present an animated throng of plastic forms 'shapely in appearance, exquisite in workmanship and of inexhaustible interest.' The temple, indeed, pulsates with vitality not ordinarily met with in the art of building.

In Gujarāt and Rājasthān there is another ramification of the *Nāgara* temple style. As in Orissa and Central India, *Nāgara* temple building activity started rather early with temples of *triratha* plan ultimately developing into *pañcaratha*. Monuments of this class are found both in Gujarāt (Rhoda, Pasthar, Sutrapada, Sandera, Miāni) and Rājasthān (Osian). In Gujarāt many of the early *Nāgara* temples appear to have been provided with a wooden ambulatory around the sanctum. This feature, unknown in early *Nāgara* temples elsewhere, seems to have been an exotic development in this region. The earliest and most eminent temple of this type is that at Gop in the Barda hills, in which the square sanctum *cella*, with a roof of two stepped courses crowned by a graceful domical finial, had in all probability, wooden ambulatory around.

It was during the time of the Caulukya or Solāṅkī rulers of Aṇahilapāṭaka that the characteristics of the *Nāgara* temple in Gujarāt took a precise form. This development has been called Solāṅkī, after the rulers. The term may be extended to include an identical development in Rājasthān, especially in view of the fact that in the days of their greatness the Solāṅkī rulers held substantial parts of Rājasthān under their sway.

The general scheme of a Solāṅkī temple consists of the sanctum and the pillared *maṇḍapa* combined in axial length. In more ambitious conceptions, there are additional complements of a *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, a *kīrti-toraṇa* and a sacred tank; each is a detached creation but axially situated in relation to the principal scheme. To a certain extent the Solāṅkī temple reveals in its composition several parallel features with the Central Indian temple, e.g., pillared arrangement of the ancillary halls, windows and *kakṣāsanas*, occasional occurence of *sāndhāra* design, appearance, in a few instances, of such Central Indian features as extensions of *pagas* and double *āmalaka*. There is, however, a difference in their treatment and tone. The pillared arrangement of the hall in Western India is more elaborate and the decorations richer. The Western Indian builders

devised the more efficient mode of octagonal grouping of pillars in the interior, and joining them by flying ornamental struts springing from the pillars and meeting the architraves at the apex. The concentric courses of the ceilings are finely conceived and richly wrought in the manner of delicate filigree work (Dilwārā temples, Mount Abu). In the subdued light the varied decorations of the different component parts, intricately designed and minutely executed, add to the pleasing effect of the interior.

The Solāṅkī temple differs from the Central Indian or the Orissan temple in some fundamental aspects of planning and elevation. In plan the sanctum is normally *pañcaratha* with the *bāḍa* divided into three sections along the vertical axis. The practice of balancing the vertical chases formed by the *rathaka* projections with horizontal segments in the *bāḍa*, as one finds in Orissa and Central India, is absent in the Western Indian temple. Apart from the *rathaka* projections the Western builders have used in several instances a different mode of diversifying the exterior walls with vertical chases. The technique is to rotate the square of the plan on its own axis and to stop at required intervals—this gives a foliated star-shaped plan in the exterior. The mode is not entirely unknown in other zones of the *Nāgara* style. It seems to be a different application of the same idea that inspired the introduction of the system of adding *rathaka* projections on the exterior walls of the early *Nāgara* temple, and is known to have been used in a substantial measure in the Deccan and Mālava as also in the Cālukya and the Hoysala territories. In Western India, again, a cornice extending in the form of a sloping eave over the frontal parts serves as the *baraṇḍa* or transition between the cubical and curvilinear sections of the temple elevation, thereby presenting a significant deviation from the form of that section in the *Nāgara* temple or its ramifications, the Orissan and the Central Indian. The *aṅga-śikharas* in the Western Indian temple are emphatic in expression, no doubt, but four-square in shape, they are subordinated to and kept strictly within the linear arrangement of the *pagas* of the main tower of Mahādeva temple at Sunak, Gujarāt and Jaina temples at Kumbharia, Rājasthān.

Among the many temples in Gujarāt and Rājasthān, brief mention may be made of two complexes as representing the Western Indian type of temple in its full maturity. One is the impressive ruins of the Sun temple at Modhera. The entire scheme is raised on a paved terrace and resolves itself into three principal components—a large rectangular reservoir with flagged flights of steps interspaced by small shrines, the lofty *kīrti-toraṇa* and the open pillared hall (*sabhā-maṇḍapa*) of cruciform shape; this is placed diagonally with the axial line of the next component consisting of the sanctum and its adjoining *maṇḍapa*. All these components are skillfully adjusted to one another in a manner that results in the production of an organic and effective unit out of these three seemingly separate compositions. Bereft of the superstructure, which has collapsed in each

component, the scheme is now a mere shell of what it was in its original state. But the structural propriety of the various parts as well as of the whole, the rich and varied embellishments which match and blend with the architectural lineaments (seen best in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* aptly described as 'a magnificent pile of pillared splendour') and the sense of organic unity, all combine to rank this complex among the supreme creations of Indian genius. The Jaina temples at Dilwārā have put to admirable use the white Makrāna marble of Rājasthān. The best works are to be seen in the temples associated with the names of Vimala (A.D. 1031) and Tejapāla (A.D. 1230). Each complex, besides the principal elements, has a colonnaded cloister of cells around (*devakulikā*); it is in the cloister and the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* that the infinite skill of the artists has been expended and 'the crisp, thin, shell-like treatment of the marble', as seen on the pillars, architraves, ceilings and colonnades, surpasses anything seen elsewhere.

The Deccan temples of the *Nāgara* conception fall into two well defined groups. The earlier group is confined to Southern Deccan, in the Kṛṣṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā basin, while monuments of the later group are found scattered over the western part of Upper Deccan in the region of Khāndesh and its neighbourhood. In respect of shape and form this later series, illustrating yet another distinct type of the *Nāgara* style, is affiliated to a group of temples in Mālava and the adjoining regions. A study of the distribution of temples of this series reveals that the territory covered by them was for some time under the hegemony of the Paramāras of Mālava. It is during this Paramāra hegemony again that the type reaches mature expression. It may hence be designated as Paramāra after the name of the dynasty, or as Mālava after the name of the territory forming the nucleus of the Paramāra dominions.

Temples with the early form of the *śikhara* are found side by side with the *Drāviḍa* at Aihole, Paṭṭadakal, Mahākūṭeśvara and Alampur, all in the Kṛṣṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā basin. Such temples bear the characteristic features of the early *Nāgara* temple, though the attenuated and globular shape of the *āmalaka* provides a significant divergence. There are temples (e.g., Pāpanātha at Paṭṭadakal and Viśva-Brahmā at Alampur) in which the essential idea that governed the composition was more of *Drāviḍa* extraction than of *Nāgara*, the impact of the latter conception being emphatically expressed in each case by the curvilinear *śikhara* surmounting the sanctum *cella*. It should be observed that this co-existence of two apparently differing conceptions of temples, the *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa*, helped the fusion of ideas and elements and led, in course of time, to a new, though hybrid, style of great prolixity and richness.

The distinctive expression of the *Nāgara* style designated as the Mālava or Paramāra comes into view as fully formed, since there is no extant temple of a transitional stage to help us in tracing the gradual evolution of

the type. Two notable monuments belonging to the second half of the 11th century A.D., the temple at Ambaranâtha (Thâna district, Mahârâshtra) and the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Udayapur (Madhya Pradesh), illustrate the type in its mature expression, and indicate respectively its southern and northern limits. Important conceptions of the type are to be found in between, especially in the region between the lower reaches of the Narmadâ and the upper course of the Godâvarī.

A temple of this characteristic type consists usually of the sanctum and the *maṇḍapa* which sometimes have the appearance of being joined diagonally to each other on account of the great diversity in the exterior walls, broken up by a multiplicity of vertical chases. The earlier division of the *bāḍa* into three main horizontal sections is, however, maintained all through. The vertical chases are obtained either by the usual system of *rathaka* projections or on the principle of rotating the square of the plan on its axis, leading to the production of foliated angles in between the projected central offsets (*rathakas*) on the four faces which are made to run parallel with the square plan of the sanctum in the interior. In either case, the central offset on each face of the sanctum cube is carried and continued on the body of the *śikhara* upto its top as an unbroken vertical band covered all through by rich tracery of *caitya* window motifs. These prominent bands, following the main contours of the *śikhara* on the four sides, act, so to say, as spines to keep the latter in shape. The vertical chases in between the spines are filled in upto the top by horizontal tiers of miniature *śikharas* diminishing in size as they go up. Here we have a new interpretation of the theme of the *aṅga-śikhara* in which the disturbing effect on the contours is effectively held in check by the strongly pronounced vertical spines. The latter, with their emphatic verticalism, keep the *aṅga-śikharas* subordinated to the principal design. The finest monument of this distinctive expression is furnished by the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Udayapur, built by the Paramâra king Udayâditya and hence known also as Udayeśvara. Here, all the above characteristics are found to be coherently designed and exquisitely treated.

In the upper belt of Northern India, in the rich riverine plains watered by the Sindhu and the Gaṅgâ-Yamunâ systems, very few old temples now survive, possibly on account of the political cataclysm from which the territory had repeatedly suffered. The extant monuments claiming some antiquity indicate, as is to be expected, that this long stretch of country was familiar with the *Nāgara* temple and must have used that design in pre-Muslim days. A few dilapidated brick temples in Uttar Pradesh (Parauli, Kurari and Tinduli, all in Fatehpur district) exhibit characteristics of the early *Nāgara* style, except for their preference for a circular shape in which respect they are related to temples of like design in Central India (Gurgi Masaun and Candrehe in Rewa district). Besides, in the north-west, in the Himâlayan regions are found several temples (Masrur

and Baijnāth in Kāngra, Chamba and Bajaura in Kulu) decidedly of early *Nāgara* conception, while in the east, in West Bengal and the adjoining region of Chota Nāgpur, the same conception is illustrated by a number of monuments such as brick temple at Sat Deuliyā, Siddheśvara brick temple at Bahulārā, brick temple known as Jaṭār *Deul*, the temples at Dehār, all in West Bengal, and the temples at Pārā, Borām and Dulmi, among others, in Chota Nāgpur.

(ii) *Drāviḍa Style*

The nucleus of the *Drāviḍa* temple is the storeyed form of the Gupta temple, and the rock-cut *rathas* of Mahābalipuram (7th century A.D.) supply an interesting stage in the evolution of the *Drāviḍa* style. Everyone of the *rathas*, except the Draupadī, exhibits a storeyed elevation of the roof, each storey terminating in a convex rolled cornice ornamented with *caitya* window arches. The walls of the ground storey are broken up by pilasters and sculptured niches, while the upper storeys are surrounded by small pavilions. In spite of this general resemblance, there may berecognized divergences in shape and form. Among these, the square and the rectangular forms seem to be significant for future developments. The former, represented best by the Dharmarāja and the Arjuna *rathas*, has the storeyed roof topped by a domical member, the *stūpī* or *stūpikā*. The latter, illustrated by the Bhīma and the Gaṇeśa *rathas*, has an elongated barrel-shaped vault, with gable at the two ends, as the crowning element of the roof. In these two forms one may recognise the origin of the two fundamental components of the full-fledged *Drāviḍa* temple—the *vimāna* representing the sanctum with its tall pyramidal tower, and the *gopuram* or the immense pile of the gateway leading to the temple enclosure. At Mahābalipuram the square and the rectangular types of *rathas* appear each as an independent conception. Their association together to form two important elements of the *Drāviḍa* temple complex was yet to come.

With its beginnings in two distinct types of Pallava rock-cut *rathas* in the first half of the 7th century A.D., the *Drāviḍa* style passes through a long process of evolution and elaboration under different dynasties of kings which came to be politically supreme in the South. The style flourished for nearly a thousand years and, confined within a comparatively small area, remained more or less compact and unilateral. A succession of datable monuments, spread over the southern end of the peninsula, supplies definite landmarks in the development of the style. This long period of activity may be divided into several well-marked phases, corresponding, in a large measure, to the significant political changes in the territory. Each succeeding phase starts with the heritage of the preceding one, leading the style, along with a richer elaboration and maturity, to its

ultimate fulfilment. There is no real break in the continuity of the tradition, and strongly marked individualities, constituting the distinctive characteristics of the style, remain prominent throughout.

The rock-cut method of the initial phase was replaced by the structural during the reign of Narasiṁhavarman II, also known as Rājasiṁha Pallava (c. A.D. 700–728). The change to the structural mode furnished the builders with more powers and freedom and the results are obvious in the striking advance that became perceptible within a generation. The Shore temple at Mahābalipuram, possibly the first to be built, consists of two shrines, symmetrically joined to each other, each having its own pyramidal tower complete with *stūpikā* and finial. In this example, a formal temple scheme is found to be in a process of formation. Being the first of its kind, the different elements in the structure are somewhat loosely knit and lack coherence. An organic and unified conception of a temple scheme in which all the appurtenances, that were to be distinctive of the *Drāviḍa* style, are clearly expressed and harmoniously adjusted to one another, first comes into view in the celebrated Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, also built by Rājasiṁha Pallava. This complex consists of the sanctum with its pyramidal tower and a pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* with flat roof, both situated in an axial line within a rectangular court composed of a series of cells. In the pyramidal tower there is far greater harmony in the different storeyed stages leading to a more effective design of great beauty and graceful contours. In the middle of the peristyle on the east and in one axial line with the sanctum and its *maṇḍapa*, there is a rectangular building with a barrel-vaulted roof. Though now serving as a subsidiary chapel, it is not difficult to find in this building the original entrance to the temple enclosure. With all the appurtenances, like the walled court, the *gopuram*, the pillared *maṇḍapa* and the *vimāna*, all complete and in their forms and positions, the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram may be described as one of the key monuments of the early *Drāviḍa* style. A more developed sense of composition is clearly evident in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl temple at Kāñcīpuram, probably slightly later in date.

In these early Pallava monuments, the *Drāviḍa* temple may be said to have attained its definitive form and character. Outside the limits of the Drāviḍa country, in the Cālukyan territory to the north of the Kṛṣṇā, the *Drāviḍa* style in its fundamental conception was already known. Among the monuments of this style in this area, the most notable is the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal (2nd quarter of the 8th century A.D.). There are reasons to believe that its design was inspired by that of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram. The most outstanding monument of the *Drāviḍa* conception further north, and perhaps a unique creation of Indian architectural art, is the famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora. An entire temple complex which resolves itself into four principal components (the *vimāna*, 29 m. in height, and its *maṇḍapa* on a lofty stylobate, the Nandī pavilion and

the double-storeyed *gopuram*, all in the same axial length) repeating the fundamental pattern of a *Drāviḍa* temple, as seen in the Kailāsanātha at Kāñcīpuram or the Virūpākṣa at Paṭṭadakal, has been completely hewn out of the living rock. Besides, on either side of the Nandī pavilion there is a free-standing column, nearly 15 metres high from the level of the court which measures 90 metres by 60 metres and is surrounded by cloistered cells. With the immensity of its scheme and the bold technique employed, the Kailāsa temple is certainly a titanic undertaking, superbly executed in respect of composition as well as beauty of decoration, and has been described as 'the world's greatest rock poem'.

Architectural activity in the South continued in the later phase of the Pallava rule. The rich heritage of the Pallava tradition passed on to the Coḷas who supplanted the Pallavas as the dominant power of the South about the end of the 9th century A.D. During the regime of the Coḷas the *Drāviḍa* style enters yet another brilliant and distinctive phase. The early Coḷa monuments are usually small; yet each represents a complete formation in which the relation with the Pallava monuments remains clear and unmistakable. At the same time they display a certain freshness of spirit that may indicate a revivifying of the style from its dormant state in the late Pallava phase. A typical monument of the early Coḷa phase is the Koranganātha at Śrīnivāsanallur, attributed usually to the reign of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907–955). Fundamentally of the same conception as the Pallava temple, it also heralds a new phase in the development of the *Drāviḍa* style under the great Coḷas. A notable feature of this temple is the string-course with a row of griffin heads in the stylobate, entirely a new element which was to become distinctive of the Coḷa development of the style.

Two supreme creations of the *Drāviḍa* temple style are the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thanjāvūr and the temple of the same name at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram. The first was built by Rājarājacoḷa and the second by his son, Rājendracoḷa. The two are fundamentally identical in composition, shape and form. Each of them stands within a walled quadrangle, approached by an immense *gopuram*. The first has an additional court in front, square in plan. Though identical, the Thanjāvūr temple is bolder in conception. Near the back end of the principal court rises majestically the sanctum with its mighty *vimāna* with the forward complements of the temple complex—a large *maṇḍapa*, a pillared portico and a Nandī pavilion—combined axially in front. Together, they cover a total lengh of 55 metres, while the lofty *vimāna* rises to a height of 58 metres. Not in dimensions alone but in architectural treatment of the whole and in the clarity of the disposition of the parts, each organically related to the other, coupled with a correct sense of decorative scheme, the Thanjāvūr temple is distinguished alike for its rhythm, poise and dignity. The superb treatment of the magnificent pile of the *vimāna*, dominating the entire composition, also calls for a brief mention. Along the vertical axis it is divided into three

principal sections, namely, the upright cube enclosing the sanctum *cella* with its ambulatory, the lofty and massive pyramidal body ascending in thirteen diminishing zones and the graceful dome-shaped *stūpikā* forming the crowning element. The first is 25 metres square rising to a height of 15.2 metres from the base. Along the horizontal section this huge mass is broken up by five projecting bays alternating with recesses, and this theme is continued right up to the top of the pyramidal tower. Along the vertical axis the wall section is divided into two equal stages by a bold and heavy cornice-like moulding that casts a deep horizontal shadow. The bays, above and below, are occupied by image-niches. The pyramidal section of the *vimāna* is evidently a derivation from the Pallava prototype. In the Thanjāvūr *vimāna*, however, the horizontal aspect of the storeyed stages has been deliberately suppressed for the sake of an emphatic vertical contour. In this massive pyramidal pile there is a sense of strength and stability, and at the same time a rhythmical quality of soaring verticalism, accentuated further by the dome-shaped *stūpikā*.

The great temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram is larger in horizontal dimensions. Within the court the principal composition occupies a rectangle, about 104 metres by 30.5 metres, with its long axis from east to west, and consists of a large *maṇḍapa* and the massive *vimāna*, the latter 30.5 metres square, connected by an intervening vestibule. The main entrance in the middle of the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* is designed as an impressive portal, while two subsidiary entrances are provided in the north and south walls of the vestibule, each in the shape of a deeply recessed doorway flanked by domineering figures of *dvārapālas*. The *vimāna*, though larger in horizontal dimension, is only 48.8 metres high. The treatment of the lower upright sections is essentially the same as at Thanjāvūr. But in the tapering body above consisting of eight diminishing zones, the introduction of curves, in place of the strongly pronounced straight lines in the previous example, adds a richer note to the creation of Rājendracoḷa. In these two monuments the *Drāviḍa* temple style may be said to have reached its supreme expression. After Rājendracoḷa the style loses much of its force and tends to become more and more ornate and florid, a tendency already envisaged at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram.

(iii) *Vesar, Cālukya or Karṇāṭaka style*

The *Vesara* style of Indian temple architecture has been equated with what is known to the archaeologists as the Cālukyan style, which emerged under the rule of later Cālukyas in the Kannaḍa-speaking region and attained its ripest expression under the Hoysalas. The style may also be designated as *Karṇāṭaka* after the name of the territory in which it developed. This style cannot, however, be said to have an independent origin

but represents 'an outgrowth of the earlier Dravidian style, so modified in its development as to have attained a separate style in their hands.' The beginnings of the development may be traced back to the days of the early Cālukyan kings in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. At Aihole and Paṭṭadakal and other places, *Drāviḍa* and *Nāgara* temples were being erected side by side. This co-existence afforded an opportunity for a certain admixture of the ideas of the two, leading to the emergence under the later Cālukyan rulers of a seperate development that may be explained as representing a mixed or hybrid style. In this development the *Nāgara* conception played a relatively less important part. It is the *Drāviḍa* conception that formed the nucleus of future developments.

The Cālukyan temple, like the *Drāviḍa*, consists of two principal components, the *vimāna* and the *maṇḍapa* joined by an *antarāla*, with sometimes an additional open *maṇḍapa* in front. The *vimāna* is surmounted by a pyramidal tower of storeyed elevation with a dome-shaped crowning member, while the *maṇḍapa* is covered by a flat roof supported on pillars. In course of time there is a marked tendency to compress the heights of the storeyed stages of the *vimāna*. At the same time ornamental niche motifs, repeated one above the other up the ascent of the tower, simulate the vertical bands of the northern spire. Here, obviously, is an inspiration from the *Nāgara śikhara*. The Cālukyan temple presents an essential divergence from the *Drāviḍa* in not having its sanctum *cella* enclosed within a covered ambulatory. The *maṇḍapas*, again, are usually wider in dimensions than the *vimānas*. In the treatment of the exterior walls there seems to have been a blending, again, of *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* ideas. The walls are broken up by *ratha* offsets in the characteristic *Nāgara* fashion, further spaced at regular intervals by pilasters in accordance with the usual *Drāviḍa* mode. The recesses, thus formed, are usually filled up by niches with superstructures of the *Nāgara* or of the *Drāviḍa* style, thus producing a refrain of great artistic beauty. A further elaboration is noticed in the stellate plan based on the system of rotating the square on its axis. In the Cālukyan territory there is only a single example of this plan in the temple of Dodda Basappa at Ḍambal. In the Hoysala temples of Mysore the stellate plan becomes the usual fashion. A few of the Cālukyan temples as well as the Hoysala are distinguished for their multiple-shrined compositions in which two, three or four shrines are arranged around the common *maṇḍapa* hall. Apart from architectural treatment, the Cālukyan temple, or its descendant the Hoysala, is also characterized by an exuberant plastic ornament covering all its external surfaces which seem to have a richly fretted appearance from the base to the top. In the interior the pillars and door-frames, as well as ceilings, are likewise exuberantly treated. Considered as a whole, the Cālukyan temple, together with its offshoot the Hoysala, represents one of the most ornate and florid expressions of Indian architecture. Of this style there are numerous monuments

within the old Cālukyan boundaries. The Hoysala mode is also represented by a large number of temples (the best examples dating not earlier than the 13th century A.D.) in Mysore territory.

The Kalleśvara temple at Kukkanūr and the Jaina temple at Lakkuṇḍi, their external walls broken up by slender pilasters with shrines or identical structural motifs in the recesses so formed, exemplify an initial stage in the development of the style. The introduction of structural motifs in place of figure-sculptures characteristic of the *Drāviḍa* temple, along with the insertion of a number of gable-shaped motifs on the storeyed stages of the tower, though much compressed in height, represent significant innovations on the *Drāviḍa* scheme. The Jaina temple at Lakkuṇḍi has a wide projecting eave of a straight-edged incline around the open pillared hall. The Mukteśvara temple at Chauddadampur contains, in addition to the double-curved cornice over the porches, a smaller eave of the same pattern running around the rest of the building. Such eaves henceforth constitute regular features of the Cālukyan temple scheme. Again, in this temple the ornaments on the exterior walls are far richer, and a greater amount of surface decoration is applied to the mouldings of the plinth. The tower, topped by a domical member with a double flexion, has attained the typical Cālukyan form. The storeyed stages, considerably reduced, are obscured by the exuberant detail that covers the surfaces. The niche-facets in the middle are fully emphasized and, repeated one above the other, simulate more completely the vertical band that characterizes the *Nāgara śikhara*. In the Cauddadampur temple, belonging to the close of the 11th century A.D., the Cālukyan temple may be said to have reached its complete form.

Of the many temples of the next phase a few represent the style at its best. The Kāśī-Viśveśvara temple at Lakkuṇḍi would date back to the later half of the 12th century A.D. It is a double-shrined temple with the second shrine facing the principal complex. The Mahādeva temple at Ittagi (A.D. 1112) forms the central scheme of a number of structures on a common terraced platform. Each of these temples has the usual complements of the Cālukyan temple complex, so organically related to one another as to form a complete whole. Each bears the above distinctive features of the style treated in the most affluent fashion. From the base to the top the entire exterior surface is encrusted with rich ornamental detail, bold in design and exuberant in expression. The deep and crisp plinth mouldings produce a sparkling effect of light and shade. The embellishment of the tower is far more delicate and refined, while the decorative treatment of the doorways excels anything seen till then. In the Ittagi temple the hypostyle hall in front of the complex with its range of many pillars of varied and of almost bewildering patterns and its coffered ceiling of rich and spirited arabesque work, is itself an imposing conception. In each of these two temples is revealed a certain voluptuousness in its wealth of ornamentation, but the scheme, as a whole, still remains

perfectly balanced and expresses the style at its height. The tendency to over-ornamentation finds its full scope in the Hoysala temples which, with their amazing display of sculptural exuberance, betray a certain lack of architectural balance.

B. SCULPTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY

Introduction. The art of sculpture was practised by the people of India from ancient times. Many specimens of different kinds of figures, both animal and human, belonging to the pre-historic and proto-historic ages, have been found in various parts of the country. The materials used at first were generally impermanent, like wood and clay, and rarely of a more durable nature like stone and bronze. As wood does not last for long, no early wooden figures have been found. But clay figurines burnt in fire have been discovered in large numbers and they represent the early attempts of Indian sculptors in the field of plastic modelling and composition. Artistic activity turned soon to the use of harder and more lasting materials like stone and bronze. Numerous terracotta figurines and a few partially preserved stone and bronze figures of the early Indus Valley sites testify to the gradually advancing skill and efficiency of the Indian sculptors of those days. Their knowledge of animal anatomy is also fully borne out by the highly realistic modelling of bulls and other animals carved on terracotta, faience and steatite seals. The style of the sculptural remains of Harappa belonging to the second half of the third millennium B.C. shows that plastic art was practised by the people of the adjacent regions from a much earlier period.

Mauryan and Sunga Sculptures. The next group of extant sculptures belongs to the Mauryan period. As metal and stone were used, many of the human, animal and other sculptural motifs of the Mauryan and following ages are still extant. These are primarily religious in character. Besides animal figures on the capitals of Aśokan edict pillars, there are figures in high and low relief resting on the abacuses. In the succeeding phase, there occur bas-relief carvings on sections of the railings and gateways of the Buddhist *stūpas* at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, etc., and on the facade and interiors of the rock-cut cave temples of Eastern and Western India (Khaṇḍagiri, Udayagiri, Bhājā, Kārle, etc.). The bull capital on the Rāmpurwā column shows a highly developed tectonic quality reminiscent of the modelling of the animal figurines of the early Indus Valley seals. There is some similarity between Indian and Persian or Perso-Hellenic art forms; this can be explained by the fact that, as a unit in the West Asian culture-complex, Indian sculpture had inherited the artistic tradition of West Asia.

The free-standing stone sculptures of the post-Mauryan period found

in Northern India have basic affinities, although they mark different stages of development in the sculptural art. They have been found at Parkham and Baroda near Mathurā, Besnagar and Pāwayā in Gwalior district (Madhya Pradesh), and Lohanipur, Dīdārganj and Patna in Bihār. On the analogy of the inscribed statue of Maṇibhadra Yakṣa found at Pāwayā, the other sculptures have justifiably been recognized as images of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs, the objects of worship in folk-religion. It was mainly the cult images and their accessories that set the standards of plastic modelling in ancient and medieval India.

Image-worship. The practice of making images of various deities for worship does not seem to have been in vogue among the higher orders of the Indo-Aryans of the early Vedic period. But it is highly probable that image-worship was current among the lower orders of the people including the pre-Aryan settlers. Sculptural finds in the early Indus Valley sites, such as the phalli and ring-stones, many terracotta and a few stone figurines, have been considered by certain scholars as cult objects. They have interpreted some words in the *Ṛg-Veda* as deprecatory of this pre-Aryan mode of worship. But while the Vedic sages might condemn the religious practices of the earlier inhabitants, their own sacrifice-ridden religion came to be gradually modified through its long contact with the indigenous cult. With the development of the *Bhakti* cult different religious sects arose. It postulated a deep mystical feeling of single-minded devotion to a personal deity with whom the devotee had intangible moral nexus. The deities were chosen not from the Vedic pantheon but from the folk divinities described in Buddhist and Jaina texts as *Vyantara-devatās,* from mythical ones like Śiva and Śakti and from apotheosized heroes like Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, the Buddha and Mahāvīra. The worshippers of Yakṣas and Nāgas appear to have been the most primitive group and it was primarily their example that was followed by the members of the other sects.

Aniconic Tradition in Early Art and Gradual Appearance of Cult Icons. That the Buddha was not represented in human form in the early stages of his deification emphasizes the aniconic tradition followed by the earlier sculptors of India. Various symbols like the Bodhi tree with the *Vajrāsana* beneath it, the footprints of the Buddha, the *stūpa,* etc., were used in the early Buddhist art for representing the Master. The architectural remains of Bhārhut, Sāñcī and early Amarāvatī testify to this; and the exact period when the first regular icons of the Buddha came as also the region of their origin are still a matter of doubt. Some scholars believe that the Hellenistic artists of Gandhāra were the earliest iconographers, but others give the credit to the indigenous sculptors of Mathurā. It may be incidentally noted that the sculptures made by the former have been reckoned as belonging to the Gandhāra school, while those made by the latter have been ascribed to the Mathurā school. It is probable, however, that the images of the Master came to be made almost simultaneously

by both the schools, for the sculptural and iconographic traits of their respective handiwork differ in essential details. Stone images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas have been found in Gandhāra, while such images as well as other sculptures connected with the Brahmanical and Jaina creeds have been discovered at Mathurā. Both these groups can be collectively dated in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era. The fragmentary sculpture with polish on it of the Śuṅga period found at Lohanipur near Patna may stand for a Digambara Jina. One of the earliest images of a Brahmanical deity is that of Śaṁkarṣaṇa-Balarāma. Discovered at Mathurā, it now belongs to the collection of the Lucknow Museum.

Early Epigraphic references to Images and Temples. The followers of the theistic cults wanted the images of the various deities and their accessories for ritual use, and the icons had to be enshrined in temples (the *deva-gṛhas* or *prāsādas*) for regular worship (*nitya pūjā*). In a fragmentary inscription of the 1st century B.C. found at Besnagar, there is a reference to the 'excellent palace of the god Vāsudeva', and it seems certain that an image of the deity had been housed there. In another fragmentary inscription found at Mora, a village near Mathurā, and of the time of the local Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa mention is made of the enshrinement of 'the five worshipful Vṛṣṇivīras' (*bhāgavatām Vṛṣṇīnām pañcavīrānām pratimā*) in a stone temple (*śaila deva-gṛha*) by a lady named Tosa, possibly of the Śaka race. Many other inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era refer to the enshrinement of the divine images belonging to various other theistic cults. That many among them were at the same time excellent examples of sculptural art is proved by the extant specimens. The Mora inscription describes the images of the five Vṛṣṇivīras as 'shining with lustre due to their beautiful bodies' (*jvalata iva parama vapuṣā*). The inscription engraved on the pedestal of the Yakṣa image describes it as Maṇibhadra and refers to its enshrinement by the clan of Maṇibhadra-worshippers (*Maṇibhadrabhaktāḥ*). The discovery of many inscribed and uninscribed images of the Buddha, the Bodhisattvas, the Jinas and their male and female attendants (Yakṣas and Śāsanadevatās) belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era prove how iconism had come to play a great part in the rituals of the various Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical religions of contemporary India.

Icon-making rules in the Late Gupta and Post-Gupta periods. There was a phenomenal development in art during the Gupta age when sculptural representations of divinities were at their best. In this period many changes were introduced in the tenets of the different cults, and with this reorientation new varieties of icons had to be made. There was also an attempt to codify the canons followed by the artists. Some of the Purāṇas, the Upapurāṇas, and the Pāñcarātra and Śaiva Āgamas which appear to have attained their present shape during the late Gupta period and after, contain sections dealing with the characteristic signs of the various

kinds of images (*pratimālakṣaṇas*). The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, generally assigned to the 6th century A.D., contains a chapter which deals not only with the essential details connected with the iconography of some principal Brahmanical deities, of the Buddha and the Jinas, but also expatiates on the iconometric technicalities. Sections of some of the Mahāpurāṇas like the *Matsya* and *Agni*, a few of the Upapurāṇas like the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, and Āgamas like *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*, *Vaikhānasāgama*, *Suprabhedāgama* and *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, contain important iconographic and iconometric details useful for the identification and study of Brahmanical icons. Many other works dealing mainly with these and other allied topics, like the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa* and *Śilparatna*, compiled at a much later period are also of great use for the study of medieval Hindu images. Development of theistic Buddhism into Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna forms necessitated the making of various types of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images, and the canons for their construction were codified afterwards. A short Sanskrit text of the medieval period, *Pratimālakṣana* or *Samyak-Sambuddhabhāṣita Pratimālakṣana* deals with the iconography and iconometry of the Buddha image in about fifty couplets. Special types of texts known as *Sādhanamālā* (collection of regulations serving as aids for the progress of the Vajrayāna aspirants in the attainment of the *Śūnyatā* or *Nirvāṇa*), compiled mostly in the late medieval period in Eastern India and Nepāl, contain useful materials for the study of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhist iconography. Canonical literature compiled by the Jaina theologians of the early medieval period are helpful in the study of Jaina iconography.

Divine Images. The codification of rules for the making of varieties of divine images was one of the many factors that contributed to the development of icono-plastic art in India. A brief survey of some of these images connected with the different creeds as developed in medieval times will affirm this observation. The *Vaikhānasāgama*, a medieval Pāñcarātra text, lays down the rules for the making of as many as thirty-six varieties of the *Dhruvaberas* of Viṣṇu, and medieval sculptures partly corresponding to at least some of these textual descriptions have been found. There are also the esoteric concepts of the *Vyūha* (emanatory) and the *Vibhava* (incarnatory) aspects of the Lord Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu as delineated in various Pāñcarātra texts, and numerous images corresponding in essential details to these textual delineations have been discovered. It is true that comparatively a few among them were meant for enshrinement in the main sancta of the Vaiṣṇava shrines, but the numerous others that were used as decorative motifs in the various sections of the temples or the shrines subsidiary to them were also of great interest and importance. The different varieties of the anthropomorphic images of Śiva, comprehensive descriptions of which are found in many of the Śaiva Āgamas, were, however, given a secondary position in Śaiva temples, the main sancta there being

almost invariably occupied by the phallic emblem of Śiva (*Śivaliṅga*). The Śākta and Saura temples were comparatively few, but varieties of images originally associated with them, descriptions of a good many of which occur in the relevant texts, have been found in all parts of India. The *Sādhanamālā* canons already mentioned, contain descriptions of numerous types of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna deities, such as the Dhyānī Buddhas, the Dhyānī Bodhisattvas, many male and female deities like Jambhala, Heruka, Yamāri, Tārā and her different aspects, Mārīcī, Nairātmā, Parṇaśavarī and others. Medieval images mostly corresponding to these textual descriptions have been discovered in various parts of India, especially Eastern India. The same remark can be made with regard to Jaina iconographic literature, as well as types of Jaina images more or less similar to the delineations in the texts. The medieval Jaina icons are comparatively abundant in Rājasthān and adjoining regions, where the creed is even now very popular.

Secular Sculptures. The observations made above do not necessarily prove that secular sculptures were never made. A passage in the *Śukranītisāra* says that 'images of divinities' (*devaviṃba*), even if they are without the characteristic signs, are beneficial to men; those of mortals (*martyavimba*), on the other hand, even if they are endowed with them, are never so. This indicates that statues of royalty and dignitaries were also made. A fragmentary sculpture consisting of only the two feet of a standing human figure firmly planted on a pedestal in the collection of the Mathurā Museum is described in the inscription as 'the image of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Ulāna' (*Mahādaṇḍanāyakasya Ulānasya pratimā*). This Ulāna appears to have been a Śaka dignitary (commander-in-chief) of the 1st century A.D. The inscribed sculptures of Wima Kadphises, Kaniṣka and the Mahākṣatrapa Caṣṭana found in the vicinity of Mathurā also substantiate this theory. It is true that these Kuṣāṇa emperors especially were endowed with some divine traits, and their statues were placed in royal galleries with some sanctity attached to them, but they could certainly not be put in the same category with the images of gods and goddesses. Sculptures of some Pallava kings, some kings and queens of Vijayanagar of a much later date, as also of other potentates have been found, and many of them again were shown in the attitude of paying homage to the deities they worshipped. Secular sculptures were also being carved in high relief as accessories and decorative motifs on sections of religious structures from a very early period. The funerary monuments of Bharhūt, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī contain scenes depicting divine and secular themes side by side in a very interesting manner. This practice continued afterwards; Indian artists, generally averse to leaving any space on their religious structures uncarved, filled these spaces with reliefs depicting mythological themes connected not only with Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanical Hinduism, but also with those illustrating the various aspects of secular life. They drew equally on the Jātaka

tales of the Buddha, the life-story of the Jina Pārśvanātha, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* mythology and the epic stories of Rāma-Rāvaṇa and Kuru-Pāṇḍava wars. They made use of erotic themes which had aberrant developments in the temples of Khajurāho, Bhuvaneśvar and Konārak. Whatever the reasons behind these aberrations, there is little doubt that the ancient and medieval sculptors of India practised the kind of art in which secular and religious elements were intermixed, though the former were usually subordinated to the latter.

Principal chracteristics of Gupta Sculptures. It will be necessary now to refer briefly to some main features of Indian sculptural art in the Gupta age. The sculptures of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period belonging to the Mathurā school retained to a great extent the volume and physicality of the earlier folk art. But the Gupta sculptures especially those of the Sārnāth school, though based on early traditions, are clearly indicative of a new aesthetic quality, serving as 'the conscious vehicle of the intellectual and spiritual conceptions of the people'. The youthful human form became the pivot of Gupta sculpture, and was rendered 'in terms of similitudes drawn from various elements of nature'. The sculptors of the age presented the human form in different attitudes, mostly standing and seated, in accordance with the nature of the divine image type which it was meant to represent. The idealized human form again with its delicate curves and nuances was shown to the fullest advantage with the help of diaphanous drapery which revealed more than it concealed. The human figure meant to represent various types of deities and its hands shown in a variety of poses (*mudrās*) which were suggestive characterizations of their individual actions. The major *mudrās* like the *abhaya* (assurance), *varadā* (boon conferring) and *dhyāna* (meditation) are found in earlier sculptures, but Gupta art introduced many more and rendered them all with a great deal of ethereal delicacy. These hand-poses are particularly noticeable in the Buddha figures, one significant variety of which, the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, is a very intelligent rendering of the two separate poses of *jñāna* (attainment of knowledge) and *vyākhyāna* (expounding the knowledge) in a skilful combination. The *āsanas* (sitting postures) and the *sthānaka bhaṅgas* (standing flexions of the body) also attained characteristic variations which were now plastically rendered with graceful poise and spiritual elevation seldom attained in the later art of India. Sārnāth was the principal centre from which radiated the Gupta sculptural tradition to various other parts of India, though it lost much of its charm and delicacy in the course of its migrations.

Post-Gupta and Early Medieval Sculptures. The sculptures of the post Gupta period, though retaining to some extent the earlier classical idiom, came to be characterized by regional variations which were instrumental in ushering in the medieval schools of sculpture associated with different parts of India. Such regions as Eastern India,

Western India, Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley, Central India, Deccan, the Tamilnād and the extreme North (especially Kashmir) served as the venues of bands of skilful sculptors who practised their art through the media of stone, bronze and clay. Tārānātha refers to the two famous artists of Gauḍa, Dhīmān and Bīṭpāla, who flourished during the early Pāla period. We are not in a position now to recognize in any of the sculpture groups of medieval Bengal specimens of their handiwork, but we can at least point out one fine medieval image of Sūrya in the collection of the British Museum. This is the work of Amṛta, another Gauḍiyan sculptor of no mean ability, mentioned in two line pedestal inscription in characters of the 10th century A.D. The Pāhārpur reliefs and many other extant sculptures of Eastern India belonging to the early medieval period, mark the intermediate stage in the evolution of the hieratic art of the Pāla period out of local adaptations of the Gupta idioms. In these art objects is to be noticed a growing tendency towards a general heaviness of form also characteristic of the other contemporary art creations. The sensuous element which is manifest in some groups of Pāhārpur sculptures, was to culminate later in the voluptuous figure of Gaṅgā of the Sena period in the collection of the Rājshāhi Museum. But hieratism also developed side by side, and the medieval images of the principal sectarian deities came to be smothered with heavy decorative details not so obtrusively noticeable in classical art.

The Deccan and the Tamilnād witnessed an important outburst of sculptural art in the early medieval period, clearly indicating a heightened aesthetic consciousness of the people. The groups of rock-cut sculptures of Mahābalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta, to name only a few, characterize in a remarkable manner the different phases of this artistic consciousness. The Mahābalipuram reliefs with their intense naturalism and disciplined vitality, the Ellora sculptures with their vivid, dramatic and dynamic presentation of epic themes, and lastly Elephanta with its elemental carvings illustrating in a superb way stories connected with Śiva show how the noble artists of South India could raise the art of sculpture to magnificent heights of aesthetic achievement. The subsequent art creations of Coḷa sculptors of the time of Rājarāja the Great and Rājendracoḷa, though they were remarkable in their own way, could not reach the standard of their earlier counterparts. The Coḷa artists, however, excelled in the casting of metal images, and the bronze images of Naṭarāja and several other deities rank as some of the finest sculptures of India.

C. PAINTINGS

Proto-historic and Pre-historic Paintings. Recent exacavations at Nevāsa have yielded two pieces of pottery bearnig painted representations

of a dog and a deer with a pair of wavy horns. Treated in a generalized manner but with emphasis on linear and plastic movement, sense of volume and feeling for life, these are the earliest specimens of creative painting in India. Potteries painted with geometrical or vegetal patterns are known from the Chalcolithic Indus Valley as well, but they can hardly be considered as creative expressions in meaningful line, volume and colour. Drawings and paintings on the walls of rock-cut caves of primitive people of a relatively later age are also known from other places in India such as Mirzāpur. These are mostly hunting scenes drawn in sharp lines and angles, in isolated units or groups. Full of life and movement, they are presumably of magical significance. It is a far cry from the Pre-historic Indus Valley or Nevāsa to the historical period, and much happened along the arrowline of time of which we have no record until we reach the 5th century B.C.

Both Brahmanical and Buddhist literatures dating back to the pre-Christian period contain numerous references to painting of various types and techniques, to *citrāgāras* or picture galleries, to *lepya-citras*, *lekhya-citras* and *dhūli-citras*. *Lepya-citras* were representations of legendary lore, in line and colour on textiles, and were akin to the *caraṇa-citras* of an earlier and *paṭa-citras* of a later tradition. They might as well signify wall-paintings, later known as *bhitti-citras*, or walls and ceilings and floors where colour was applied with a brush. *Lekhya-citras* were probably line drawings or sketches, patterns and designs in colour rendered with a style or brush, and presumably of a decorative nature like *ālimpanas* or *ālpanās* of a later tradition. *Dhūli-citras* were in the same genre, except that the material used was dry powdered rice, white and coloured.

Earliest Evidences about Painting in the Historical Period. Literary records with a direct bearing on the art of painting are indeed numerous, and they show that from very early historical times painting, both secular and religious, was considered an important form of artistic expression and widely practised. The theoretical basis of the art of which there are frequent allusions, led at a later period to the formation of definite principles of theory, technique and classification of various kinds of painting. Of the ancient paintings, however, no specimens exist, since paintings were done generally on perishable materials such as textiles, leaves and barks of trees, and wood, or on semi-permanent materials such as plastered walls. The earliest extant painting of the historical period consists of a few irregular rows of human figures in yellow and ochre, and a band with representation of large aquatic animals in the same colours, arranged in sections of the irregularly vaulted ceiling of the Sītābeṅgā or Yogīmārā caves in the Rāmgarh hills. Enough of these paintings remain to indicate that they were done in 'tempera', and that the artists had considerable knowledge and practice. These paintings have been assigned to about the middle of the 1st century B.C. on the basis of parallelism of

their form with that of the early Sāñcī and Jaggayyapeta sculptured reliefs. Mural paintings in caves nos. IX and X of Ajaṇṭā are also of certain significance in the evolution of painting in the early historical phase. Only small portions of these are preserved, but enough remains to indicate that they are mature works. Certain faint traces of early painting are also found on the walls of the *caitya* cave at Bedsā, but these have been obscured by later whitewashing. The paintings are laid over a fine coat of plaster, finished by another coat of finely polished white priming. The outlines were drawn first in broad sweeps, and details were added later. Natural earth and rock, found locally, formed most of the pigments in which red in different tones, green, grey, brown, yellow and white predominate. These paintings correspond to contemporary tradition in narrative reliefs as at Sāñcī and Buddha Gayā.

Paintings in classical Literature. From extant records, literary and archaeological, the art of painting seems to have achieved a high popularity and an equally high aesthetic and technical standard during the classical period (*c.* A.D. 350–700). The literature of the period, both creative and technical, shows that painting was considered an essential social accomplishment not only in the cities, among members of the upper strata of society including princes, ladies and nobles of the court, but also among members of the various professional guilds and amateurs. The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana lists painting as one of the sixty-four *kalās* or fine arts and mentions paints, brushes and drawing-boards as essential accessories of an average citizen (*nāgaraka*). Yaśodhara's commentary on Vātsyāyana's work indicates that attempts were already being made to give theoretical and technical guidance to an increasingly large number of amateurs and professionals practising 'he art. Yaśodhara refers to the *Ṣaḍāṅga* or six limbs of painting, viz., *ṛūpabheda, pramāṇas, bhāva, lāvaṇyayojana, sādṛśya* and *varṇikabhaṅga*, even if differently interpreted by various modern scholars, they have a st.iking similarity with the list of six canons of more or less contemporary texts on Chinese painting. The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (*c.* 6th Century A.D.) and the *Viṣṇudharmmottara* (*c.* 7th century A.D.) introduce such technical details as *vajralepa* or method of preparation of the ground for murals, preparation and application of colours, methods of shading, adding highlights, foreshortening of limbs and features, different methods of treating the volume, expression of mood and movement (*bhāva* and *cetanā*) and classification of painting according to themes. All these and other references in contemporary literature, including the works of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Viśākhadatta, Bāṇa and Buddhaghoṣa, the Epics and the Purāṇas, leave no doubt that intellectual ferment of the classical period led to serious and detailed thinking about the theory and technique of painting. It was during this period that the aesthetic cannons of the art of painting were formularized.

Classical Paintings. The actual remains of paintings of the period are, however, few in number. There are faint traces of painting on the walls of the caves at Kānheri (cave XIV, 6th century A.D.), Aurangābād (caves III and VI, 6th century A.D.) and Pitalkhora (*caitya* cave I, 6th century A.D.), all in the Deccan, in the facade of a cave at Keonjhar (6th century A.D.) in the North and in the rock-cut temples at Tirumalaipuram (Digambara Jaina, 7th century A.D.) and Malayadipatti (Vaiṣṇava, A.D. 788–840) both in the South. More substantial remains are to be found in the caves at Bāgh (notably cave IV, *c.* A.D. 500), Ajaṇṭā (caves I, II, XVI, XVII, XIX, 6th and 7th century A.D.) and Bādāmi (cave III, 6th centry A.D.); in a Jaina shrine at Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal (7th centry A.D.), and a Śaiva shrine at Kāñcīpuram (Kailāsanātha temple, 7th century A.D.), both in the South; and in the rock-cave at Sigiri in Ceylon (5th-6th centry A.D.). But whether such paintings are from the North, the Deccan, or the South, whether they are Buddhist, Jaina or Brahmanical in content, the norm can best be viewed at Bāgh, Ajaṇṭā and Sigiri. All wall-paintings of the period, *bhitti-citra* of literary texts, belong to a common denominator, formally and technically differentiated to some extent only by those at Ellora of a somewhat later date, where a new tradition emerges.

Technique and Form. An interesting part of the technique of the paintings is the method of preparation of the ground. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* lays down a complete prescription which it calls *vajralepa;* but it appears from the extant paintings that this prescription was not used anywhere. Powdered rock, clay and cowdung not infrequently mixed with chaff or vegetable fibres, sometimes also with *mudga* decoction or molasses, were made into a pastelike substance which was thoroughly and evenly pressed like plaster on the hard and porous surface of the rock. The plaster was then levelled and polished with a trowel and, when still wet, it was overlaid with a coat of fine white lime wash. The ground thus prepared was generally allowed to dry before any colour was applied. Subsequently, the painted surface was lightly varnished. Indian murals of this period and of later periods as well are accordingly *fresco secco* and not true frescoes or *fresco buono*. The outlines were first boldly drawn in *dhāturāga* or red ochre; the contours were then filled in with red, and overlaid with a very thin monochrome *terra verte* so that the red showed through. While the local colour in different tones was applied, the outline was renewed in brown, deep red or black, with thin or broad shading, to give it an effect of rounded three dimensional volume fully modelled. Indian line aims not at calligraphic fineness but at bold and rounded plasticity. If the modelling quality of the line is potent in varying degrees, the modelling quality of colour is equally valid. The latter was done not only by employing of colour shades and tones but also by laying on high lights, to suggest *natonnata* or *uccāvaca* (high and low surface and depth), in varying planes. The figures are thus made to appear in fully rounded and plastic volumes.

The principal colours used were red ochre (*dhāturāga*), vivid red (*kuṁkuma* or *sindūra*), yellow ochre (*haritāla*), indigo blue, lapis lazuli blue, lampblack (*kajjala*), chalk-white (*khaḍi māṭi*), *terra verte* (*geru māṭi*), and green (orpiment or powdered verdigris, *jaṅgal*). All the colours were locally available except lapis lazuli, which was perhaps imported from Jaipur or from a foreign country. Mixed colours were used, for example grey, on rare occasions. Not all the colours were used every where, nor with the same consistency, which was determined by the theme and local atmosphere. Generally speaking, classical Indian painting does not aim at contrasts of a medley of colours, but attempts at saturating the surface with highly charged and dense colours,*terra verte*, Indian red and earth buff, in countless tones and shades. This charged saturation, fully modelled and shaded, adds to the classic dignity of the paintings.

The theme of the extant paintings at Bāgh and Ajaṇṭā, Bādāmi and Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal is religious. But in their inner meanings and spirit, and in general direction and atmosphere, nothing could be more secular, courtly and sophisticated. The tendency is towards the expression of mood and unfoldment of charm and their appeal is worldly and aesthetic, that is, limited to sensory experience, and not to spiritual in any way. Only a small fraction remains of what must once have covered the entire flat spaces of the caves at Bāgh and Ajaṇṭā. But even these fragments unmistakably portray a crowded world of gods and semi-divine beings, *apsarās* and *kinnaras*, genii and grotesques, a rich and varied flora, of human pageantry and processions, of gaiety and love, grace and charm, sublimity and coarseness, all bathed in the mellow light of the softness and elegance of a highly intellectual, refined and sophisticated civilization. A dramatic panorama of contemporary life, endowed with the richness of expression of refined emotions and sensibilities of a highly cultured society, is rendered with an unequivocal skill. Yet all this is lifted to a high spiritual level by a lofty detachment along with the intensity of subtle and mystical experience in a direct and broad humanistic context.

If Bāgh, Ajaṇṭā and Bādāmī represent the classical tradition of the North and the Deccan at its best, Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal, Kāñcīpuram, Malayadipatti and Tirumalaipuram show the extent of its penetration in the South. The paintings of Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal (abode of the Jaina *siddhas*) are intimately connected with Jaina theme and symbology; those at the other three centres are Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava in theme and inspiration. Despite the fluidity and amplitude of plastically modelled curves, contours and lines of the classical tradition, the later medieval tradition is already making itself felt in these paintings—flat and abstract surfaces on the one hand and linear and somewhat angular designs on the other.

Early Medieval Paintings. (*a*) *Deccan*. Of a somewhat later date, perhaps belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. are the remnants of paintings on the ceilings and walls of a number of caves and

temples excavated out of the living rock at Ellora—Kailāsa, Indrasabhā, Gaṇeśa, Laṅkeśvara Daśāvatāra and Dhumar *Leṇas*, Brahmanical and Jaina in religious affiliation. The general composition of these paintings is measured out in rectangular panels with thick flat borders; they have been conceived within the given limits of frames that hold the paintings. Space, therefore, in the sense of Ajaṇṭā does not exist at Ellora. The technique of preparing the ground and the colours used is, however, the same as in Ajaṇṭā. The majority of the figures and their movements belong to the classical tradition, but with considerable thinning down of the consistency of the modelling itself. The other form and stylistic variety is to be seen in a type of figures and clouds mainly linear in treatment and practically without any modelling of the plastic volume. This general thinning down of the roundness of volume and outline and the angularity of composition has been due to what is called the 'medieval' tendency.

(b) *South India* (c. A.D. *1100–1300*).

In south of the Deccan remnents of wall-paintings belonging to this period are still found on the walls of the Vijayālaya Coḷeśvara temple at Nārttāmalai in the erstwhile Pudukkoṭṭai State (c. A.D. 1100), in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thanjāvūr (c. A.D. 1100), on the brick-built walls affixed in front of the cave at Tirumalai in North Arcot (c. A.D. 1100) and also in the cave (c. A.D. 1300–1350), on the walls of the *Saṅgīta-maṇḍapa* at Tiruparuttikunram in Kāñcīpuram (A.D. 1387–88) and the Ucayappa *maṭha* at Anegundi (about the same date). In all these paintings Coḷa physiognomical and stylistic forms are apparent and the classical values of full roundness of volume and subtle plasticity are retained. But at the same time there is also a strongly perceptible lessening of the consistency of colour-modelling and hence a flattening of the surface, despite ample curves and colour tones. There is also a clear tendency towards sharpening of the lines, in the later paintings at any rate.

(c) *Western India* (c. A.D. *1100–1300*).

From what we know of the settlements of 'northern' peoples at least from the beginning of the Christian era to about the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. their impact seems to have been strongest in Western India, mainly in Gujarāt and West Rājasthān, and to some extent in West Mālwa as well. In consequence, 'northern' or 'medieval' traits are most marked in the paintings of those regions. The geographical position of Gujarāt and the adjoining regions made them centres of great international trade, whence the arterial routes to the heart of Northern India lay through Mālwa and Rājasthān. The inland trade was mostly in the hands of Jainas who had always been zealous guardians of past traditions and great patrons of religion and art. Their monastic establishments of which the *bhaṇḍāras* or libraries were invariable integrals, especially those of Mārwār on one side and Kāthiāwār on the other, were important centres of artistic activity.

The first thing that holds one's attention in West Indian paintings is that these are invariably manuscript illustrations in miniature, executed on palm-leaf, and later, from about the middle of the 14th century A.D. on paper which was gradually supplanting palm-leaf as writing material. Palm-leaf was not altogether given up till the beginning, at any rate, of the 15th century A.D. A connected sequence of these paintings is available in a large number of manuscripts, both dated and undated, that range from about the beginning of the 12th to about the end of the 15th century. More than four centuries of these manuscript paintings in miniature, despite a common denominator that belongs to the strong' medieval' factor, do not represent one integrated style in a regular process of evolution. The common denominator is easily known by the sharp and pointed lines flatly laid in thin or thick strokes; by the almost flat laying of colours in two-dimensional effect with only the slightest suggestion of modelled plasticity; by the treatment of the eyes, nose and body-joints that are given an accentuated appearance and effect through overall emphasis on sharp pointed angles and lines; by the flat treatment of all decorative and architectural devices; and by certain geometrical decorative designs that are typically 'northern'. West Indian miniature paintings are highly stylized and conventional, cold and mechanical. Technically, however, they are examples of perfect craftsmanship and pure pictorial significance.

(d) *Eastern India and Nepāl (c.* A.D. *950–1300).*

Specimens of painting datable earlier than the period of Pāla culture have not yet been found anywhere in Eastern India or Nepāl. Extant specimens of early paintings in Eastern India, up to the 13th century A.D. at any rate, are illustrations on palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, and on their wooden covers. These illuminations are almost all, with a few exceptions, of Vajrayāna Buddhist inspiration. The miniatures do not represent a separate style of book-illustration; they are, in fact, mural paintings in reduced dimensions, and can in no way be compared with the truly characteristic phase of book-illustration that constitutes a fascinating chapter in the history of painting in Persia, China, Medieval Europe and late Medieval India. Nor have they anything to do with folk-painting; on the other hand, they reveal an already developed form and technique intimately linked with an art practice which must have existed in the form of large wall-paintings or manuscript illustrations that continued uninterrupted the earlier tradition of Bāgh and Ajaṇṭā. The colours used are orpiment yellow, white, indigo blue, Indian ink-black or *kajjala,* cinnabar red and green which appers to be a mixture of orpiment and indigo, unlike the green of Ajaṇṭā. All these colours are used in different shades. Tonality of colours is practically unknown, but highlights are given by the application of white. Compositionally, these illuminations follow certain well-known schematic principles of balance.

With the help of dated manuscripts, it is possible to arrange these miniatures in a rough chronological sequence—this, however, will hardly show any stylistic evolution. Formally and psychologically the miniatures are conventional, and inevitably betray a traditional outlook. Stylistically, they are painted equivalents of the contemporary plastic art of the Pālas and the Senas, both in outer form and inner meaning; the painter simulated the plastically modelled mass of the sculptor by means of colours applied with varying degrees of thinness or consistency, as also with the help of linear inflexions. The best specimens of this tradition can be seen in the illuminations of two *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts executed in the 5th and 6th years of king Mahipāla, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* manuscripts in the possession of S. Roerich, and another *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript dated, Nepālese era 191, in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

East Indian manuscripts refer to the regnal years of the Pāla kings, but those from Nepāl are invariably dated in the Nepālese era. Nepālese paintings comprise not only manuscript-illustrations but also *prabhās* or painted banners and painted wooden manuscript-covers; dated and illuminated manuscripts are known from the 11th century and dated banners from the 16th, though painted Nepālese banners ascribed to the 9th and succeeding centuries were discovered at Tun-huang. The best examples of manuscript paintings are preserved in the libraries of the Cambridge University, the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and the Bir Library, Kātmāndu.

D. DANCE, DRAMA AND MUSIC

Dance. The *Ṛg-Veda* mentions dance (*nṛti*) and danseuse (*nṛtu*) and compares the brilliant dawn (*Uṣas*) to a bright-attired danseuse. In the Brāhmaṇas, *Jaiminīya* and *Kauṣitaki*, dance and music are mentioned together. The Epics are full of references to dances on earth and heaven. It is from Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* (2nd century B.C.—2nd century A.D.) that we have full technical knowledge of the art. From this earliest available text on the arts of drama, dance and music, we learn that there were two styles of dance, the forceful manly type called *Tāṇḍava* promulgated by Śiva and the graceful feminine type, *Lāsya*, associated with Pārvatī. The former comprised one hundred and eight poses called *Karaṇas*, built into sequences called *Aṅgahāras*. *Lāsya*, having soft and graceful movements, is described by Bharata as an interpretative dance in which ten or twelve detached love-motifs are set. It is from *Lāsya* that the classical solo dance and the South Indian nautch (*Bharata Nāṭyam*) were directly derived. A full story composed for dance and gesture-interpretation by a single danseuse also came into vogue. Dance in which there were only beautiful movements was called *nṛtta* and that which had an emotional theme to be mimed was called *nṛtya*. There were several designs executed in the

graceful *Lāsya* to be done by groups of ladies called *Latā* (creeper), *Śṛṅkhalā* (chain) and other patterns (*Piṇḍībandhas*). From poems, prose works and plays, we come to know of the dances that were popular e.g. *Carcarī*, the spring dance, the *Kanduka-nṛtta* or ball-dance, *Chalika*, *Cillimārga*, and *Yoginīvalayanartana*. In course of time, as the art spread over the country, several new poses and movements as developed in different regions were assimilated. *Karaṇas*, *Sthānas*, *Cārīs* (movements of legs) as also *Utplutis*, *Bhrāmarīs* (jumps and wheeling movements) were added under the caption *Deśī*. *Deśī-lāsya* with its several new motifs and modes of performance and points of appeal became far more elaborate than the old *Lāsya*. *Rāsa* and *Hallīsa*, associated with Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs, *Goṇḍalī* of the hunters of Mahārāshtra codified by Someśvara of Kalyāṇa, and the Śaivite *Peraṇī* are the more prominent among these new dances. New dance-drama types arose in which the elements of song and drama predominated. The great vogue and richness of this art are reflected in the visual arts of these centuries.

Drama. Indigenous tradition as well as modern research trace the origin of Indian drama in the Vedas. In the Vedic sacrifices, with specific dress and directions, action accompanies the recital of texts; also in rites like the purchase of *Soma*, action once performed is reproduced. In the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* we hear of drama troupes of women (*vadhu-nāṭaka saṅghas*). At the time of Paṇini (500 B.C.) two sage-writers, Śilālin and Kṛsāśva, codified the art of the actors into *Naṭa Sūtras*. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (c. 4th century B.C.) mentions musicians, dancers and dramatic shows, and we already hear of the poet-minister Subandhu writing a play, as a series of Act within an Act and intertwining a Mauryan court intrigue with the Udayana-Vāsavadattā romance. The next epoch is perhaps that of the great Bhāsa who wrote plays based on the stories of Udayana, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Svapnavāsavadattā* being his masterpiece. In the 2nd century B.C. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* refers to several aspects of the drama, the actors, the women, the music, the stage, *Rāsa* and the performances called *Kaṁsavadha* and *Balibandha*. With Bhāsa, two other writers, Saumilla and Kaviputra, are remembered as ancient masters of the theatre, but no plays of theirs have survived. In the 1st century B.C. or A.D., Aśvaghoṣa, the Mahāyāna Buddhist, wrote a philosophical play on the Buddha, with some of the characters as abstract concepts, and fragments of this play *Sāriputraprakaraṇa* have been unearthed from Central Asia.

The text of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* took its present form between 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. Here we have a complete treatise on the theatre in all its departments: the origin and nature of drama, construction of the playhouse (rectangular, square and triangular types), the dance, the sentiments, physical actions in respect of different limbs, languages, rhetoric and text, speaking of the text on the stage, regional manners, styles of action, types of drama, construction of plot, make-up and stage

property, production and appreciation, and music. As envisaged by Bharata, ancient Indian drama was produced with music and miming. The evocating of sentiments in the spectators' hearts was considered the chief aim of the play. Tragic elements and pathos (*karuṇā*) were recognized, but tragedy in the Greek manner was absent, a fact which shows that Indian drama had an indigenous growth and did not come under Greek impact. Bharata describes ten varieties of plays and one derivative type, the heroic *nāṭaka* and the social *prakaraṇa* are the most perfect among them, the *nāṭikā* being a derivative. The farce, amorous monologue and others are shorter and less perfect forms. The most brilliant examples of heroic *nāṭaka* are the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* and the *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa (assigned to 4th century A.D.); the *nāṭikā* is illustrated by the same poet's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The foremost example of the social *Prakaraṇa* and indeed a unique creation of the Sanskrit stage is the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of King Śūdraka of uncertain date and identity. King Harṣavardhana (7th century A.D.), besides writing two *nāṭikās* on the Udayana romance, created a stir in the world of drama with his Buddhistic *Nāgānanda*. By introducing the hero's self-sacrifice he paved the way for the recognition of the sentiment of quietude and resignation (*śānta*) as a fit emotion (*rasa*) for a play. That one of his plays, *Ratnāvalī*, was very popular is seen from frequent citation of it in works of dramaturgy and from a description of its production in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta (8th century A.D.). Bhavabhūti (*c.* A.D. 700) of the court of Yaśovarman of Kannauj, himself a dramatist, excelled in the presentation of pathos in his *Uttararāmacarita* and made bold experiments in his social play *Mālatīmādhava*. Viśākhadatta, scion of a royal house (*c.* A.D. 800), liked historical and political themes and produced two unique plays, the *Mudrārākṣasa* on Cāṇakya and Candragupta and the *Devīcandragupta*, not yet recovered, on Candragupta Vikramāditya II. Another lost social play of great merit is the *Puṣpadūṣitaka*. Many plays were written on the basis of the *Mahābhārata*, but of these the only surviving one is the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (before A.D. 800). In the South, King Mahendravikrama Pallava of Kāñcī (7th century) wrote two *prahasaṇas* (farces), *Mattavilāsa* and the famous *Bhagavadajjuka*. Of the amorous monologue class (*Bhāṇa*), we have four excellent specimens belonging to this period by Śūdraka, Vararuci, Īśvaradatta and Śyāmilaka. The philosophical play, of which we saw an early attempt in Aśvaghoṣa's work, was taken up in Kashmīr by the logician Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (10th century A.D.) in his *Āgamāḍambara* or *Ṣaṇmatanāṭaka*. Versatile Rājaśekhara (*c.* A.D. 900) attempted a whole drama in Prākṛt. A definite genre of allegorical plays, presenting different schools of philosophy and religion with abstract concepts as characters, was begun in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra (11th century A.D.).

The ten older types of play described by Bharata were called *Rūpaka*.

From early times, there grew up different kinds of stage performances in which the text took a musical form and the presentation was through song and dance. Such types came to be recognized, perhaps by the most important post-Bharata writer Kohala, as *Uparūpaka* and these were more popular in theme and production; in fact, they stand midway between the classical stage and the stage of the spoken languages. Some of them are pure dances e.g., *Hallīsaka* and *Rāsaka*. Those that took more of the drama-form are *Prekṣaṇaka, Ḍombī, Prasthāna, Śilpaka* (*Ṣiḍgaka*), *Bhāṇaka* and *Śrīgadita*. Many of these are seen in Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭya Śāstra* and Bhoja gives a full description of all these in his *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*.

All these varieties, *Rūpaka* as well as *Uparūpaka*, were produced on the stage—this is known from references in the *Kāmasūtra* and *Kuṭṭanīmata* which speak of itinerant actor-troupes, and from Act IV of the *Vikramorvaśīya* that has come down to us. Further, Śāradātanaya in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* specifically states that he had seen the actual production of all the varieties.

After Bharata and Kohala, many theorists wrote on dramaturgy–Mātṛgupta of Kashmīr (*c.* 6th century A.D.), the Buddhist Rāhula and a succession of commentators on Bharata culminating in Abhinavagupta. Many noteworthy aesthetic theories were also evolved, mainly in Kashmīr, with regard to the stage-reality and spectators' experience and enjoyment. Among these, the *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* or universalization of *Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka*, the *Sahṛdaya* (the spectator becoming attuned in the heart to the poet) and *Hṛdayaviśrānti* (aesthetic repose of the heart of the spectator) of Abhinavagupta may be mentioned. The most handy and popular text on dramaturgy was the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya with the gloss *Avaloka* of his brother Dhanika, written in Mālwa (10th century A.D.). King Bhoja propounded a new and significant, though less known, theory of artistic appeal and culture in his *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*.

Music. There are numerous references to music in the Vedas, *Ṛg* and *Yajus*, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. Two kinds of flutes, two other wind instruments, five kinds of drums, five types of stringed instruments including the hundred-stringed *vāṇa*, and cymbals as well as their players are mentioned. The *vīṇā* whose parts are named in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, was played in the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, and in the *Mahāvrata* ceremony a lute and drum were played. The *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of dance and music (*nṛta-gīta*) jointly; and the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* puts dance and vocal and instrumental music together as 'art' (*śilpa*). Most important of all was the sacred singing that formed an intrinsic part of all sacrifices. This was the task of a special priest called *Udgātṛ* and the hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*, ordinarily recited to three accents, were sung by him in a musical manner; such hymns constitute the *Sāma-Veda*. *Sāman* means music; an equally ancient name for *Sāman*-singers is *Talavakāras*, meaning "music-

makers". At first, the *Sāman* recital had only three notes; gradually the fourth and the fifth came to be employed, and occasionally the sixth and the seventh notes too appeared. When sung, numerous meaningless syllables called *stobhas* were added in between the words and their syllables to eke out the melodies. The *Sāman*-scale as given in the *Nārada Śikṣā* was a descending one starting with the *madhyama* note. The Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads speak of the great spiritual efficacy of *Sāman*-singing. All later music developed from the *Sāman*; in composition and actual singing there are indeed several links between *Sāman* and later music. The science of music called the *Gāndharva Veda* is an *Upaveda* of the *Sāma-Veda*. Corresponding to the *Sāman* hymns, there grew up a body of quasi-sacred songs ascribed to Brahmā and as invariable in their music notation as the *Sāman*, these, *Aparānta, Ullopya, Madraka, Oveṇaka*, etc., are mentioned in *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* too as aids to spiritual effort.

Minstrels called *Sūta* and *Māgadha*, itinerant as well as attached to royal courts, preserved heroic rhapsodies, ballads and epics which they sang to the *vīṇā* as is borne out by passages in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; they were in demand at sacrificial sessions.

The earliest treatise on music that has come down to us is Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, which has absorbed portions of the earlier texts of Sadāśiva and Brahma. Bharata's main concern is drama, and since its technique includes dance and music, he deals with music in six chapters. He first speaks of the fundamentals of music and then of the use of vocal and instrumental music in dramatic performances. He dwells on the seven *svaras* or notes, the twenty-two *śrutis* or microtonal interervals and an experimental method of deducing them and their demonstration on two *vīṇās*, and eighteen melodic modes called *jātis*, seven from each of the two *grāmas*, *Ṣaḍja* and *Madhyama*, and two mixed ones. Then he deals with music compositions called *Dhruva* as used in drama, their metrics and symbolism and appropriateness of melodies for sentiments and situations, rhythm and instrumentation to accompany and accentuate the movement and action of actors. Elaborate instrumental music, such as one sees surviving today in Java and Bali and called *nirgītavādya*, was a characteristic of old Indian drama.

The texts that came after Bharata, like that of Kohala, are not available with the exception of a fragment of Dattila's work. This stage was marked by a gradual departure from the old school or style known as *Mārga* and *Gāndharva*. Already when Bharata wrote, one of the *Grāmas*, the *Gāndhāra Grāma*, had fallen into disuse. The *Mārga* was slowly giving way to *Deśī*. The chief elements of this change are that one of the two *Grāmas* mentioned by Bharata, the *Madhyama*, became obsolete, and the *jātis* gave place to the more specific melodic modes called *rāgas*—a momentous change which has since remained the main characteristic of Indian music. These *rāgas* were recognized, named on the basis of diverse

factors, classified and defined. Several of them bear the names of the regions of the country over which the major culture spread, taking in course of its expansion many local elements. All this material which grew considerably was dealt with by Mataṅga in a treatise bearing the significant title *Bṛhaddeśī*.[1]

This vast *rāga*-material was classified on the well-known linguistic analogy of Sanskrit, and primary, secondary and tertiary Prākṛts and called *Bhāṣā*, *Antarabhāṣā* and *Vibhāṣā*, under a particular old *Grāma-rāga*. A large number of new music compositions also arose, and from poetry and drama we know that songs were composed in the Prākṛt languages. Mataṅga mentions composition-varieties in Lāṭa, Gaṇḍa Karṇāṭa, Āndhra and Drāviḍa languages. Numerous works, some by eponymous sage and god authors and others by historical writers including the Buddhist Rāhula are known to have belonged to this period, but we have only fragments from them by way of quotations. Some of the Purāṇas too, *Vāyu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Viṣṇudharmottara* dealt with music. A succession of commentators on Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* arose, chiefly in Kashmīr, but the work of Abhinavagupta (A.D. 993–1050) alone is extant. His *Abhinavabhāratī* is a mine of information. Following Abhinavagupta, Nānyadeva (12th century A.D.) of the Karnāṭaka dynasty of Mithilā wrote his exhaustive exposition of Bharata's work, the *Bharata Bhāṣya*, in which the *Svara*-notations of old *Mārga* songs set in ancient *jātis* have been preserved. Two other important writers, among many who wrote on music, were King Bhoja of Dhārā (A.D. 1010–1055) and King Someśvara of Kalyāṇa; both of them gave the technical terms of music in a new musical vernacular called *Bhāṇḍika-bhāṣā*, and these became later the accepted musical terminology all over the country. By this time a larger volume of regional artistic contribution was taken into the fold of the art. Bhoja's work is yet to be recovered; Someśvara's is the thesaurus compiled by him in A.D. 1131 called *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*-it contains a precious section on music and dance. From the *Abhinavabhāratī* it is known that there were long song-poems which were intended to be sung in one or more *rāgas* and were called *Rāga-kāvya*. In the last quarter of the 12th century A.D. under Lakṣmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty flourished Jayadeva of Kendubilva in Orissa (according to some scholars the village was situated in Bengal)—who produced the most brilliant *Rāga-kāvya*, the *Gīta Govinda*, each song of which was set in a *rāga*. Composed on the theme of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, *Gīta Govinda* became a basic work for music and dance, and the countless imitations of it that began to appear bear testimony to its extraordinary appeal. Down to far-off Kerala, music, dance and dance-drama forms were inspired by Jayadeva's monumental creation. Tamil music has a number of terminology and concepts, parallel to what is found in Sanskrit works and yet with differences. The basic melody was called *Paṇ* and there were five *Paṇs* for the five geographical divisions

of the land. From these *Pans* seven *Pālais* or *Mūrcchanās* were derived, and from the latter twenty-one *tirams* or *rāgas*. The old basic Tamil scale may be identified with the modern South Indian *Harikambhoji Mela*. Several musical instruments, stringed and percussive are mentioned in Tamil literature; of the latter, the *Yāl*, an open harp, was the most important—it had many varieties. In the 7th century A.D., at Kuḍumiyāmalai (near Pudukkoṭṭai), king Mahendravikrama Pallava left a music inscription with notations for playing on the *Parivādinī-vīṇā;* and here one harks back to the Sanskrit texts. In the same Pallava age arose the Śaivite Nāyanārs and the Vaiṣṇavite Āḷvrās whose psalms were all set to music; the Śaivite psalms known as the Tevāram are still sung widely, though from time to time their melodies were equated with those current in the period. The oldest of them belonging to the period of this survey show melodies or *Paṇs* with Tamil as well as Sanskrit names; in lexicons, however, we have a still older and purely Tamil set of *Paṇ*-names. In the *Saṅgīta Ratnākara* of Śāraṅgadeva (beginning of the 13th century A.D.), the melodies of the Tevāram are referred to in a general way. Durng the Coḷa times, endowments and arrangements were made for their recital in temples, a practice which has continued to this day.

E. CRAFTS

India, with a rich cultural heritage, is well known for her deep-rooted tradition in arts and crafts. The rich and significant forms India achieved show how closely integrated with life and how expressive of a way of living crafts can be. That they have survived many vicissitudes is due to the fact that the craftsmen functioned as a vital part of the corporate village community. The system gave security, without which the artisans could not have developed their crafts and worked out age-old forms; countless recapitulations gave them a skill in virtue of which they could produce the most abstract without any conscious effort.

Many of the art forms were the result of deep spiritual experience. In a particular area, however, there might have been a key design which unlocked the secrets of other designs. Myths and legends prevalent among the people had a meaningful influence on the crafts. They stimulated intensity that resulted in distortions and exaggerations and the use of strongly contrasting colours. Even today an urban potter can make a tiger without any story element, but a tiger for the country folk must have some associations with a legend or rite. The votive cow found in the deer-rattle, recently discovered at Harinārāyanpur in West Bengal (now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University) may be of prehistoric origin; but this for similar form is still preserved in terracotta votive offerings made in parts of India. Here is an example of

how significant forms have survived in the craft through the centuries.

Dolls and Toys. A toy made by a village woman in India even today is essentially timeless. It has the impress of an age-long type which persists through periodic variations. A distinction must be drawn between hand-modelled and mould-made terracottas. Toys modelled by hand on the same theme can produce no exact replica, though their close primitive form may give an impression of uniformity. On the other hand, the moulded ones conform to patterns which are numerous and of which a large number of copies can be made. Sometimes the head is from a mould, while the lower portion is made on the wheel. The original mould is hand-made and carried from generation to generation in a potter's family. The variety and number of moulded terracottas are astonishng and the different purposes they serve are endless. It is in them that regional and time variations are most marked, new elements entering the old patterns and enriching them in many striking ways. Colour has been used to animate the figures since time immemorial; the artist's power of observation and true sense of colouring have always helped him to lend vitality to his creation.

Indian dolls and toys sometimes open up a world which knows no frontiers. They show striking affinities with certain types found in Egypt and Crete and even in centres of the Maya civilization. Flinders Petric points out that in a workman's quarter at Memphis there are Indian-type terracottas of women and of a seated Kubera. D.H. Gordon says that a linking of all the terracottas of the Hellenistic period from Eastern Mediterranean to Bengal is necessary. Sometimes the link between a particular doll and and a story, which is lost in this country, may be traced to other lands to which our folk-tales seem to have travelled in ancient times. In Japan, *Daruma* (*Dharma*) dolls are dedicated to Yakusi, the Buddhist God of medicine, and the *Guruma* type has something in common with an ancient Japanese toy known as *Buriburi*. The *Guruma* toy traces its origin to an old and celebrated legend of Umi-satī and Yama-satī.

Textiles. A study of ancient literature shows that Indian textiles enjoyed undisputed supremacy all over the civilized world for nearly 2,000 years. The *Ṛg-Veda* speaks of *hiraṇyadrāpi* or shining gold woven cloak in describing Varuṇa and uses the words *varmeva syutam* like a quilted jacket, in its reference to Agni as a protector of his votaries. The *Mahābhārata* mentions *maṇiclra*, probably a fabric with pearl-woven borders, and Pāli works refer to the *kaseyyaka* of Vārānasi, worth a hundred thousand silver pieces.

The numerous spindle whorls and bronze needles discovered at Mohenjo-daro testify to the wide popularity of the art of weaving and embroidery in ancient India; the fragments of cotton reveal traces of a purple dye, thought to be madder. Vegetable and stone-dyes were widely used since ancient times. The chief vegetable-dyes were indigo, chayroot, lac, turmeric and safflower. The *Śilparatna* describes the methods of preparing with various ingredients, mixed colours such as autumnal green, the colour

of elephant, and those of *vakula* fruit, fire and water. At first the basic colours alone were used. One still finds the use of these colours in the textiles produced by the Ādivāsīs. A greater grasp over the use of colours came with the development of dyes from minerals and the discovery of mordant. Tie-dying (*bāndhanā*) of textiles was also in vogue in ancient times and has been referred to in the *Mānasollāsa*.

Block printing of textiles is also an ancient art in India. It was certainly known in the days about which the Greek scholar Arrian wrote and probably in the days of the *Mahābhārata* as well. The most well-known of ancient printed textiles were the calicoes of Massalia, modern Masulipatam. The beauty of designs and colour and the fastness of the dyes made the ancient printed textiles of India popular all over the contemporary world, they served as the proto-types of most of the prints and chintzes familiar in Europe in the later days.

Embroidery was another ancient technique of textile designing in India. Though no example of embroidery work earlier than the 16th century A.D. has survived, there is ample evidence that it was quite popular in remote antiquity. Ancient and medieval sculptures, especially those representing goddesses, clearly prove this. The figures are shown wearing dresses fully embroidered in beautiful designs. The embroidery of Sind in modern times appears to have been greatly influenced by the neighbouring areas of Punjab and Kutch. It is highly probable that this prticular art was current in these regions from very early times. The Greek author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* mentions the export of embroidered cloth from several parts of Western India.

Bengal has long been a centre of rich embroidery work. The most famous of the embroideries of Bengal is the *Kānthā*, the multi-coloured quilt. Medieval folk-tales of Bengal often contain references to women skilfully plying the art of embroidery on the cloth quilts. But this art has nowhere been carried to such perfection as in Kashmīr. The woollen embroideries on Kashmīr shawls are held in great esteem everywhere. The designs on the earlier shawls were all woven. Presumably, this industry was in vogue here from early times.

Embroidery was practised in other parts of the country as well, for instance in Madras and Uttar Pradesh. The *cikan* work of Uttar Pradesh is famous for its delicate workmanship. The *kasutis* of Karnāṭaka and the Chamba *rumāla* are attractive. The embroidered *mekhalās* of Assam preserve a tradition which goes back to a legendary past. There is no reason to doubt that these are modern survivals of the art practised over a long period.

Indian craftsmen also mastered from ancient times the art of creating beautiful designs on the loom. The brocades are today the most gorgeous and highly ornamented of all Indian textiles. The designs were produced by threads of different colours and materials, skilfully interwoven. Pure

silk brocades are now known as *amrus* and those with a mixture of silk and cotton, as *himrus*. The most famous in legend and history are the *kinkhābs* or woven flowers, veritable cloths of gold. Gold wire was lavishly used in the ancient days to work out delicate patterns on *kinkhābs*, manufactured mainly in Vārānasi. Even today Vārānasi brocades are world famous. Other centres of brocades are Hyderābād, Gujarāt and Madras. The art of brocade weaving has survived the ravages of time and various types are produced in large quantities.

Jewellery. Of the many cultural traditions maintained by the people of India from time immemorial none is so strongly rooted as the habit of wearing ornaments of various kinds. Indian jewellery can be historically traced back to the period of the Indus Valley civilization when gold and semi-precious stones were in use for necklace, anklet and ear-rings. The close of the Vedic period witnessed the introduction of pearls in the making of jewellery. The unbroken continuity of the trend is further corroborated by archaeological and literary evidence of later dates; exacavated materials from Rupār, Taxila and so many other places; references in the Epics, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Bharatamuni's treatise on drama; and accounts left by Megasthenes, Arrian and others. Ornaments worn by the people are an inheritance from ancient times and have changed little with the passage of time. The ancient and medieval sculptures, mostly of the divine images, testify to the numerous types and varieties of ornaments that were in use in those older times.

Metal Craft. The knowledge of metallurgy was old and widespread in India. Metallic vessels were known in the Ṛg-Vedic period and subsequently, in the classical and medieval periods, copper, brass, bronze, gold and silver objects were in universal use. Two of the most interesting remains of the Gupta period, the Mehrauli inscribed iron pillar (in Delhi) and the Sultānganj bronze Buddha, bear testimony to the expert knowledg of contemporary Indians in metallurgy. Many passages can be cited from ancient texts, since the Vedic age down to the time of the later *Śilpaśāstras*, and they prove that Indians were masters in the art of metal casting. Copper is still considered to be the purest of all metals; and until recently ritual objects were entirely made of this metal. Nowadays, however, brass is preferred for domestic purposes and vessels of this metal are also used in religious ceremonies. As it is difficult to keep brass clean and polished, an alloy (*kāṁsya*) came into common use, it is bell-metal or white brass made of copper and tin, mixed in the proportion of about 7 : 2. Brass is an alloy compound of copper and zinc in the proportion of 5 : 3, or 5 : 4, but this may vary from place to place. Medieval literature proves that the use of this metal compound was known from a fairly early period.

Brass and copper images and articles are manufactured by means of the *cire-perdue* (lost wax) process (*madhūcchiṣṭa-vidhāna*). The *cire-perdue* process in which the metal images of deities were cast is graphi-

cally described in the first *prakaraṇa* of the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, also known as *Mānasollāsa*, usually ascribed to the Western Cālukya king Someśvara. This is one of the earliest and best accounts of the manufacturing process of such metal images. Utensils for secular and ritual uses were also made in metal.

Wood-work. According to tradition, the worker in wood is called a *Sūtradhāra* or one who holds the string. Wood-workers are frequently mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda* and subsequent literature, particularly the Jātakas. The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* and other treaties on *Śilpaśāstra* give full directions with regard to the time and the manner of felling trees, the seasoning of the wood and the manufacture of various articles from wood. The tree is to be felled only when the sap has dried up. Trees growing on burial places and burning grounds or on consecrated lands are considered unsuitable for the manufacture of images and of domestic and ritual objects. To all intents and purposes, the same traditional principles are observed by the local wood-workers of today. That wood-carving was one of the major crafts of ancient India is fully proved by literary and archaeological data. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* after stating the names of various materials to be used for making images goes on to describe in detail the process of carving them out of wood which was most commonly employed for this purpose. There is a further notable fact that the early stone monuments like those of at Bhārhut bear unmistakable evidence that the stone masons responsible for their construction were nurtured in the wood-carvers' tradition.

Temple chariots and palanquins of South India in which images of gods and goddesses are carried in procession on sacred festivals, are elaborate works of art covered all over with mythological carvings. Similar designs are characteristic of thrones. Some of the best *jālī* carvings in wood are executed in Kashmīr and Lucknow.

Ivory-Craft. One of the earliest references to ivory-carving is to be found in the donative inscription engraved on a gateway pillar of the great *stūpa* at Sāñcī. It records that the pillar was the gift of the ivory-carvers of Vidiśā. The craft was well established as far back as the time of the Greek and Roman contacts. The products have been one of the major items of export of the land. Beautifully carved ivory caskets from India found their way to medieval Europe much earlier than the 16th century A.D. One of the earliest Indian ivory pieces, representing a mother goddess, was found among ruins of the ancient city of Pompeii in Italy; it is now in the Naples Museum. The early ivory carvings found in the course of excavations at Begram (ancient Kapiśa) in Afghānistān show distinct Indian features and technique. The Naples Museum-ivory piece is probably pre-Christian in point of date, while the Begram pieces belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. These ivory objects prove that the Indian ivory-carvers' art was much appreciated in foreign countries.

Pottery. The chief earthenware used by the common people are cooking, eating and drinking vessels. Dolls, toys and artificial fruits, fishes, animals, whistles and other small objects are frequently made of clay. The industry is a very ancient one and is now confined to a class of people called *Kumbhakāras*. The custom of throwing usuable pots away and obtaining new ones instead on prescribed occasions prevails in the country and this has kept up the continuity of tradition and the prosperity of the pottery industry. That this industy was flourishing in India from the proto-historic period is proved by the discovery of various types of pottery fragments, painted, unpainted and polished, in the Indus Valley and other early sites. Such is the importance of these discoveries that different culture sequences have been determined on the basis of these pottery-finds. Much value was attached in ancient times to the potter and his art, and literary references in this context are ample.

PART II

MEDIEVAL INDIA

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL INDIA (A.D. 1206–1761)

A. SULṬĀNS OF DELHI (A.D. 1206–1526)

The Arab occupation of the desert land of Sind had proved to be unpropitious. The numerous raids of Maḥmūd Ghaznavī leading to the establishment of a Turkish foothold in the Punjab, had revealed that India was vulnerable and fabulously rich. By the end of the 12th century Muḥammad Ghūrī was successful in occupying Delhi.

With the occupation of Delhi, Turkish rule in India began methodically and spread with rapidity. Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak, Muḥammad Ghūrī's deputy in Hindustān, captured Ajmer, Koil and Meerut and raided Anhilwāra (Ṛātan). Muḥammad himself marched from Ghaznī twice, in A.D. 1195 and 1205, and conquered the region upto Vārānasi in the east. By A.D. 1204, Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī carried the Turkish banner into Bengal and established a provincial capital at Lakhnautī (Gaur). In A.D. 1206, when Muḥammad Ghūrī was killed and Quṭbu'd-dīn became ruler of Hindustān, the Sultanate included many of the important towns and strategic places in Northern India. Although within a short span of thirteen years (A.D. 1193–1206) Turkish political supremacy in Northern India had been established, the conqueror's hold did not amount much more than military occupation. After the first shock of invasion had spent itself, the dormant forces of resistance grew and there were constant revolts against the new rulers. The history of the Sulṭāns of Delhi is a record of their struggle to hold on to their initial conquests, to regain regions which again and again asserted independence, and to expand their territories whenever possible.

Five dynasties ruled at Delhi from A.D. 1206 to 1526: (a) the Ilbarī Turks, A.D. 1206–1290; (b) the Khaljīs, A.D. 1290–1320; (c) the Tughluqs, A.D. 1320–1413; (d) the Syeds, A.D. 1414–1451; and (e) the Lodīs, A.D. 1451–1526.

(a) Ilbarī Turks

Qutbu'd-din Aibak (A.D. 1206–1210). Quṭbu'd-dīn became the Sulṭān of India after the death of his master Muḥammad Ghūrī in A.D. 1206. He had earned his laurels as a warrior during the fourteen years he had acted as his master's representative in Hindustān. He administered the country fairly well, made the highroads safe for travel, dispensed even-handed jus-

tice, and by his generosity earned the sobriquet of *Lākh-bakhsh* (giver of lakhs).

Shamsu'd-din Iltutmish (A.D. 1211–1236). On Aibak's death in A.D. 1210 probably his adopted son Ārām Shāh succeeded to the throne, but he was shortly after removed by Iltutmish, Quṭbu'd-dīn's slave and governor of Budaun. Shamsu'd-dīn's elevation was resented by many Turkish nobles, while Qubācha, the governor of Sind, and Yaldūz, the governor of Ghaznī, rose in open revolt. Yaldūz was defeated near Tarain in A.D. 1215 and Qubācha was finally subdued in A.D. 1228. The other refractory nobles were eliminated from important posts and their places filled by the Sulṭān's own trusted *Amīrs*, a Corps of Forty (*Turkān-i-Chihalgānī*).

In A.D. 1221 the Sultanate was imperilled by the threatened invasion of Chingīz Khān. The Mongol leader, having devastated many Central Asian countries, came up to the Indus in pursuit of Jalālu'd-dīn, a prince of Khwārizm. India was in imminent danger of being overrun by the Mongols, but Iltutmish acting with prudence, refused asylum to the fugitive and saved the infant Turkish empire from the wrath of the Mongol war-lord.

When the Mongol threat had receded, Iltutmish marched into Bengal, where the Khaljī Maliks had established their independence (A.D. 1225). He crushed the rebels and restored order in Lakhnautī. In the central part of India he captured Ranthambhor (A.D. 1226) and Gwalior (A.D. 1232) and invaded Mālwa (A.D. 1234). A deed of investiture from the Caliph of Baghdad strengthened his position still more. It gave his authority the sanction of a name honoured in the whole of the Islāmic world. He introduced a purely Arabic coinage, and his buildings exhibit a marked Saracenic influence. He extended the screen-walls of the Quwwatu'l-Islām Mosque constructed by Quṭbu'd-dīn, and built the world-famous Qutb Minār.

Radiya (A.D. 1236–1240). Shortly before his death in April A.D. 1236 Iltutmish nominated his daughter Raḍiya as his successor in preference to his incompetent sons. But the proud Turkish nobles, refusing to be ruled over by a woman, raised to the throne Iltutmish's eldest son Ruknu'd-dīn Fīrūz. His rule ended quickly because of his extreme debauchery and the crown was offered to Raḍīya (November A.D. 1236). She cast off the seclusion of the harem, wore male attire, administered justice in open court and personally led armies against rebellious chiefs. Her bold, independent and dominating ways were repugnant to the *Chihalgānīs* and they planned her destruction. Raḍīya fought the rebels bravely but was ultimately defeated and killed in October A.D. 1240. Iltutmish's estimation of her is shared by the contemporary chronicler Minhāju'd-dīn Sirāj, who describes her as 'a great sovereign, sagacious, just and beneficent; a patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice and of warlike disposition'.

Nasiru'd-din Mahmud (A.D. 1246–1266). After Raḍiya's fall two weak

rulers, Bahrām (A.D. 1240–1242) and 'Alāu'd-dīn Mas'ūd (A.D. 1242–1246), followed in quick succession. Then in A.D. 1246 Nāṣiru'd-dīn Maḥmūd, another son of Iltutmish, ascended the throne. A man of peaceful disposition, Nāṣiru'd-dīn placed all power into the hands of his Prime Minister Balban. They worked in perfect harmony except on one occasion when Balban was removed from office for a brief period (A.D. 1253–54) at the instigation of 'Imādu'd-dīn Raiḥān, the leader of the party of Indian nobles.

As Prime Minister, Balban ruled with a strong hand. He crushed the rebellious governors of Bengal, Avadh and Sind and defeated the Mongols who had marched into the Punjab in A.D. 1257. Next year, he swooped upon the hilly country of Mewāt and punished the Mewātī marauders. The frontier posts were strongly garrisoned, the Mongol invaders kept in check and refractory elements suppressed. On the death of Nāṣiru'd-dīn who had no son, Balban ascended with the acquiescence of the nobles and the officials.

Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Balban (A.D. 1266–1287). As Sulṭān, Balban worked to achieve his aims with still greater vigour. To enhance the prestige of the kingly office he maintained after the Persian model a magnificent court where tall and fearsome body-guards stood around the throne with drawn swords. He never laughed aloud in the court, nor did he allow anyone to indulge in frivolity in his presence. He came down with a heavy hand on the nobles and in course of time destroyed their power completely. Through a well-organized spy system, he struck terror into the hearts of high and low.

The main instrument of Balban's despotism was his army. He reformed the financial side of military administration. In spite of his large and efficient force, he did not think of undertaking any fresh conquest largely because of the Mongol menace and the necessity of consolidating the territory already in his possession. He suppressed the recalcitrant elements in the Gaṅgā valley as far as Western Bihār and Katehr (Rohilkhand) and made the environs of Delhi safe from Mewātī depredations. When, in A.D. 1275 Tughril of Bengal unfurled the standard of revolt and defeated royal armies successively sent against him, Balban himself marched with a large force, inflicted a crushing defeat (A.D. 1280) on the rebel and ordered barbarous punishments on his partisans. In A.D. 1285 the Mongols under their leader Tamar reappeared in the Punjab. Muḥammad, the eldest son of the Sulṭān, went forward to repel the attack but was killed. Prince Muḥammad, an able soldier and a patron of letters, had been nominated by Balban for the throne. The bereavement was a hard blow for the aged father and set at naught his plans for the succession. He died broken-hearted in A.D. 1287

End of the Ilbari Dynasty (A.D. 1287–1290). Balban had nominated Kaikhusraw, son of the late Prince Muḥammad, as his successor. After his

death the nobles in Delhi placed on the throne Prince Kaiqubād, son of Balban's second son Bughrā Khān, the governor of Lakhnautī. Mu'izzu'd-dīn Kaiqubād had been kept by his grandfather under rigorous control and discipline but on coming to the throne at the age of seventeen or eighteen he plunged headlong into debauchery until he was struck by paralysis. The affairs of the government fell into disorder and the nobles began to form factions to seize power. Jalālu'd-dīn Khaljī, the '*Ariḍ-i-Mamālik* (Minister of War), placed himself at the head of a powerful faction and routed the Turkish *Amīrs* who had been rendered impotent by Balban. Kaiqubād was murdered in his palace, and Jalālu'd-dīn ascended the throne. The rule of the Ilbarī Turks came to an end in A.D. 1290

(b) Khaljīs

Jalalu'd-din Khalji (A.D. 1290–1296). The founder of the Khaljī dynasty had been a great warrior in his youth, but in his old age (he was seventy at the time of his accession) he turned into a kind-hearted and vacillating monarch. Taking advantage of his goodness Malik Chhajjū, a nephew of Balban, unfurled the standard of revolt at Kara, but it was suppressed. A conspiracy in Delhi by Sidī Maulā too proved abortive. But Jalālu'd-dīn became unpopular when he failed to capture Ranthambhor and purchased a humiliating peace from the Mongol chief 'Abdullah (A.D. 1292). He lost the confidence of the dissatisfied young nobles. His own ambitious nephew and son-in-law, 'Alāu'd-dīn, who had succeeded Malik Chhajjū at Kara, began to dream of establishing an independent kingdom for himself. A successful campaign into Bundelkhand and Mālwa had given him great confidence and courage. Early in A.D. 1296 he left Kara secretly, and marching through Chanderī and Vidisha, suddenly appeared before Devagiri (Daulatābād). Its king Rāmacandra Yādava had not anticipated a Muslim attack from the North. His son had gone with a large part of the army. He was easily defeated and offered submission. Returning with an immense quantity of gold, 'Alāu'd-dīn persuaded his uncle to come to Kara and murdered him (July 20, A.D. 1296). He silenced all opposition by distributing the Deccan gold and ascended the throne of Delhi.

'Alau'd-din Khalji (A.D. 1296–1316). Soon after his accession 'Alāu'd-dīn sent an army to Multān to subdue the sons of the late ruler. Meanwhile the Mongols resumed their inroads into the Punjab. In A.D. 1297 Qadr Khān and later Saldī advanced into India, but were thrown back. Emboldened by this success 'Alāu'd-dīn struck at the opulent kingdom of Gujarāt as far as Cambay. It was here that Malik Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī, who later became the king's most celebrated general, was captured. The ruler of Gujarāt, Karṇa Vāghelā, fled towards the South and his kingdom was annexed to the Sultanate (A.D. 1299).

These successes turned 'Alāu'd-dīn's head and he began to form the most impossible schemes and nourish the most extravagant desires by way of founding a new creed and conquering the whole world. In these designs he sought the advice of one of his councillors, 'Alāu'l Mulk, who at once pointed out to him the unsoundness of his schemes. The Sulṭān received a rude shock from the Mongol invasion led by Qutlugh Khwājah who came marching with two hundred thousand men and attacked the capital. With cool courage 'Alāu'd-dīn fought the Mongols at Kilūghari and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. Flushed with victory and offended by the asylum given to neo-Muslim rebels, he sent Ulūgh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān to capture Ranthambhor. When the Cauhān chief, Hamira Deva, flung back the aggressors, 'Alāu'd-dīn himself set out for the scene of action. On the way an attempt was made on his life by his nephew Akāt Khān, while revolts broke out in Delhi and Avadh. After capturing Ranthambhor (A.D. 1301) the Sulṭān sought to ascertain the underlying causes of such revolts, and took a series of measures to stop their recurrence in the future.

To start with, 'Alāu'd-dīn struck at the power of the nobles. They were forbidden to visit one another, hold drink-parties or enter into matrimonial alliances without the permission of the sovereign. A dreaded intelligence service so completely crushed the nobles that they "dared not speak aloud even in the largest palaces, and if they had anything to say they communicted by signs". The land-lords were dealt with no less severity. All lands given as assignments were reclaimed and turned into Khāliṣah (crown land). Land-tax was raised to fifty per cent of the produce, and this and other taxes were collected with great harshness.

A large army, 4,75,000 strong, directly recruited and paid in cash, was built up. To put the army on an efficient footing a detailed muster-roll of the soldiers was maintained, horses were branded and the troops reviewed regularly. To keep the men satisfied, prices of commodities of common use—grains and other food-stuffs, cloth, horses, slaves, household-ware, etc.—were fixed at a reduced and rigorously controlled rate. The severest punishments were inflicted on the fraudulent shopkeepers and delinquent officials for any infringement of the price-control regulations.

With his large, efficient and satisfied army the Sulṭān succeeded in putting a stop to the Mongol incursions. The Mongol leader Targhī arrived twice with powerful forces in A.D. 1303 and 1305 but was repulsed. With Kubak's raid in A.D. 1306, the last spark of Mongol aggression died out. On the other hand the offensive shifted to the Indian side. Malik Tughluq, the Warden of the Marches of the North-West, led expeditions to Kābul and Ghaznī and sometimes even received tribute from the Mongols. Meanwhile the subjugation of independent kingdoms was also kept apace. In A.D. 1303 the fort of Chitor was taken after a bitter fight. Mālwa was annexed in A.D. 1305, Siwāna (Mārwār) was captured in A.D. 1308

and Jālor in A.D. 1311. 'Alāu'd-dīn's expedition of A.D. 1296 to Devagiri had whetted his greed for Deccan gold, and he now entrusted his *Wazīr* Malik Kāfūr with the conquest of the southern peninsula. Between A.D. 1308 and 1312, Kāfūr defeated all the important kings of the Deccan—the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Kākatiyas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra and the Pāṇḍyas of Madura.

'Alāu'd-dīn thus became the greatest monarch among the Sulṭāns of Delhi. His empire was more extensive than that of all his predecessors and comprised almost the whole of Northern India and some portions of the South. His regulations were strictly enforced, his governors and commanders were always obedient to him, and he was successful in all his schemes. In his last days his health began to fail till he was confined to bed. His domestic life became unhappy and he allowed Malik Kāfūr to exercise a large measure of power. Discontent and revolt spread widely and hastened the Sulṭān's death.

In the court of 'Alāu'd-dīn flourished many artists and men of letters including the celebrated Amīr Khusraw. Some of his architectural works, and in particular the gateway to the Quṭb Minār, better known as the 'Alāī Darwāza, are gems of Indo-Islāmic style.

Quṭbu'd-dīn Mubārak Khaljī (A.D. 1316–1320). 'Alāu'd-dīn's achievements could not be sustained by his successors and the process of decline began soon after his death on January 6, A.D. 1316. Malik Kāfūr set aside the claims of the heir-apparent Khiḍr Khān, crowned an infant son of the late Sulṭān and began to rule in his name. Thirty-five days after another son of 'Alāu'd-dīn murderd Kāfūr and ascended the throne as Quṭbu'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh. But being weak and licentious, he let the administration drift into disorder. His only note-worthy acts were to march to Devagiri (A.D. 1318) and despatch an army to Gujarāt; otherwise, the four years of his reign were marred by plots, treason and revolts. His own *Wazīr*, Khusraw Khān, who originally hailed from Gujarāt, conspired against him and had him murdered. This gave Ghāzī Malik, the Warden of the Marches, a chance for his rise. He started the slogan of 'Islām in danger', collected a large number of followers and appeared before Delhi. Khusraw was defeated and killed, and Ghāzī Malik ascended the throne as Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq in September A.D. 1320.

(c) Tughluqs

Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq (A.D. 1320–1325). The new king tried to infuse fresh life into the administration which had been thrown out of gear during the reigns of Quṭbu'd-dīn and Khusraw Shāh. He looked after the interests of the peasants and soldiers, and ruled as a mild and generous

king. In A.D. 1321 he sent his son, Prince Jaunā Khān, to Warangal to suppress Pratāparudra Deva who had thrown off the Turkish yoke. Jaunā Khān could not achieve much on this occasion, but two years later he marched to Warangal again and annexed it. In A.D. 1324 the Sulṭān himself marched into Bengal to restore order. On his return to Delhi he was killed by the fall of a pavilion which Jaunā Khān had erected for his reception. The prince was reasonably suspected of having caused his father's death.

Muhammad Tughluq (A.D. 1325–1351). Jaunā Khān succeeded his father in A.D. 1325 under the title of Muḥammad Tughluq. He stands out in history as a colourful and controversial figure. Of all the Turkish rulers, who sat upon the Delhi throne he was the most learned and accomplished—a lover of fine arts, a cultured scholar of philosophy and a fairly good poet. But he seems to have overestimated his ability and wisdom, and thought that the king could do no wrong. He carried out a number of experiments in statecraft but had no luck with any of them. The result was that, in spite of his personal accomplishments, his reign was a complete failure.

The first measure of the Sulṭān was to enhance land-tax in the Doāb, which caused widespread discontent. In A.D. 1326–27 he ordered the transfer of the capital to Devagiri, which involved almost a wholesale transfer of the population. The suffering of the people on a journey of over 1,100 kilometres was indescribable in spite of Sulṭān's efforts to make it easier. A little later, for some reasons, the people were ordered back to the old capital, which caused great distress. Another novel act of the Sulṭān was the introduction of a token copper coin which was to be regarded as of equal value with the silver money. People soon began to manufacture copper coins in large numbers with the result that bad money drove out good money. Trade came to a standstill and business was paralysed. Although the Sulṭān readily gave gold and silver in exchange for the copper coins, the loss to the exchequer was immense.

Muḥammad Tughluq was equally unlucky in his military expeditions. In the early years of his reign he incurred huge expenses in preparation for the conquest of Khurāsān, but suddenly gave up the project. A little later he persuaded a Mongol invader Tarmāshīrīn to retire by offering him a bribe. Taking advantage of these setbacks to the Sulṭān's prestige, Jalālu'd-dīn Aḥsan Shāh of Ma'bar rose in revolt in A.D. 1334. Four years later, Fakhru'd-dīn declared himself independent in Bengal. Although the Sulṭān captured Nagarkot (Kāngra) in A.D. 1337 and the next year led an expedition to Qarāchīl in Kumaun (or more probably Kashmīr) and in A.D. 1340–41 defeated 'Ainu'l Mulk Multānī who had revolted in Avadh, yet during this period the Deccan was slipping out of his hands. Ma'bar became independent in A.D. 1334 and two years later Harihara and his brother Bukka founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Rebellions broke out also in Gujarāt and Daulatābād. In A.D. 1347 Ḥasan founded the

famous Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan. In Gujarāt the Sulṭān pursued the rebel Ṭāghī from place to place, but his health broke down under the strain and he breathed his last in March, A.D. 1351 at a village Sonda near Tatta in Sind. Such was the end of the ill-starred monarch who was known to his contemporaries as a 'mixture of opposites'.

Firuz Tughluq (A.D. 1351–1388). On Muḥammad Tughluq's death his cousin Firūz, son of Malik Rajjab, a younger brother of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq, was elected to the throne. After a difficult retreat from Tatta Firūz arrived in Delhi in August A.D. 1351. He appointed as his Prime Minister Malik Maqbūl, originally a Brāhmaṇa from Telangāna, and they both set to work to ameliorate the distress caused to the people during the long and troubled reign of Muḥammad. The Sulṭān abolished many irksome taxes, keeping only those allowed by the Qurānic Law. He looked after the interests of the cultivators, provided irrigation facilities by constructing five canals, and advanced loans to the needy. He opened a hospital (*Dāru'sh-shifā*) for the poor in Delhi, created a department of charity (*Dīwān-i-Khairāt*), and provided employment to 1,80,000 slaves. Besides, he opened schools and colleges, laid out more than a thousand orchards and gardens, built a number of mosques and founded several towns like Firūzābād, Fatehābād and Jaunpur. He extended patronage to men of letters and had some books translated from Sanskrit into Persian.

Firūz's government, however, had many weaknesses. He was a bigotted Muslim and imposed *Jizyah* on the Brāhmaṇas. In his Memoirs, the *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, he takes pride for such measures of religious suppression. He revived the *jāgīr* system which had been abolished by 'Alāu'd-dīn, and reorganised his army on a feudal basis. The weakness of his military establishment coupled with his misplaced kindness brought him many reverses. He marched twice to recapture Bengal, in A.D. 1353–54 and 1359, but failed on both the occasions and the province was lost to the Sultanate. He carried his arms to Jajnagar and Nagarkot but could not occupy them. In A.D. 1365 he started on a campaign to Tatta to avenge the wrongs done there to his predecessor, but ended up by granting a pension to its ruler Jām Bābniyā whose brother was reinstated in Sind. Before he died he could see clear symptoms of the coming disorder and confusion.

Weak Successors of Firuz (A.D. 1388–1412). When Firūz Tughluq died in A.D. 1388, a civil war broke out among the scions of the royal house. Tughluq Shāh, a grandson of Firūz, was killed by his cousin Abū Bakr, who in turn was defeated by Muḥammad, a son of Firūz. Muḥammad died in A.D. 1394 and was succeeded by 'Alāu'd-dīn Sikandar Shāh whose reign was very brief. Then Nāṣiru'd-dīn Maḥmūd came to the throne. By this time the country east of Kannauj had gone out of control. Malik Sarwar tried to bring order in that region but ended up by establishing his own independent kingdom with its capital at Jaunpur. The Khokhars revolted in the North, and Mālwa and Khāndesh declared independence.

At Delhi Nuṣrat Khān, another grandson of Firūz Tughluq, claimed the throne and fought continually with Nāṣiru'd-dīn Maḥmūd.

Timur's Invasion (A.D. 1398). To complete the picture of disorder the Turkish conqueror Tīmūr marched into India in A.D. 1398. Having subjugated the countries of Central Asia, he set out on the invasion of Hindustān which was at this time in a state of anarchy. His grandson, Pīr Muḥammad, captured Uch and Multān. Tīmūr himself marched across the Hindu Kush, crossed the Indus on September 20, A.D. 1398, and sacking Tulamba, Dīpālpur and Bhatner (Hanumāngarh) on the way, he appeared before Delhi. He killed thousands of captives and then engaged in a bloody battle with Maḥmūd whose soldiers fought bravely, but were defeated. Maḥmūd fled to Gujarāt and Tīmūr plundered Delhi. After attacking Meerut, Hardwār and Jammu on his way back, he returned to Samarqand leaving his possessions in India in the charge of Syed Khiḍr Khān of Sind.

After Tīmūr's departure Sulṭān Maḥmūd returned to his capital and established some semblance of order. But Khiḍr Khān would not let him rest in peace. In A.D. 1412 Maḥmūd died, and two years later Khiḍr Khān, the founder of the Syed dynasty, became master of Delhi.

(d) Syeds

The descent of Khiḍr Khān from the family of the Prophet is doubtful; it is, however, certain that his ancestors hailed from Arabia. Khiḍr Khān and his three successors ruled for thirty-seven years. Their main problem was how to establish order in the Doāb and its environs, whose chiefs had asserted their independence. Even the revenue of the Doāb could not be collected except through military operations. To make matters worse, Jasrat Khokar and Faulād Turkbachcha rose in rebellion in the Punjab. To deal with the prevailing anarchy Khiḍr Khān and his successor Mubārak Shāh (A.D. 1421-1434) employed a large number of Afghāns. Jasrat continued to be a source of trouble for long, but Faulād was defeated and killed in A.D. 1433. Next year Mubārak Shāh himself was murdered by his *Wazīr*. Two more Sulṭāns followed—Muḥammad Shāh and 'Ālam Shāh. The latter could not manage to hold even his shrunken kingdom and willingly abdicated in favour of Bahlūl Lodi, a powerful Afghān noble. The Sultanate of Delhi thus passed peacefully into the Afghān hands.

(e) Lodīs

Bahlul Lodi (A.D. **1451-1489**). Bahlūl's accession to power was

resented by the king of Jaunpur, who himself claimed the throne. A long-drawn war followed ending in the annexation of the Sharqī kingdom by Bahlūl (A.D. 1484). Bahlūl Lodī also brought almost the entire region now called Uttar Pradesh under his control. When he died in A.D. 1489 the Sultanate comprised the territories from the Punjab to Vārānasi. Bahlūl was a man of simple habits, pious, brave and generous. According to 'Abdullah, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*, 'in his social meetings he never sat on a throne and would not allow his nobles to stand'. This made him very popular with his nobles, but the king was reduced to a mere *primus inter pares*.

Sikandar Lodi (**A.D. 1489-1517**). Bahlūl's son and successor Sikandar Shāh had a prosperous reign of more than twenty-eight years. He was endowed with great energy and ruled with a strong hand. He drove out his brother Bārbak Shāh, who had assumed independence in Jaunpur, and pursued the last Sharqī king upto Bengal and then turned his attention to Bayāna, Dholpur and Gwalior which were enjoying varied degrees of autonomy. To deal with this region effectively, he built a new capital at Āgra in A.D. 1505, and carried on from that centre a relentless campaign against Rājā Māna Singh of Gwalior. He captured most of the forts in the vicinity of Gwalior like Narwar, Avantagarh (Utgir), Mandrail and Lahayer (Lahār), but Gwalior itself, though considerably weakend, defied capture. However, in the meantime, he succeeded in taking Chanderī and Ranthambhor.

Sikandar was the ablest ruler of the Lodī dynasty. He held the Afghān nobles in check, encouraged agriculture, and made roads safe for travel. In his time harvests were plentiful, food cheap and the people contented. Nor were *belles-lettres* neglected. Sikandar himself was a poet and a lover of music. However, with advancing years he turned into a bigot, and undertook several measures prejudicial to Hindus.

Ibrahim Lodi (**A.D. 1517-1526**). After Sikandar Lodī's death in November A.D. 1517, the nobles divided the empire between his two sons. Ibrāhīm was made king of Delhi and his brother Jalāl Khān was given Jaunpur. Ibrāhīm could not reconcile himself to this arrangement, and defeated and killed Jalāl Khān. Next he captured Gwalior and fought with Rāṇā Saṅgrāma Singh of Mewār. All through his reign there was a continuous struggle between the Sulṭān and the nobles. The governor of Bihār declared his independence, and that of the Punjab, Daulat Khān, invited Bābur, the ruler of Kābul, to invade Hindustān and oust Ibrāhīm from the throne. Daulat Khān later realized his folly, but it was too late. Bābur had already planned a full-scale invasion of Hindustān and, from A.D. 1519 onward, he carried out several raids into the frontier provinces. In A.D. 1525, he came marching towards Delhi. Ibrāhīm Lodī advanced to meet him and a sanguinary battle was fought at Pānipat on April 21, A.D. 1526. Although Ibrāhīm Lodī's army was strong and

numerically superior, it collapsed before the tactics of Bābur. Ibrāhīm was defeated and slain. Bābur occupied Delhi and Āgra, and laid the foundations of the Mughal empire in India.

B. KINGDOMS OF NORTH INDIA

Malwa. Before its annexation to the Mughal empire, Mālwa was bounded by the Sātpura Range in the south, the Chambal in the north, Gujarāt on the west and Bundelkhand on the east, comprising the cities of Ujjain, Dhār, Māndu and Bhīlsa. Iltutmish had attacked Bhīlsa and Ujjain, but the kingdom had continued to be under the Paramāra rulers and their feudatories. 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī assigned its conquest to his general Āīnu'l-Mulk who defeated its Rājpūt ruler, Mahlak Deva (A.D. 1305). In A.D. 1390 one Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī was made governor of Mālwa. From A.D. 1401 he ruled independently without a formal proclamation. While Tīmūr was in India, Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Delhi sought shelter in Dhār.

Dilāwar Khān received him amicably against the wishes of his son Alp Khān who went away in disgust to Māndu where he remained for three years. It was during this period that Alp Khān developed his special liking for Māndu. In A.D. 1406 Dilāwar Khān died and Alp Khān ascended the throne with the title Hoshang Shāh. He made Māndu his capital, strengthened its defences and decorated its residential buildings, palaces, mosques and tombs.

Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujarāt, accused Hoshang of parricide and invaded Mālwa. Hoshang was taken away as a prisoner. A governor was appointed in his place but ousted soon because of his harsh rule. On swearing loyalty to Muẓaffar Shāh, Hoshang was helped to recover Māndu from his cousin who had usurped the throne. But Hoshang repaid his benefactor by invading Gujarāt repeatedly in A.D. 1411, 1413 and 1418. This led to counterattacks by Aḥmad Shāh, son and successor of Muẓaffar Shāh. Hoshang Shāh was defeated and driven into the fortress of Māndu, and Malwa was ravaged.

When Aḥmad Shāh withdrew, Hoshang Shāh raided Kherla in Berār (A.D. 1420). Next Hoshang made a dash to Jājnagar, then the capital of Orissa, and forced its ruler to part with seventy-five elephants (A.D. 1421). Then he besieged Gwalior. Mubārak Shāh, the Syed king of Delhi, counter attacked and a compromise was reached between Mālwa and Delhi (A.D. 1423).

Subsequently, a war broke out between Mālwa and the Bhamanī kingdom and Hoshang Shāh suffered a disastrous defeat (A.D. 1429). In A.D. 1433 Hoshang captured Kālpi and reinstated Jalāl Khān as a protege of Mālwa. He died in A.D. 1435 and was buried in a marble tomb

at Māndu. The new ruler, Muḥammad Shāh Ghūrī, proved a debauchee and a tyrant. His cousin and minister, Maḥmūd Khaljī, murdered him and seized the throne (A.D. 1436). Thus the royal line of Ghūrīs was replaced by that of the Khaljīs.

Maḥmūd Khaljī's reign opened with an invasion of Mālwa from Gujarāt. The object of Aḥmad Shāh was to restore the throne to the line of Hoshang but he was defeated and repulsed. Maḥmūd's fame spread as far as Delhi and he was invited there by *Amīrs* who wanted to supplant the weak Syed king Muḥmmad Shāh. Sulṭān Maḥamūd proceeded to Delhi but met with strong resistance and had to retire in disarray (A.D. 1442). His war with Rāṇā Kumbhā of Chitor was inconclusive. Strangely enough, both sides claimed success, and while the Rāṇā of Mewār erected the tower of victory at Chitor, the Sulṭān of Mālwa built a seven-storeyed column at Māndu to commemorate his triumph.

He occupied Ranthambhor, and appointed his own son Fidan Khān as its commandant. He also captured Ajmer (A.D. 1455) and Māndalgarh (A.D. 1457) and subjugated Dūngarpur. In A.D. 1461 he led an expedition against the Bahmanī kingdom. Humāyūn Shāh, the tyrant Bahmanī king, was defeated and Berār was occupied. In A.D. 1469 he died at Māndu at the age of sixty-eight.

Maḥmūd Khaljī was undoubtedly the ablest Sulṭān of Mālwa. His fame spread throughout India and even beyond. The 'Abbasid Caliph of Egypt recognized his position and he received a mission from Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd of Khurāsān. Moreover, Māndu became a centre of culture. Philospohers and scholars of eminence flourished in Mālwa, surpassing even those of Irāq and Samarqand. Firishta credits him with great military skill and calls him polite, brave, just and learned, adding that during his reign his subjects—Hindus as well as Muslims—were happy and maintained friendly relations with each other

Maḥmūd Khaljī was succeeded by his eldest son, Muḥammad Shāh, who ascended the throne under the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāthu'd-dīn (A.D. 1469). He was a man of peace and a devout Mulsim and treated his brothers with kindness. After his accession he waged only one war with Rāimal, the Rāṇā of Chitor, and was defeated. He was a patron of arts, and is credited with the construction of the Jahāz Maḥal for his harem. He was followed in A.D. 1500 by Nāṣir Shāh who reigned for ten years. After Nāṣir Shāh's death in A.D. 1510 his third son, ascended the throne with the title Maḥmūd Khaljī II.

To curb the power of nobles, the new king conferred the office of *Wazīr* on a Hindu, Medinī Rāi Pūrbiyā, who had distinguished himself in military service. Soon Medinī Rāi became inordinately powerful and the king fell entirely under his influence. He established his own men in the key-posts and strategic places in the northern and eastern districts of Mālwa, particularly in the fortresses of Chanderī, Gāgraun, Bhilsa, Raisen and

Sārangpur. Alarmed at the growing power of his Rājpūt minister, Maḥmūd sought the help of Muẓaffar Shāh II who laid siege to Gāgraun, the estate of Medinī Rāi. But Medinī Rāi called in Rāṇā Saṅgrāma Singh of Mewār who dashed to the scene of action, forced Maḥmūd to raise the siege, took him as a prisoner and compelled him to surrender his jewels. Although Maḥmūd was released, his rule was confined to a small area around Māndu. A few years later Maḥmūd lost hold even over Māndu, which was attacked and conquered by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt (A.D. 1531). Maḥmūd was defeated and taken prisoner and on his way to Gujarāt he was murdered at Dohad. With his death ended the Khaljī dynasty of Mālwa which had ruled for about a century.

Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, who had brought about the extinction of the Khaljī dynasty of Mālwa, was himself defeated four years later (A.D. 1535) by Humāyūn at Mandasor and driven out of Mālwa. But the debacle of the Mughal army posted in Gujarāt compelled Humāyūn to leave for Āgra (A.D. 1537). With his departure Mālwa fell a prey to anarchy and was captured ultimately by Mallū Khān, an *Amīr* and courtier of the erstwhile Khaljī rulers. He established himself at Māndu and proclaimed himself king under the title of Qādir Shāh. In A.D. 1542 Shujā'at Khān, one of Sher Shāh's generals, defeated Qādir Shāh who fled to Gujarāt. Shujā'at Khān was appointed governor of Mālwa. In A.D. 1543 Sher Shāh also conquered Raisen and its dependencies which were then held by Pūrana Mal, son of Silhadī. Shujā'at Khān continued as governor of Mālwa until A.D. 1555 when Humāyūn re-conquered Hindustān. Shujā'at Khān tried to assert his independence but he died the same year. His son and successor Miyān Bāyazid, better known as Bāz Bahādur, proclaimed his independence, and assumed regal power and title. He was a gifted ruler, patronized music and poetry, and had four hundred singers in his personal employ. He fell in love with Rūpamatī who was noted for her gifts of music and poetry. Their love became famous and finally united them in marriage. Bāz Bahādur was the last independent ruler of Mālwa. Akbar sent an army under the command of Adham Khān who defeated Bāz Bahādur at Sārangpur. Rūpamatī is said to have committed suicide to escape the harem of Adham Khān. Bāz Bahādur's efforts to regain his kingdom bore no fruit. Finally he prayed for Akbar's mercy. The emperor enlisted him among the court musicians and conferred on him a *manṣab* of 2,000, and Mālwa was annexed finally to the Mughal empire (A.D. 1562).

Jaunpur The city of Jaunpur was founded by Fīrūz Shāh in A.D. 1359, and remained one of the strategic towns of the Sultanate of Delhi and the headquarters of a provincial government until A.D. 1394. Among the earliest governors appointed by Fīrūz Shāh were two of his own sons, namely Ẓafar Khān (A.D. 1364–1376) and Nāṣir Khān (A.D. 1376–1394). Then came Malik Sarwar who is said to have been a slave of Sulṭān

Muḥammad. He rose steadily till he became *Wazir* in A.D. 1389 with the title of Khwājah Jahān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the last Tughluq king, conferred on him the title of Maliku'sh-Sharq (Chief of the East) and appointed him governor of the eastern provinces of the empire with the object of suppressing the rebellions in the Gaṅgā *Doāb*. During the period of confusion following the invasion of Tīmūr, he threw off his allegiance to the Delhi Sultanate and founded a line of independent rulers known as the Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpur. He died in A.D. 1399 leaving behind a kingdom which stretched from Koil in the west to Tirhut and Bihār in the east. He was succeeded by his adopted son who assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh. Mūbārak Shāh aroused the jealousy of Mallū Iqbāl Khān Lodī, the *Wazir* of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Tughluq of Delhi, who invaded Jaunpur (A.D. 1400). But a truce was made between the parties and the invader returned to Delhi. Shortly after, Mubārak Shāh died (A.D 1401) and the *Amirs* raised his brother Ibrāhīm to the throne, with the title of Shamsu'd-dīn Ibrāhīm.

Soon after his accession Ibrāhīm was faced with an invasion by Mallū Iqbāl and Maḥmūd Tughluq. The belligerents stood confonting each other on the opposite banks of the Gaṅgā. Then, unble to bear the tutelage of Iqbāl, Sulṭān Maḥmūd escaped to Ibrāhīm's camp, but being coldly received there, fled to Kannauj which he seized from the local officers. Thereupon the combatants, Mallū Iqbāl and Ibrāhīm Shāh, returned to their capitals, both acquiescing in the new position the Sulṭān of Delhi had taken. On Iqbāl's death (A.D. 1405), when Sulṭān Maḥmūd returned to Delhi, Ibrāhīm Shāh annexed Kannauj after a siege of four months He then made a bid for the throne of Delhi. On reaching the suburbs of Delhi he came to know that Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujarāt had marched from Mālwa to support Sulṭān Maḥmūd and even invaded Jaunpur Ibrāhīm was not prepared to meet the new danger He, therefore, contented himself with annexing Sambhal which he placed in the charge of his son, and then returned to his capital. The next fourteen years Ibrāhīm stayed at Jaunpur and kept himself engaged in architectural and literary activities. In A.D. 1427, he led an expedition to Bayāna but was opposed by Mubārak Shāh, the Syed king of Delhi. After an indecisive action both sides retreated, agreeing to the *status quo ante bellum*. About four years later Ibrāhīm Shāh made an attempt to conquer Kālpi but it was frustrated by Sulṭān Hoshang Shāh of Mālwa, who arrived with a similar design, and also by Mubārak Shāh of Delhi who threatened to invade Jaunpur. Ibrāhīm Shāh died in A.D. 1440 after a reign of nearly forty years. Under him Jaunpur attained the height of fame, and in spite of intermittent wars, its inhabitants enjoyed peace and prosperity. Due to royal patronage Jaunpur became a centre of learning, and works of different kinds and great magnitude and worth were written by renowned scholars, notably Qāḍī Shihābu'd-dīn.

Ibrāhīm Shāh was succeeded by his eldest son Maḥmūd Shāh who marched on Kālpi, which was a bone of contention between the kings of Jaunpur and Mālwa. Nāṣir Khān, son of Qādir Khān, who had been granted the place in perpetuity by Hoshang Shāh, appealed to Maḥmūd Khaljī of Mālwa who came to his rescue. In Novemebr A.D. 1444, a battle was fought near Īrij in Jhānsi District. Eventually through the mediation of a local saint, Miān Chain Laddah, peace was restored. Kālpi remained with Nāṣir Khān.

Maḥmūd Shāh then subdued a rebellion in the neighbourhood of Chunār and led a successful raid into Orissa. In A.D. 1452 he advanced towards Delhi in response to an invitation by some nobles to expel the Afghāns. The Jaunpur army was, however, defeated and Maḥmūd Shāh returned to Jaunpur without success. Hostilities with Delhi were resumed when Bahlūl Lodī captured Etāwah (A.D. 1455). After some desultory fighting, they came to terms, and a treaty was concluded by which the boundary between the two kingdoms was to remain as it had been under Mubārak Shāh, the Syed king of Delhi. Bahlūl Lodī was allowed to take possession of Shamsābād which was held by Jaunā Khān, a feudatory chief of Jaunpur. When Bahlūl conferred it upon one Rāi Karṇa, Maḥmūd marched to recapture it. While preparations were on for a battle, Maḥmūd Shāh died in his camp near Shamsābād (A.D. 1457).

Muḥammad Shāh, the next king of Jaunpur, who was the eldest son of the deceased king, was attacked by Bahlūl Lodī. But he got the upper hand and reinstated Jaunā Khān as governor of Shamsābād. As Muḥammad was returning to Jaunpur, he was murdered in an action and the throne of Jaunpur was seized by his rival, who assumed the title of Ḥusain Shāh. Ḥusain Shāh concluded in A.D. 1458 a four years' truce with Bahlūl Lodī. He then overran Tirhut and led a plundering expedition into Orissa where he got a vast treasure. In A.D. 1466 he besieged the hill fortress of Gwalior but failed to reduce it and returned when Rājā Māna Singh agreed to pay a tribute. After these initial successes, fortune turned against Ḥusain Shāh in his renewed war with Bahlūl Lodī who defeated him and conquered the kingdom of Jaunpur (A.D. 1484). Ḥusain retired to Bihār where he was left in possession of a small tract yielding a revenue of five lakhs of rupees. On Bahlūl's death in A.D. 1489, Ḥusain incited Bārbak Shāh, the governor of Jaunpur, to rebel against his brother. But his hope that the quarrel might open a way for his return to his kingdom was frustrated. Sikandar Lodī overcame Bārbak Shāh and Jaunpur was absorbed in the kingdom of Delhi, and Ḥusain fled to Bengal where he died in A.D. 1505. With Ḥusain's flight, the line of the Sharqī kings of Jaunpur came to an end.

The Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur is noted for its promotion of learning and culture which earned for Jaunpur the title of the 'Shīraz of India.'

Gujarat The history of medieval Gujarāt began with its conquest

from Rājā Karṇa Vāghelā effected by Ulūgh Khān in A.D. 1299. From that time it was ruled for long time by Muslim governors appointed by the Delhi Sulṭāns. In A.D. 1345, Muḥammad Tughluq marched against the rebellious Afghān *Amīrs* (*Amīrān-i-Sadah*) who defied the emperor. Before the affairs of Gujarāt could be settled, the emperor had to turn his attention to the rebels in Daulatābād. The situation in Gujarāt became worse in the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq and several governors were appointed one after the other. Sulṭān Nāṣiru'd-dīn Muḥammad, sixth king of the Tughluq house, appointed in A.D. 1391, Ẓafar Khān, son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk, as governor of Gujarāt in place of Rāstī Khān. In the following year, a battle was fought at Kambhoi, west of Pātan, between Rāstī Khān and Ẓafar Khān, in which former was slain. But Ẓafar Khān did not assume the royal title of king until A.D. 1407. In that year, he took the title of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh and founded the Muẓaffarī dynasty which continued until A.D. 1573.

Of the fourteen kings of this dynasty, the most important are three—Aḥmad Shāh I, Maḥmūd Begara, also known as Maḥmūd I, and Bahādur Shāh. Aḥmad Shāh I (A.D. 1411–1442) was a grandson of Muẓaffar Shāh and is remembered for founding the city of Ahmadābād on the Sābarmatı. He defeated Sulṭān Hoshang of Mālwa who had invaded Gujarāt. He stormed Girnār and secured from Rāo Melaga a promise to pay an annual tribute. In A.D. 1418., Aḥmad Shāh repulsed a joint invasion made by Malik Nāṣir of Khāndesh and Hoshang of Mālwa. In A.D. 1430 he annexed Māhīm, and also took Thāna, a fort belonging to the Bahmanīs of the Deccan. He died at Ahmadābād in A.D. 1442.

Aḥmad Shāh's grandson, Maḥmūd I (A.D. 1459-1511), commonly known by his surname Begara, was by far the most eminent Sulṭān of Gujarāt. Ascending the throne at a very early age, he distinguished himself as much by his astute statesmanship as by his military skill. Soon after his accession, he frustrated a conspiracy which aimed at raising his brother to the throne. He was a brave warrior and gained success in all his campaigns. He saved Niẓām Shāh Bahmanī from aggression on the part of Sulṭān of Mālwa, defeated the Sūmras, Sodhas and Kalhoras in Kutch, suppressed the pirates of Dwārka and reduced the forts of Junagadh and Champāner, the latter being rechristened by him as Muḥammadābād. Towards the close of his reign, he attempted, in alliance with Egypt, to check the power of the Portuguese who monopolised the lucrative trade which passed through Egypt and Red Sea to India. The combined fleet defeated the Portuguese squadron commanded by Dom Lourenco, the son of the Portuguese Viceroy, near Chaul in A.D. 1508.

After the death of Maḥmūd Begara, the decline began. Only Bahādur Shāh (A.D. 1526-1537), his grandson, proved a capable ruler. He invaded Māndu fort and entered the city unopposed. The king of Mālwa, Maḥmūd Khaljī II, was taken prisoner and his territory was annexed to

Gujarāt in A.D. 1531. Next year Bahādur Shāh also captured the fortresses of Ujjain, Bhīlsa and Raisen completing the conquest of Mālwa. In A.D. 1535 he captured Chitor. By this time, the Mughal emperor, Humāyūn felt it necessary to stem the tide of Bahādur's conquests. He marched into Mālwa and occupied Mandasor. Bahādur Shāh was outgeneralled. His tactics failed and supplies were cut off. In desperation, he destroyed his artillery and fled to Diu to take shelter with the Portuguese. Later, his supporters in Gujarāt assembled large forces and invited him to lead them. The Mughal viceroy Mirzā 'Askarī was heavily outnumbered and Bahādur Shāh recovered Gujarāt (A.D. 1536). Mālwa, however, fell into the hands of Mallū Khān who became king under the title of Sulṭān Qādir Shāh. Shortly after, Bahādur Shāh was killed by the Portuguese. Of the four weak Sulṭāns who ascended the throne of Gujarāt successively, none deserves mention except the last, namely, Muẓaffar III. During his reign, Akbar annexed Gujarāt to his empire.

Sind. As Arab control ceased, Sind came to be ruled by numerous chieftains who claimed to represent the 'Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad. In A.D. 1010 Maḥmūd Ghaznī imposed his authority in Sind, and it remained a part of the empire of Ghaznī till the middle of the 11th century. With the decline of the power of the Ghaznavids, their hold over Sind weakened and a Rājpūt tribe known as the Sūmras, assumed independent authority in the southern areas. It was conquered by Muḥammad Ghūrī, and was governed by Nāṣiru'd-dīn Qabācha, who attempted, after his master's death, to assert his independence but was defeated by Iltutmish in A.D. 1228. From then the Sulṭāns of Delhi considered Sind as a part of their Sultanate, and their control over it varied according to their ability and energy.

The Sūmras were ousted by the Sammā tribes, who established their rule over lower Sind. They had adopted Islām, claimed descent from the ancient Irānian emperor Jamshīd and, therefore, used the title of Jām. Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq suppressed the tendency of the Sammā princes to assume independence and created two governorships at Bhakkar and Sehwān in addition to one at Multān. The conflict between Delhi and Sind, however, continued during the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq who led a large army against the rebel Ṭaghī. He died at Tatta in A.D. 1351. His successor Firūz Tughluq made two efforts to reduce Sind. The Sammās took advantage of the weakness of the Delhi Sultanate after Firūz's death and delcared their independence.

Not much is known of the Jām kings who ruled over this region. There were in all 15 kings of this race who ruled for 175 years. Jām Niẓāmu'd-dīn, commonly known as Nandā, is by far the greatest Sindhian ruler, whose record is definitely known to us. He was a scholar and poet of no mean order and patronised Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad 'Asad (A.D. 1422-1501), author of the celebrated treatise, *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*.

During his reign, Maḥmūd Begara came from Gujarāt to the aid of the Muslims of Southern Sind, who were being persecuted by the Hindus. In A.D. 1471 Maḥmūd again marched into Sind to help his maternal grandfather Nandā against the rebels. Nandā sent Maḥmūd a letter of thanks with precious gifts and his daughter who was married to the refugee prince of Khāndesh, who was staying in Gujarāt. During his reign Shāh Beg Arghūn came from Kandahār in A.D. 1494 and occupied the fort of Siwi Nandā succeeded in recovering the fort, but later, when Shāh Beg sent another army, he not only lost Siwi but also the forts of Bhakkar and Sehwān.

Nandā died after a long reign and was succeeded by his son Jām Firūz, who was a mere puppet in the hands of his *Wāzīr* Daryā Khān His accession was challenged by a relation, named Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn who called the help of Muẓaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt. Firūz fled away and Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn ascended the throne without any opposition. Later, however, Firūz was restored to the throne with the help of Shāh Beg Arghūn. Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn again received help from the Sulṭān of Gujarāt and in A.D. 1514 once more turned Firūz out of Sind. Firūz appealed to Shāh Beg Arghūn with whose help he killed Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn and ascended the throne. But again he was dethroned. The Arghūns, being driven out of Kandhār by Bābur in A.D. 1522, expelled Firūz and occupied Sind. Firūz found an asylum at the court of Gujarāt. Shāh Beg died in A.D. 1524 and was succeeded by his son Shāh Ḥusain,who was ruling in A.D. 1541 when Humāyūn took refuge in Sind. In A.D. 1591 Akbar sent 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān to invade the country and Sind was merged in the Mughal empire.

Multan. Multān, an important town of the Western Punjab, was subjected to the invasions of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and Muḥammad Ghūrī. After the death of Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak, Multān fell to the share of Nāṣiru'd-dīn Qabācha, who defended it successfully against a Mongol attack, but lost it to Iltutmish in A.D. 1228. The repeated Mongol raids forced the Sulṭāns of Delhi to send strong governors to Multān, and Balban appointed his eldest son, Muḥammad, as the governor. Muḥammad died while repulsing a Mongol raid early in A.D. 1285. However, Multān continued to be a province of the Tughluq empire. Before leaving India, Tīmūr appointed Khiḍr Khān governor of Multān and thus, it was included in the kingdom of the Syeds. During the reign of Mubārak, successor of Khiḍr Khān, Amīr Shaikh Ali of Kābul invaded Multān mone than once, but was defeated by Mubārak. With the decline of the power of Syeds, the people of Multān asserted independence, and in A.D. 1443 they chose as their leader Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī, a descendant of the famous saint Bahāu'd-dīn Dhakariyā. After two years, Multān was treacherously seized by Rāy Sahrah, the chief of the Lankāhs, who forced Yūsuf to seek shelter at Delhi, where he was well received by Bahlūl Lodī.

Rāy Sahrah, who assumed the title of Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-dīn founded the Lankāh dynasty which ruled Multān till A.D. 1527. He died in A.D. 1470 and was succeeded by his son Ḥusain. Ḥusain proved to be an able ruler and conquered Shorkot, Kot Karor and the territory lying upto Dhankot. Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodī sent a strong force under his son Bārbak Shāh, and Tātār Khān, governor of the Punjab, to capture Multān. They were defeated and Ḥusain firmly established his authority on Bahlūl's death in A.D. 1489. He concluded a treaty with Bahlūl's son and successor, Sikandar Lodī, and two monarchs agreed to respect each other's territory. He also sent an embassy to Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujarāt, with whom he maintained good relations. He assigned to Jām Bāyazīd and Jām Ibrāhīm, two nobles from Sind, the fiefs of Shorkot and Uch. In his old age he abdicated in favour of his son Firūz Khān and retired.

Firūz was as hot-headed as he was incompetent. He was poisoned by his Chief Minister 'Imādu'l-Mulk. Sulṭān Ḥusain then resumed the administration. In A.D. 1502 he died and was succeeded by his grandson Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd was a profligate young man, and his tyranny drove his minister Jām Bāyazīd into rebellion. Bāyazīd sought the help of Daulat Khān Lodī, governor of the Punjab and Maḥmūd was compelled to relinquish his claim on the territory from Shorkot upto the Rāvi. Finally, in A.D. 1527, Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn of Sind occupied Multān and Khwājah Shamsu'd-dīn was appointed governor but was shortly afterwards removed by Langar Khān, who submitted to Mirzā Kāmrān and Multān again became an appendage of Delhi. It passed into the hands of Sher Shāh and, after the restoration of the Mughal power, became a Mughal province.

Khandesh. The principality of Khāndesh was founded by one Malik Rājā, son of Khān Jahān Fārūqi, who flourished in the time of 'Alāu'd-dīn and Muḥammad Tughluq. In A.D. 1370 Firūz Tughluq assigned to Malik Rājā the districts of Thālner and Kuronde on the borders of the Deccan. Within twelve years he established matrimonial relations with rulers of Mālwa and declared himself an independent ruler. He was defeated by Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujarāt in several battles. Malik Rājā died in A.D. 1399. As he claimed descent from Khalīfah/Umar Fārūq, the dynasty came to be known as Fārūqī.

Of the two sons of Malik Rājā, Nāṣir and Ḥasan, the former succeeded to the throne. He married a sister of Hoshang Shāh and with his assistance imprisoned Ḥasan. He captured the hill-fortress of Asīrgarh, but Aḥmad Shāh, the Sulṭān of Gujarāt, defeated him when he attacked Nandurbār and compelled him to recognize his suzerainity. Nāṣir gave his daughter to 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahmanī (A.D. 1429), and thus secured his friendship. He died in A.D. 1437. His successors were weak till the fifth ruler 'Ādil Khān II came to the throne. 'Ādil Khān extended his rule by successfully fighting the rulers of Gondwāna and Garha-Mandla and subjugating the Kols

and Bhils. Confident of his power, he threw off his allegiance to the Sulṭān of Gujarāt but had to suffer humiliation when Maḥmūd Begara invaded Khāndesh (A.D. 1498). On his death without any issue in A.D. 1501 the throne passed to his brother Dā'ūd, who, after an inglorious reign of about seven years, was succeeded by his son, Ghaznī Khān. Ghaznī Khān was poisoned soon after his accession, and the country was plunged into a civil war due to faction fights of two rival claimants to the throne, one being supported by Maḥmūd Begara of Gujarāt, and the other by Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, till the former succeeded in raising his candidate to the throne with the title 'Ādil Khān III. The reign of 'Ādil Khān was uneventful and he died in A.D. 1520. The dynasty ended when the last ruler Bahādur Khān was made prisoner by Akbar who annexed Khāndesh to the Mughal empire in A.D. 1601.

Bengal. After its conquest by Bakhtyār Khaljī in A.D. 1204, Bengal with its different regions—the one west of the Mahānadi, commonly known as Gaur or Lakhnauti, and the other east of the Mahānadi, known as Sonārgaon, as well as the territory south of the Gaṅgā with its chief town Sātgaon—gradually passed under the sway of the Sulṭān's of Delhi.

Iltutmish subjugated the arrogant successors of Bakhtyār Khaljī and entrusted the government of Lakhnautī to his son Nāṣiru'd-dīn in A.D. 1227. In A.D. 1279 Ṭughril, the governor of Lakhnautī, broke into revolt. It was sternly suppressed by Balban who annexed the eastern region hitherto unconquered. Balban entrusted this area to his son Bughrā Khān, who subsequently became an independent ruler, assuming the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru'd-dīn. On hearing the tragic end of the House of Balban at Delhi, he abdicated in favour of his son Ruknu'd-dīn Kaikā'ūs in A.D. 1291. He was succeeded about A.D. 1301 by Shamsu'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh who extended his rule into the Sylhet district of Assam (now in Bangladesh) and probably founded the city of Fīrūzābād-Pandua, the future capital of Bengal. On his death in A.D. 1322 Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Bahādur seized both Lakhnautī and Sonārgaon, thus performing a military coup which brought Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq from Delhi into Bengal (A.D. 1324).Bahādur was defeated and taken as prisoner to Delhi, and his aggrieved brother Nāṣiru'd-dīn was made ruler of North Bengal with capital at Lakhnautī. Eastern Bengal and Southern Bengal, with capitals respectively at Sonārgaon and Sātgaon, were annexed to the empire and Bahrām Khān was appointed to govern them. Nāṣiru'd-dīn struck coins in the name of the emperor of Delhi, but for all practical purposes he was independent and enjoyed the title of Sulṭān. Soon after his accession, Muḥammad Tughluq appointed Qadr Khān to the governmnet of Lakhnauti, 'Izzuu'd-dīn A'ẓamu'l Mulk to that of Sātgaon, and restored Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Bahādur to the government of Sonārgaon but associated with him his own step-brother Bahrām Khān as the emperor's own representative. It was during this period (A.D. 1325- 1328) that the modern Tripura and

Chittagong districts were conquered and annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

In A.D. 1328, Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Bahādur revolted. He was defeated and killed by Bahrām Khān, who became the sole governor at Sonārgaon. Bahrām Khān died in A.D. 1338 whereupon his armour-bearer, Fakhru'd-dīn proclaimed himself ruler of Sonārgaon under the title Fakhru'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh. Shortly after 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Alī Shāh (A.D. 1339–1342) established his authority at Lakhnautī. Fakhru'd-dīn died in A.D. 1349 and was succeeded by Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn Ghāzī Shāh, probably his son. About A.D. 1342 Ilyās, an officer of 'Alī Shāh, made himself independent ruler of the entire Bengal, assuming the title of Shamsu'd-dīn Ilyās Shāh. He over-ran Tirhut and went as far as Kāthmāndu in Nepāl (A.D. 1346). He then exacted a tribute from the ruler of Orissa. He also defeated Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn Ghāzī Shāh, the ruler of Sonārgaon, and annexed his dominions. His further activities were checked by Fīrūz Tughluq who marched upon Fīrūzābād-Pandua, the capital city, in A.D. 1353. Ilyās, unable to resist the enemy in the open field, took shelter in the water-guarded city of Ekdala near Dinājpur. Fīrūz failed to capture it and had to return to Delhi, leaving Ilyās to rule as an independent king. His second expedition of A.D. 1359 proved equally unsuccessful.

The rule of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty continued till A.D. 1415 when it was superseded by that of Rājā Gaṇeśa. A *zamīndār* in North Bengal, Gaṇeśa seized the sceptre and ruled for a few years. He was succeeded by his son who assumed the title Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Shāh on his conversion to Islamic faith. He ruled over the whole of Bengal until A.D. 1431. After a short reign of his son and successor, Aḥmad Shāh (A.D. 1431–1435), Nāṣiru'd-dīn Maḥmūd, a descendant of Ilyās Shāh, recovered the throne of Bengal. During his reign of 17 years (A.D. 1442–1459) Gaur became the capital. Then followed a period of weak monarchs, and the throne was finally seized by Malik Andil, an Abyssinian commander of the Ilyās Shāhī army.

The Abyssinian regime covered a short period of 6 years (A.D. 1487–1493) and comprised three weak rulers. Then the throne was occupied by one Syed Ḥusain, who assumed the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. His long reign (A.D. 1493–1519) is noted for public works and for the promotion of Bengalī literature. Caitanya, the famous Hindu reformer, enjoyed this ruler's patronage and was able to propagate his ideas freely. He was succeeded by his son Nuṣrat Shāh, a contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhim Lodī. The Afghān rebel chiefs who were rising against the Sulṭāns sided with Nuṣrat Shāh who is said to have conquered Tirhut. Subsequently he made a treaty with Bābur, and was assassinated soon after in A.D. 1532. Then decline set in, and the territories of Assam and Kāmatā, which had been part of the kingdom of Bengal so far, gained independence. There followed in quick succession Fīrūz, son of Nuṣrat Shāh, and Maḥmūd Shāh, a brother of the latter. Maḥmūd Shāh was overthrown in A.D. 1538

by Sher Khān Sūrī and sought shelter with Humāyūn who had then advanced in Bihār with the object of suppressing Sher Khān. Humāyūn turned out the latter, and sat on the throne of Gaur as emperor for three months (May-July, A.D. 1539). But Sher Khān defeated Humāyūn at Chausā and recovered the independence of Bengal.

Sher Khān Sūrī entrusted the government of Bengal to his *Amīr*, Muḥammad Khān, who was succeeded by his son Khiḍr Khān. Khiḍr Khān set himself up as an independent ruler and founded the Sūrī dynasty which continued till A.D. 1564. Then Bengal was seized by Sulaimān Karrānī (A.D. 1565-1572), an *Amīr* of Islām Shāh Sūr. His son Dā'ūd, who was the third ruler of the Karrānī house, incurred the displeasure of Akbar the Great. Bengal was then annexed to the Mughal empire, Dā'ūd Karrānī having been defeated in A.D. 1575 by a Mughal army headed by Khān-i-Jahān Ḥusain Qulī Khān.

Kashmir. Early in the 14th century when Sūha Deva (A.D. 1301-1320) ruled over the valley of Kashmīr, a Mongol chief named Zuljū invaded Kashmīr. Taking advantage of the confusion that followed the Mongol invasion, Riñcana, a Ladākhī prince, usurped the throne and established his authority over the whole valley. After Riñcana's death Udayana Deva, brother of Sūha Deva, took possession of the valley and married Riñcana's wife, Koṭā Devī. In A.D. 1338 Udayana died and Koṭā Devī assumed the sovereign authority. But Shāh Mīr, the minister, who had built up his power, opposed her. In the armed conflict that followed, the Rānī was defeated and had to surrender herself to Shāh Mīr who forced her to marry him. Assuming the title of Shamsu'd-dīn, he ruled with moderation, restored order in the state and reorganized the revenue system by reducing land-tax to one-sixth and abolishing vexatious and arbitrary taxes. He died in A.D. 1342 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Jamshīd.

Jamshīd was dethroned by his brother, 'Alī Sher, who assumed the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn (A.D. 1343). 'Alī Sher died in A.D. 1354 and was succeeded by his son, Shīrāshāmak, who styled himself as Sulṭān Shihābu'd-dīn. He was ambitious and extended his kingdom upto the Hindu Kush, Peshāwar and even as far as the border of Sind. Tolerant to the Hindus, he refrained from attacks on their temples and idols. The Rājā of Nagarkot had to seek peace by sharing his spoils with him (A.D. 1361). The most interesting act of the Sulṭān was the banishment of his two sons and the nomination of his brother, Hindāl, as his successor. On his death in A.D. 1373, Hindāl ascended the throne under the title of Quṭbu'd-dīn and ruled till A.D. 1389. He was followed by his son Sikandar.

Sikandar was an iconoclast for which he came to be known as *But-shikan*. He was encouraged by his minister, Saifu'd-dīn, a converted Brāhmaṇa, to enforce his policy of conversion rigorously so that none but the Muslims could remain in Kashmīr. Many important temples were desecrated, and a very large number of Brāhmaṇas fled from Kashmīr.

On the other hand, Sikandar's patronage of learned Muslims attracted men from Arabia, Mesopotamia and Īrān. He abolished the cruel practice of *Satī*. He led an expedition against the ruler of Ohind which proved successful. Alarmed at Tīmūr's demand of one lakh gold *durusts* and thirty thousand horses, he showed reluctance to obey his summons. But luckily for him, Tīmūr had to leave in a hurry for Samarqand and the crisis passed off. Sikandar died in A.D. 1413 and was succeeded by his son 'Alī Shāh. But Shāhī Khān, the younger brother of 'Alī Shāh, captured the throne with the help of Jasrat Khokar, the chief of the Northern Punjab. Shāhī Khān assumed the title of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn.

Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (A.D. 1420–1470) was a benevolent, liberal and enlightened ruler. He reversed the policy of religious persecution of his predecessors, and heralded an era of toleration and friendliness towards the Hindus, which distinguished his reign not only in Kashmīr but also in the contemporary Muslim world. He did much to diminish thefts and highway robbery by enforcing the principle of the responsibility of village communities for local crimes, lightened the burden of taxation, regulated the prices of commodities and reformed the currency. His public works immensely benefited his subjects.

Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn was a scholar and a man of strong moral character. He knew several languages–Arabic, Persian, Hindī and Tibetan–and was well-versed in various sciences and arts, including music, poetry and painting. Under his initiative the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* were translated from Sanskrit into Persian and several Arabic and Persian books were translated into Sanskrit. The Sulṭān was abstemious in his diet and habits.

'His greatness at home was but a shadow of his greatness abroad'. He enjoyed the esteem of the contemporary rulers like Bahlūl of Delhi, Mirzā Abū Sa'īd of Khurāsān, Maḥmūd Begara of Gujarāt, the Mamlūks of Egypt, the Sharīf of Mecca, and the Rājā of Gwalior.

In his old age, however, the Sulṭān was made unhappy by his sons Ādam Khān, Ḥājī Khān and Bahrām Khān, who engaged in fratricidal war. On his death in A.D. 1470, his son Ḥājī Khān ascended the throne under the title of Sulṭān Ḥaidar Shāh. He died after a reign of one year and ten months in A.D. 1472. The subsequent period between A.D. 1472–1537 is characterised by faction fights.

The '*Ulamās*' made the confusion worse by preaching persecution of the followers of the Nūr-bakhshī sect. The Shiah and Sunnī communities came frequently into violent collisions. Kashmīr was invaded in A.D. 1531 by Mirzā Kāmrān but the leading parties combined for the time being and defeated the Mughals at Athwājan. After their withdrawal the country suffered from a severe famine. In A.D. 1540 Mirzā Ḥaidar, a Mughal noble of Humāyūn, occupied Srīnagar and later annexed Rājauri and Baltistān. The Kashmīrī nobles, however, resented the superior air of the Mughals

and had them killed in a surprise attack. Later, the Mirẓā also suffered the same fate in A.D. 1551.

In A.D. 1561, Ghāzī Khān Chak set aside the ruling king, Ḥabīb Shāh, and laid the foundations of the Chak dynasty. He had to abdicate soon because of a violent attack of leprosy. He was succeeded by his brother Ḥusain.

During Ḥusain Shāh's reign (A.D. 1563–1570), the Shīahs and the Sunnis indulged in fanatical fights. His brother 'Alī Shāh ruled till A.D. 1578. He received the two Mughal envoys well and ordered the *Khutbah* to be read in the name of Akbar. However, 'Alī Shāh, could not restore peace and order and he died of an accident while playing polo. There was again a scramble for power.

Yūsuf Shāh, the last independent ruler of Kashmīr, was so much troubled by rebellions and counter-rebellions that he sought Akbar's intervention. Akbar finally conquered and annexed Kashmīr to the Mughal empire in A.D. 1586 and Yūsuf entered the Mughal service by accepting a *manṣab* of 500 and a *jāgīr* in Bihār.

C. KINGDOMS OF SOUTH INDIA

Bahmanī. The *Amīrs* of the Deccan, tired of the oppressive rule of Muḥammad Tughluq, rose in rebellion and declared the Deccan an independent kingdom. The first king of independent Deccan was a senior *Amīr* of Devagiri, Ismāīl Mukh by name, who was proclaimed as Abū'l Fatḥ Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ismā'īl Shāh. Ḥasan Gaṅgū, the ablest of the new Sulṭān's followers, was given the title of Ẓafar Khān, and it was he who finally negated the strenuous attempts made by Muḥammad Tughluq to reconquer the Deccan. Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ismā'īl Shāh, seeing the rising prestige of Ḥasan and feeling that the kingship of the Deccan would be more worthily held by him, assembled together all the *Amīrs* at Daulatābād and proposed that he would relinquish the throne in favour of Ẓafar Khān. It was Ẓafar Khān who had succeeded in defeating the imperial troops more than once and in forcing their ultimate withdrawal from the Deccan. Further, his claim of descent from the hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, surrounded him with a halo of royalty. On August 11, A.D. 1347, he was acclaimed by his colleagues as their king and took the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh. Thus was founded the Bahmanī dynasty which ruled the Deccan with varying fortunes till A.D. 1538.

Sometime after his coronation 'Alāu'd-din Bahman Shāh selected Gulbarga as his capital. The city enjoyed that dignity till about A.D. 1424 when Aḥmad Shāh Walī (A.D. 1422–1436) shifted the capital to Bīdar which was geographically more suited to the needs of an expanding dominion and climatically a far more agreeable place than Gulbarga.

Bahman S̲h̲āh's new kingdom had two Hindu neighbours which, like itself, had emerged on the break-up of the Tug̲h̲luq empire. One was Warangal under Kāpaya Nāyaka, a member of the Kākatiya aristocracy, on the south and south-east; and the other Vijayanagar, on the south and south-west. The Bahmanī kingdom was determined to extend in the south, if possible upto Madura, the limit of the Tūg̲h̲luq empire, and the Hindu kingdoms were as determined to prevent this advance. Moreover, to the south of the Tungabhadra lay the diamond mines in Vijayanagar territory. This explains the chronic warfare so characteristic of the relations between these states. Warangal was finally annexed to the Bahmanī kingdom in A.D. 1425 by Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Walī Bahmanī. The kingdom of Orissa now bordered the Bahmanī territory in the east and in the clashes that ensued, the Bahmanīs succeeded in pushing their frontiers up to Rajahmundry and the Bay of Bengal. But the Bahmanī Sulṭāns were unable to vanquish Vijayanagar, a task which was completed at last in A.D. 1565 by the combined action of the Muslim states of the Deccan that arose on the decline of the Bahmanī kingdom.

In the north, Bahmanī boundaries ran along those of Gujarāt and Khāndesh, touched Mālwa north of Ellichpur and Gāwilgarh, and met the Hindu principality of Kherla on the north-east. Relations between these northern neighbours and the Bahmanī kingdom were mainly peaceful, though a few skirmishes took place with each of them during the 15th century. The most serious encounter with Mālwa occurred in A.D. 1462 when Maḥmūd K̲h̲aljī, in alliance with Kapilendra of Orissa, marched to Bīdar, the Bahmanī capital, and occupied it for a short time. Maḥmūd Begara of Gujarāt, however, came to help Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad (A.D. 1461–1463), the Bahmanī Sulṭān, and the intruders were driven out.

'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman S̲h̲āh's main task was to consolidate his kingdom by imposing his sovereignty over the many dissident elements that had grown up in the Deccan during the upheaval preceding his elevation to the throne. The chieftains of Kandahār and Kotagir, of Akalkot and Jamkhandi, Kalyaṇa and Malkheḍ, Sagar and Mudhol were subdued, and the ports of Northern Konkan like Dābhol and Chaul and the passes leading to them were securely brought under Bahmanī control. Southern Konkan remained under Vijayanagar occupation for a long time; and many small chieftains flourished in the hilly parts of the coastal region owing at times only a nominal allegiance to the Bahmanī throne. This region, including Goa, was finally annexed to the Bahmanī kingdom by the famous *Wazīr* Maḥmūd Gāwān in about A.D. 1472.

The Bahmanī administration in the initial stages functioned very much on Tug̲h̲luq lines. Bahman S̲h̲āh created a new aristocracy by bestowing titles and *jāgīrs* on his followers, and he also created officers or ministers as circumstances demanded. Muḥammad I (A.D. 1358–1375), the son and successor of the first Bahmanī Sulṭān, carried out many administrative

reforms. He split the kingdom into four divisions called *tarafs*, each under the charge of a governor called *Tarafdār*. He also made it a practice to tour one *taraf* every year accompanied by its *Tarafdār*. This showed good results in maintaining law and order.

After the brief reigns of Mujāhid Shāh (A.D. 1375–1378) and Dā'ūd I (A.D. 1378), Muḥammad II (A.D. 1378–1397), a nephew of Muḥammad I, ascended the throne at Gulbarga. The Sulṭān was a learned man and devoted to the welfare of his subjects. When a severe famine ravaged his kingdom, he arranged for import of food-grains from Gujarāt and Mālwa and their distribution at cheap rates.

Muḥammad II died in April A.D. 1397 and the next six months witnessed the reigns of two kings Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tahmtan and Shamsu'd-dīn Dā'ūd, both of whom fell victims to palace intrigue. But the accession of Firūz Shāh in November, A.D. 1397 put a timely check on the dissident elements and secured internal order and peace. The long reign of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī (A.D. 1397–1422) brought prosperity to the kingdom. Firūz went to war against Vijayanagar on three occasions and lost the Raichūr Doāb to the Hindus in A.D. 1417. The last years of his reign were marred by a quarrel with Gesū Darāz, the saint of Gulbarga. This resulted in the Sulṭān losing his hold over the army and some members of his aristocracy, and he very wisely abdicated on September 22, A.D. 1422 in favour of his brother, Aḥmad, who is famous in Deccan history as Aḥmad Shāh Walī. Soon after relinquishing the throne, Firūz Shāh Bahmanī passed away on October 2, A.D. 1422.

Aḥmad Shāh Walī (A.D. 1422–1436) shifted the Bahmanī capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar sometime about A.D. 1424. A fine and great city with many majestic buildings, palaces and mosques grew up here in course of time.

Aḥmad Shāh waged a successful war against Vijayanagar and pushed back an invasion from Mālwa. He engaged a Gujarāt army near Bombay, an encounter in which his troops were worsted and this brought into the open the latent conflict between the Deccanis and the Pardesīs in the Bahmanī kingdom. The Deccanis were domiciled Muslims who looked upon the Deccan as their motherland. The so-called Pardesīs, were immigrants from Irān, Turkey, Arabia and Central Asia, and established themselves at the Bahmanī court. The Deccanis, actuated by jealosy at the success of the foreigners in the battlefield as well as in the council chamber, made repeated attempts to discredit their rivals. They ascribed Bahmanī discomfiture against Gujarāt in the campaigns of A.D. 1430 to the incompetence of the Pardesīs and prevailed upon Aḥmad Shāh Walī to suppress them and give power and preference to the Deccanis. They used power to deal a crushing blow on the Pardesīs in the reign of Aḥmad Shāh's successor 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad when, in A.D. 1447, they falsely blammed their rivals for the debacle in a campaign in the Konkan territory. The

Pardesī survivors of the Konkan campaign, who returned to their base at Châkan, were mercilessly slaughtered by the Sulṭān's order. Some of these, who escaped the holocast, returned to Bīdar and reported to the Sulṭān the perfidy of the Deccanis; and the Sulṭān meted out well-deserved punishment on the Deccanis who remained under a cloud for the next fourteen years.

This change in the fortunes of the Pardesīs was mainly due to the influence of Maḥmūd Gāwān, the noted Bahmanī minister. An able general and essentially a man of peace, Gāwān, himself a "foreigner', played a noble role in stabilising relations between the warring factions by a policy of justice, fairness and conciliation. Humāyūn Shāh (A.D. 1458-1461), who succeeded 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad Shāh II in A.D. 1458, appointed Maḥmūd Gāwān as his Prime Minster, an office which he held till his execution (April 5, A.D. 1481). Gāwān initiated many reforms. He subdivided each of the four divisions (*ṭarafs*) of the kingdom into two, and framed regulations which curtailed the power of the *Ṭarafdārs*. These reforms were made for administrative efficiency, but were resented by the Deccanis even though they were all along treated with fairness. They hatched a plot against their benefactor by forging a letter in the minister's name and with his seal, inviting the king of Orissa to invade the Bahmanī dominion. This document was placed before Sulṭān Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad (A.D. 1463-1482). Unaware of the perfidy, he ordered the execution of Maḥmūd Gāwān without an enquiry. Too late the Sulṭān discovered the treachery and he died within a year, mourning his Prime Minister.

After Maḥmūd Gāwān, Ḥasan Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Baḥrī, the leader of the Deccani party, was exalted to the title of Malik Nāib and he controlled the affairs of the kingdom. Since Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad's son and successor Maḥmūd (A.D. 1482-1518) was a minor, authority continued to rest in the hands of Malik Nāib. On the eve of the coronation ceremony he formed a plot to assassinate Yūsuf Ā'dil Khān, leader of the Pardesī party, and to destroy his followers. But the Pardesīs were put on their guard by some of their well-wishers in the opposite camp. For no less than twenty days Bīdar was a scene of conflict between the rival factions and, when peace was restored, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān agreed to retire to Bījāpur and Malik Nāib was left at the helm of affairs in the Bahmanī capital. His regency, however, did not last long. The usual intrigues followed and Malik Nāib, fled for safety and was put to death by the Abyssinian governor of Bīdar. Thus the Deccani minister shared the fate of the great Pardesī noble whose death he had so basely contrived.

Once again the swing of the pendulum brought the Pardesīs to power. The Deccani struck at their rivals by going to the length, this time, of forming a conspiracy to murder the king and to place another prince of the royal family on the throne (November A.D. 1487). But the coup failed. The infuriated king ordered the conspirators to be put to death.

The slaughter lasted for three days and the Pardesis inflicted a terrible retribution on the Deccani for the wrongs they had suffered.

After these events Maḥmūd Shāh took no interest in the affairs of the state; the responsibility of government was assumed by Qāsim Barīd, a Turkī *Amīr* of Sunnī persuasion. The prestige of the Bahmanīs was lost and the provincial governors were unwilling to acknowledge the supremacy of Qāsim Barīd. The defection of Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l Mulk, son of Malik Nā'ib, began the process of disintegration. Two expeditions were despatched against him, but they were of no avail. In June A.D. 1490, Aḥmad proclaimed himself as an independent king. Other governors like Fatḥullah 'Imādu'l Mulk of Berār and Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpur soon followed suit, with the result that by the end of that year, the Bahmanī kingdom had definitely lost its sovereignty. It was finally split up into what are known as the five Sultanates of the Deccan: the 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijāpur, the Quṭb Shāhīs of Golconda, the Niẓām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar, the Barīd Shāhīs of Bīdar and the 'Imād Shāhīs of Berār.

Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī continued to reign as a nominal sovereign till A.D. 1518. He was succeeded by four titular kings, mere puppets in the hands of Amīr Ali Barīd, the son of Qāsim Barīd, who had usurped all control in the Bahmanī capital. With the death of Kalīmullah, the last of these kings, sometime in A.D. 1538, the Bahmanī dynasty came to an end.

Vijayanagar: The foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in the first half of the 14th century marked a new chapter in the history of South India. It was not merely an event of political significance, but was also the symbolic expression of a vigorous cultural movement. In an age of frequent Islāmic aggressions from Devagiri to Madura, the Vijayanagar empire rose as the defender of Hindu *dharma* and institutions and, till the end of its history, worked to stem the tide of Muslim aggressions. If South India retains today its individual cultural complexion, it is largely because of the defence and protection afforded to Hindu culture by the Vijayanagar empire.

The question whether the founders of the empire were of Telugu or Karnātaka origin is much disputed. It is held by some that the Saṅgama brothers, Harihara and Bukka, who founded it, were appointed to guard the northern portions of the Hoysala kingdom against possible Muslim inroads and, after Ballāla III and his son Ballāla IV, they became masters of the Hoysala kingdom. But what appears to have more credence is the tradition that the brothers were first in the service of Kākatīya Pratāparudra Deva, and when his kingdom was conquered by the Muslims in A.D. 1323, they switched over to Kampilī; when the same fate fell on Kampilī too, they were taken to Delhi as prisoners and forced to embrace Islām. However, they were subsequently released and reappointed as ministers in the kingdom of Kampilī. When the brothers found the political conditions

favourable, they declared themselves free and founded the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar with the blessings of sage Vidyāraṇya of the Śṛṅgerī *Maṭha*. They also became re-converted to Hinduism.

Thus founded, Vijayanagar grew into a kingdom which soon expanded into an empire largely through the efforts of Harihara and Bukka. Harihara I (A.D. 1336–1356), aided by his brother Bukka, started an era of conquest and expansion. The Hoysala kingdom was conquered by about A.D. 1346, and the Kadamba territories were annexed in A.D. 1347. Harihara also sent two armies in A.D. 1352–53, one under prince Sāvaṇṇa and the other under Kumāra Kampana, against the Sulṭān of Madura to rescue the Śāmbuvarāya chief who appears to have been taken prisoner.

Harihara I was succeeded by his brother Bukka I (A.D. 1356–1377) who took up the task of strengthening and expanding the nascent kingdom. He sent an expedition against Rājanārāyaṇa Śāmbuvarāya, who earlier had been restored to his throne by Harihara and had probably asserted his independence soon after . He also fought with the Bahmanī Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh I and signed a treaty with him, which made him the virtual master of the Kṛṣṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā *Doāb*. His son Kumāra Kampaṇa, who governed the Tamil districts, proceeded south, and defeated the Sulṭān of Madura and annexed his dominions to the Vijayanagar empire.

Bukka's son and successor, Harihara II (A.D. 1377–1404), consolidated the new kingdom. An invasion of by the Bahmanī Sulṭān Mujāhid Shāh was repulsed. The Sulṭān was assassinated on his way back to his capital, and taking advantage of this turn of event, Harihara II invaded Konkan and northern Karnātaka, attacked the Reḍḍi rulers, and occupied the Addanki and Śrīśailam areas. In A.D. 1398, he defeated the Velamas and the Bahmanīs. His death in A.D. 1404 was followed by a dispute about the succession and consequent political instability; his two sons Virūpākṣa I and Bukka II appear to have ruled one after the other for two years, and in A.D. 1406 Devarāya I ascended the throne.

Soon after his accession Devarāya I had to face an invasion by Firūz Shāh Bahmanī, and was forced to surrender not only the fort of Bankāpur but according to one account, had also to give one of his daughters in marriage to the Sulṭān. Devarāya formed an alliance with Kātayavema, his relative and chief of the Reḍḍi kingdom, to counter the activities of Anadeva Choda, an ally of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī. In a battle fought in A.D. 1415, Firūz came to the rescue of Anadeva and Kātayavema was killed. However, four years later, Devarāya captured Pangal and won a decisive victory . He died in A.D. 1422, and after a short rule of a few months by his son Rāmacandra, his brother, Vijayarāya I succeeded to the throne. He was a weak ruler and the major achievements of his reign are associated with his son Devarāya .

Devarâya II (A.D. 1422–1446) annexed the Kondavidu country, attacked the Gajapatis of Orissa and subjugated a few chiefs in Kerala. He also invaded the Kṛṣṇâ-Tuṅgabhadrâ *Doāb*, took Mudgal and besieged Raichūr and Bankāpur; but the final outcome of the war was not favourable to him. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, the Irānian ambassador, visited his court in A.D. 1443. The reign of Devarāya II was followed by the short reign of Vijayarāya II (A.D. 1446–1447). The next ruler Mallikārjuna was young at the time of his accession and taking advantage of it, the Bahmanī Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn II and Kapileśvara Gajapati of Orissa invaded Vijayanagar, and the war was prolonged upto A.D. 1463. Mallikārjuna died about the middle of A.D. 1465 and was succeeded by Virūpākṣa II. The history of the Śaṅgama dynasty ends with the murder of Virūpākṣa in A.D. 1485 by one of his own sons. Another son of Virūpākṣa, Prauḍha Devarāya, ascended the throne and almost at once murdered the parricide. Finding this state of anarchy in the kingdom, Sāluva Narasiṁha (A.D. 1485–1490), ruler of the Chandragiri region and a powerful feudatory, usurped the throne and saved the kingdom from an impending disruption.

In the early years of his reign Sāluva Narasiṁha fought against the Sambetas of Peranipāḍu and the Pālaigārs of Ummattur, and quelled fisssiparous tendencies within the empire. But he was defeated and imprisoned by Puruṣottama Gajapati and his release was secured by the surrender of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. Before Sāluva Narasiṁha died in A.D. 1490, he placed his two young sons under the care of his minister Narasa Nāyaka and made him the regent of the kingdom. The elder of the two, Timma, was crowned king but was murdered by a rival and so the younger, Immaḍi Narasiṁha, was anointed. The regent Narasa Nāyaka, however, removed him to Penukonda and kept him under control, himself dominating the scene for over a decade. Narasa Nāyaka came into conflict with Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpur and Pratāparudra Gajapati, and asserted his authority over several small chiefs in the South. After his death in A.D. 1503, his son Vīra Narasiṁha became the regent and continued to keep Immaḍi Narasiṁha under tutelage. When Immaḍi Narasiṁha was assassinated in A.D. 1505, Vīra Narasiṁha became the actual ruler and started what is known as the Tuluva dynasty.

During his short rule of six years (A.D. 1503–1509) Virā Narasiṁha fought against Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, Kāśappa Uḍaiya, the chief of Ādoni and the Heuṇa chiefs of Ummattur and Seringapatam and he also attempted to recover Goa.

He was succeeded by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, (A.D. 1509–1529), his half-brother, who was the greatest of all the Vijayanagar rulers and one of the most fascinating personalities in Indian history. He had to tackle many difficulties like provincial insubordination and external aggression.

Early in his reign he faced an invasion by Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and inflicted a crushing defeat on him at Dony on the Vijayanagar frontier. He also captured Raichūr, Gulbarga and Bīdar. The next to be subdued were the rebellious chieftains of Ummattur within the empire.

Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya then turned against the Gajapatis of Orissa who were in occupation of the coastal districts. The fort of Udayagiri was taken in A.D. 1513. Kondavīdu also was captured. Several Oṛiyā nobles, including members of the royal family, were taken away as prisoners to Vijayanagar. Kondapalli was then besieged and the army sent by Pratāparudra routed. After establishing himself in Telangāna, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya captured Rājahmundry, while his army marched farther north, reached Cuttack and made Pratāparudra sue for peace. Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya had to recapture Raichūr which had now been occupied by Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān. This was successfully accomplished after a great battle. The fortresses of Fīrūzābād and Sagar were taken and that of Gulbarga razed to the ground. Bijāpur itself was occupied for a short time.

Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya distinguished himself both in war and in peace. An eminent warrior and a military strategist, he was also a noted administrator, a shrewd statesman and a great patron of arts and letters, himself being a scholar and poet.

He was succeeded by his half-brother Acyuta Rāya (A.D. 1529–1542). The attempt of Rāma Rāya to become the *de facto* ruler by nominally installing the eighteen months old son of Kṛṣṇādeva Rāya as the king was foiled by Sāluva Vīra Narasiṁha who brought Acyuta Rāya from Chandragiri. In fact, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya himself had nominated him in preference to his own son. Immediately after his accession, Acyuta Rāya had to repulse the invasion of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān for the seizure of the Raichūr *Doāb*. He, also, defeated the Gajapati ruler and the Sulṭān of Golconda. He soon patched up his quarrel with Rāma Rāya, but this angered Sāluva Vīra Narasiṁha and drove him to the chieftains of Ummattur and the Tiruvāḍi Rāja in Kerala, with whose help he started a revolt. It was put down and Sāluva Vīra Narasiṁha was taken prisoner. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān died in A.D. 1534 and taking advantage of this Acyuta Rāya invaded Bijāpur and forced his son Mallū 'Ādil Khān to sue for peace. The infant son of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya died meanwhile and this weakened the position of Rāma Rāya. However, he was able to imprison Acyuta on his return from Bijāpur and proclaimed himself king. The opposition of nobles, however, forced him to step down and enthrone Sadāśiva, a nephew of Acyuta, and carry on the government in his name.

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh soon chose to invade Vijayanagar. He entered Nāgalāpūr and 'razed it to the ground' by way of reprisal for the treatment of Bijāpur by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya. He also settled the dispute between Acyuta and Rāma Rāya before he retired to his kingdom. It

was agreed that Acyuta would be king, but Rāma Rāya was to be free to rule his state without interference. This agreement was observed till the death of Acyuta in A.D. 1542.

Acyuta Rāya was succeeded by his son Veṅkaṭa I with his maternal uncle Salakarāju Tirumala as regent. Tirumala's intentions were suspected by Varadādevi, the queen mother, who sought the help of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I; but the clever Tirumala won him over. Meanwhile, Rāma Rāya proclaimed Sadāśiva as the emperor and Ibrāhim asked for help from Bijāpur. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh invaded Vijayanagar inspite of Tirumala's understanding with him. Tirumala, however, inflicted defeat. Panic-stricken people proclaimed Tirumala as the ruler. But, soon Rāma Rāya defeated Tirumala in a few battles and seized the kingdom in the name of Sadāśiva who was ultimately crowned in A.D. 1543. But Rāma Rāya remained the *de facto* ruler.

Rāma Rāya sent a large army under his cousin Cinna Timma to subjugate several chiefs in the extreme south. About A.D. 1560, he assisted 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh in his fight against Husain Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar Then he invaded Bidar and made Barīd Shāh his vassal. This was followed by another war between Rāma Rāya and Ali 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur on the one side and Golconda and Ahmadnagar on the other. Golconda was devastated, and he had to give up the forts of Kovilkoṇda, Gaṇapura and Pangal. This widened the breach between Rāma Rāya and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh of Golconda and the latter became determined to put an end to the growing influence of Rāma Rāya. Patching up all their differences, the Sulṭāns united for the common purpose of annihilating the Hindu empire and encamped at Tālikota. The battle ,also known as the battle of the Kṛṣṇā, was fought on January 23, A.D. 1565, between two villages, Rakshasi and Tangadi. The Vijayanagar forces were completely defeated and Rāma Rāya decapitated. This was soon followed by the destruction of the city of Vijayanagar itself. But Sadāśiva continued to rule for a few years more, and on his death the Aravidu dynasty came to power. It ruled till about A.D. 1672, but had nothing of the glamour and glory of the three earlier families.

D. BAHMANI SUCCESSION STATES

Bidar. The petty state of Bidar grew out of the efforts of Qāsim Barīd, Prime Minister of the Bahmanī kingdom after Niẓāmu'l Mulk, to control the person of the Bahmanī monarch and the districts adjoining the capital. Qāsim died in A.D. 1504 and was succeeded to the post by his son, Amīr 'Alī Barīd. The Bahmanī monarchy had become so powerless that Amīr 'Alī Barīd was able to act as a king-maker on the demise of succeeding *roi faineant*. But with the flight from Bidar of the last Bahmanī ruler Kalīmullah in

A.D. 1528, there was no impediment left for the assumption of kingship by the minister. But Bīdar was always in a precarious condition, being hemmed in by powerful rulers who were always knocking at the gates of the capital.

Amīr 'Alī Barīd died in A.D. 1542, and was succeeded by his son 'Alī Barīd Shāh. He was an artist and a man of letters, and he distinguished himself by commanding the left wing of the allied armies which shattered the Vijayanagar forces in the battle of the Kṛṣṇā. But this did not help the security of the kingdom and it was often menaced by the army of Ahmadnagar. 'Alī Barīd Shāh died in A.D. 1579, and his mausoleum at Bīdar is one of the most magnificent edifices in the city today. He was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm. After Ibrāhīm came a number of weak rulers. It was not long after this that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II invaded Bīdar and annexed the kingdom to Bijāpur in A.D. 1619.

Berar. The Bahmanī succession state which had the shortest span of life was Berār with its shifting capitals at Ellichpur and Gāwīlgarh. Its importance lay in its being a kind of buffer between Mālwa, Khāndesh and the Deccan. The founder of the dynasty was Fatḥullah 'Imādu'l Mulk, a Brāhmaṇa of Vijayanagar converted to Islām. He was made governor of Gāwīlgarh by Maḥmūd Gāwān. He soon annexed the eastern portion of Berār as well and thus consolidated the whole of the rich black cotton tract under his rule. He never declared his independence, and there are instances of the respect which he showed to the Bahmanī Sulṭān even after the political connection with Bīdar had snapped.

Fatḥullah died in A.D. 1504 and was succeeded by 'Alāu'd-din who assumed the title of 'Imād Shāh. Small as the state was, it was involved in the perennial conflict which was the order of the day in the Deccan. But he was able to make his kingdom so powerful that his help was sought after even by the Barīdī rulers of Bīdar. He was, however, not equal to the task of resisting the pressure of Ahmadnagar and had to flee to Khāndesh once. 'Alāu'd-dīn died in A.D. 1529 and was succeeded by his son Daryā who had also to take sides in the internecine wars of the Deccan Sulṭāns. After Daryā his infant son Burhān was placed on the throne in A.D. 1562. But it was the minister Tufāl Khān who became the real ruler, and he confined Burhān to the Narnāla fort. This was an open challenge to Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh who was related by marriage to the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty. In A.D. 1572, Murtaḍā sent an ultimatum to Tufāl Khān to release Burhān at once. On receiving an unsatisfactory answer he invaded Berār, and after a sharp struggle took both Tufāl and Burhān prisoner and annexed Berār (A.D. 1574).

Ahmadnagar. The founder of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty was Aḥmad, son of Ḥasan Niẓāmu'l Mulk, Prime Minister of the Bahmanī kingdom after Maḥmūd Gāwān's execution. Aḥmad succeeded to his father's title and was appointed to the governorship of Daulatābād. In A.D. 1494, he founded the

city of Ahmadnagar and shifted his capital there from Junnar. He had made his position thoroughly secure by the time he died in A.D. 1510 and was succeeded by his son Burhān, then seven years old. He had an able minister in the person of Mukammal Khān Dakhinī. Burhān was the first of the line to assume the title of Niẓām Shāh. During his reign Ahmadnagar was in turn the ally and then the enemy of Bijāpur, Bīdar, Vijayanagar, Golconda and Berār. Burhān died in A.D. 1553, and was succeeded by his son Ḥusain.

Although Ḥusain lived a short life of just over 25 years, his reign is a landmark in the history of the Deccan. He had inherited a bitter feud with Bijāpur, and the joint armies of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and Rāma Rāya of Vijayanagar, a coalition of which Rāma Rāya was the strongest party, invaded the Ahmadnagar territories (A.D. 1562). The depredation on the inhabitants of Ahmadnagar in general and Muslims in particular made Ḥusain very bitter, and he was successful in forming the Muslim Confederacy against Vijayanagar in A.D. 1565.

Ḥusain died a few months after the battle of Kṛṣṇā and was succeeded by his son Murtaḍā (A.D. 1565–1588). His reign saw the first invasion by the Mughals, and the annexation of Berār. But the Sulṭān's mental faculty gave way after A.D. 1574 and he began to consider his own son Mīrān Ḥusain to be his deadly enemy. Mīrān, in his turn, conspired against his father and had him suffocated to death in his bath. The parricide did not reign long and was followed by Ismā'īl (A.D. 1589–1591), whose reign was mostly taken up by the struggle for power between the Mahdawī sect and the Shī'ahs. The king's father, Burhān, a fugitive at the court of Akbar, returned and after defeating his son's army ascended the throne.

Burhān's reign (A.D. 1591–1595) was marked by a series of defeats at the hands of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II and by his failure to recover Chaul from the Portuguese. In the context of historical literature his reign saw the compilation of *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*. He was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm who reigned for barely four months. There was now confusion in the capital, with four claimants to the throne supported by four different groups of the ruling aristocracy. One of these was supported by Miyān Manjhū and another by Chānd Bībī, princess of Ahmadnagar and widow of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, who had returned to the land of her birth. When Miyān Manjhū saw that the cause of his nominee, Aḥmad, was in danger of being foiled, he sent a message to Akbar's son, prince Murād, beseeching his help. Murād responded by marching towards Ahmadnagar. When the capital was under siege, the intrepid Chānd Bībī, took over the command of the fort, defended the battlements as long as she could, but in the end she had to make peace with the Mughals, ceding Berār as its price. Peace, however, did not last long and the Mughals again laid siege to the capital. It was during this second attack that Chānd Bībī lost her life (A.D. 1600).

The last scene in the drama of Ahmadnagar's struggle for independence was its gallant defence by Malik 'Ambar, the thrice manumitted Abyssinian slave, who would not bow before the Mughal might and proclaimed Murtaḍā II king with his capital at Parenda. From that centre he raided the Mughal territory by means of guerilla tactics. Malik 'Ambar's stubborn resistance continued over a long period but he was defeated by prince Khurram first in A.D. 1617 and again in A.D. 1621. His death in A.D. 1626 finally sealed the fate of the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom. Its last ruler Murtaḍā III was captured by Shāh Jahān in A.D. 1636 and the Niẓām Shāhī territories were parcelled out among the Mughals and the ruler of Bījāpur.

Bījāpur. The founder of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, who ruled Bījāpur upto A.D. 1510, claimed descent from a scion of the Ottoman dynasty. A *protege* of Maḥmūd Gāwān, he was one of the most eminent figures of the last days of the Bahmanī kingdom. He was a great patron of art and literature. He was married to a Marāṭhā lady who is named in history as Būbūjī Khānam. Yūsuf died in A.D. 1510, and was succeeded by his 13 year old son Ismā'īl. A great loss incurred by the state was the capture of Goa by the Portuguese. In other fields, however, he was more successful, and was able to defeat the Barīdī ruler and actually occupied Bīdar for a time. He could not, however, withstand the invasion of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar and had to cede Raichūr to the victor.

Ismā'īl was succeeded by his son Mallū (A.D. 1534) who proved to be entirely incapable of governing the state. He was deposed after reigning for a little over six months, and his younger brother Ibrāhīm was put on the throne. Ibrāhīm (A.D. 1534–1558) was the first Bijāpur ruler to adopt the title of Shāh, and he not only replaced Persian by 'Hindvī' (*Dakhinī* Urdū) as the official language but gave numerous employments to the Hindus. He supported the party opposed to Rāma Rāya at Vijayanagar, and although he was defeated by Rāma Rāya's forces he recouped and was able to take Ādoni in A.D. 1535.

Ibrāhīm was succeeded by his son 'Ali (A.D. 1558–1580). There was the eternal quarrel with Ahmadnagar for the possession of Sholāpur, and in order to strengthen his own hands he made an alliance with Rāma Rāya. The allied armies now invaded the Niẓām Shāhī territories and ultimately forced Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh to flee to Junnar. But the conduct of the Vijayanagar army estranged all the Bahmanī succession states and even disgusted 'Alī himself who was led to make a matrimonial alliance with Ahmadnagar by marrying Ḥusain's daughter, Chānd Bībī. It was this alliance which became the pivot of the league which shattered the power of Vijayanagar. 'Alī was murdered in his bed in A.D. 1580, and was succeeded by his nephew Ibrāhīm II.

Ibrāhīm II, who reigned upto A.D. 1627 was a great patron of learning and was affectionately called *Jagad-guru* by his subjects. It was the king's

aunt, Chānd Bībī, who was the real ruler of Bijāpur during Ibrāhīm's reign, and her courage, quick decision and intrepedity cost her own liberty many a time. When things were taking a nasty turn at Ahmadnagar, Chānd Bībī went to the city of her birth and faced the Mughals right upto her last breath. The reduction of Ahmadnagar by the Mughals and Chānd Bībī's death must have told on Ibrāhīm's nerves, and he had to bow before the Mughals by giving his daughter in marriage to prince Dāniyāl. Ibrāhīm was the author of the famous book of Hindi songs, the *Nawras-Nāmah* and it was in his reign that the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* was completed. His many public works, the magnificent tomb he constructed for his wife, and his own versatility made his reign one of the most unique in the Deccan history.

He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad (A.D. 1627–1657). Although he extended the territories of Bijāpur at the expense of Ahmadnagar as well as of Vijayanagar, the hands of the Mughals lay heavily on the kingdom. Muḥammad lies buried in the magnificent tomb, the Gol Gumbad, which is one of the wonders of architecture. He was succeeded by 'Alī II (A.D. 1657–1672). Emperor Shāh Jahān refused to recognize 'Alī II as the lawful king and ordered prince Aurangzeb to march against Bijāpur. But the life of the dynasty was prolonged for a few years by Aurangzeb's return to the North to fight the battle of succession at Samūgarh. In the South, Śivājī sprang to eminence, and the episode of the Bijāpur general Afḍal Khān and his murder is well known. 'Alī's court was full of litterateurs of note, and his half-finished mausoleum testifies to his artistic nature. He was succeeded by Sikandar, the last of the line. Śivājī was crowned as *Chatrapati* at Raigarh in A.D. 1674, while in A.D. 1681, Aurangzeb moved to the Deccan never to return. Bijāpur was invested, and the city opened its gates to the Mughals on September 12, A.D. 1686. Bijāpur as an independent kingdom ceased to exist.

Tilang (Golconda). This state, with its capital first at the rock-citadel of Golconda and then at Hyderābād, was named Tilang after the Bahmanī province of that name, and was placed in the charge of Sulṭān Qulī Hamadānī in A.D. 1494. The Bahmanī ruler granted him the title of Quṭbu'l Mulk, a title which gave its name to the dynasty. He assumed independence in A.D. 1512. The period of his government was filled with his struggles with Vijayanagar and his attempts to reach the natural frontiers of the Andhra country. Sulṭān Qulī, at the age of ninety-eight, was assassinated by his son Jamshīd, who was tired of waiting for the throne (A.D. 1543).

Jamshīd's reign of seven years was by no means peaceful. His alleged complicity in the murder of his father made him very unpopular and the sternness of his character, verging on cruelty, forced his brother Ibrāhīm to seek asylum in Vijayanagar. Jamshid was succeeded by his young son Subḥān. In the meantime the discontented party invited Ibrāhīm who

entered the capital in triumph in July, A.D. 1550. Ibrāhīm's reign (A.D 1550-1580) was a landmark in the history of Tilang. He was a cultured man, a linguist of note, popular with his subjects both Hindus and Muslims, and a diplomat of high order. It was Ibrāhīm who was the first in the line to assume the title of Shāh. In the beginning of his reign he had close contacts with Vijayanagar, but the inordinate vanity of Rāma Rāya estranged him and he also joined the league which defeated the Vijayanagar army.

Ibrāhīm died in A.D. 1580, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Qulī. As the founder of the city of Hyderābād, as the author of the first *dīwān* or collection of poems in *Dakhinī* Urdū, and as a patron of both Telugu and Urdū, he holds a notable place in the history of Tilang. On the political side the meaningless squabbles between the Deccan kingdoms continued. In the North, emperor Akbar was working on a plan to subjugate these kingdoms, and episode of the defence of Ahmadnagar by Chānd Bībī has already been related. Muḥammad Qulī had to suppress revolts in the eastern part of his kingdom, and it is remarkable that he sent his Hindu as well as Muslim generals for this purpose.

Muḥammad Qulī died in A.D. 1612 and was succeeded by his nephew Muḥammad. The reign of this Sulṭān is marked by comparative peace and order. He was succeeded by his 12 year old son 'Abdullah. During the king's minority the state was governed by his able mother Ḥayāt Bakhsh Begam who has given her name to many villages, *sarāis*, etc. When 'Abdullah grew up, ne began to indulge in a life of pleasure and proved to be incapable of defending the kingdom against the Mughals. The treason of Mīr Jumlā, who went over to the Mughals, helped them to tighten their hold considerably, resulting in their occupation of Hyderābād in January, A.D. 1656. On 'Abdullah's death (A.D. 1672) the question of succession arose since the king had no male issue, and the throne passed to his son-in-law, Abū'l Ḥasan, surnamed Tānā Shāh. A deep rift grew between Abū'l Ḥasan and emperor Aurangzeb, who himself arrived in the Deccan in A.D. 1682. Events now took a quicker pace. The Mughals again occupied the capital (October A.D. 1685) and the king had to seek refuge in the Golconda fort. With the fall of Bijāpur in September A.D. 1686 there was nothing to keep the Mughals back. Golconda was invested in February A.D. 1687 and in September the citadel opened its gates. The Quṭb Shāhī king was sent to Daulatābād as a prisoner and the last Bahmanī succession state became a part of the Mughal empire.

E. OTHER SOUTH INDIAN STATES

Madura. The foundations of the Nāyakaship of Madura were laid in the reign of Acyuta Rāya of Vijayanagar, but it was the Nāyaka Viśvanātha

(A.D. 1529–1564) who made it strong and virtually autonomous. He divided his charge into *Pālaiyams* or fiefs and appointed *Pālaiyakaranas* or *Polegārs* over them. His son Kṛṣṇappa assumed power in A.D. 1564, and ruled for eight years. He waged a successful war against the king of Kandi in Ceylon, and was present at the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi in A.D. 1565. His son and successor Vīrappa (A.D. 1572–1595) was a great builder, and his many structures at Madurai and elsewhere are reminiscent of his excellence as an architect. But he had to fight a losing battle against the Vijayanagar ruler and had to pay arrears of tribute.

Vīrappa was followed by Kṛṣṇappa II (A.D. 1595–1601). The great loss to the Nāyakaship in this reign was the death of Ariyanātha Mudaliyar who had served the state as the minister ever since the days of Viśvanātha, and his fame is perpetuated in the fine equestrian statue at the entrance to the great *maṇḍapa* at Madurai.

On the death of Kṛṣṇappa II, the throne was usurped by his brother Kastūrī Raṅga; but after a week the usurper was assassinated, and Muttu Kṛṣṇappa was crowned. The most important event of his reign (A.D. 1601–1609) was the organisation of the Marava country under the Setupatis. In A.D. 1606 Robert de Nobili established the Christian mission at Madurai.

Kṛṣṇappa was succeeded by Vīrappa (A.D. 1609–1623). After him came Tirumala (A.D. 1623–1659), who rebelled against the tutelage of the Rāya of Vijayanagar and actually sought help from the Sulṭāns of Bijāpur and Tilang, while the Rāya invoked the help of the Mughal emperor.

Tirumala was a patron of arts and letters and was, besides, a great builder. A number of rulers came after him, the last being queen Mīnākṣī with whom the Nāyakaship ceased to exist about A.D. 1736.

Ikkeri The progenitor of the Nāyakas of Keladī or Ikkerī was a herdsman named Basavappa. His son Chaudappa rose in the estimation of the Rāya of Vijayanagar and was appointed governor of Keladī. After him came Sadāśiva who served Rāma Rāya in his struggles with the Muslim Sultanates as well as against the rebellious Karnātaka chiefs. It should be noted that this Nāyakship was not hereditary, and it was not the eldest son but a nephew or a brother who generally succeeded to the *gaddī*. When Sadāśiva grew old he nominated his brother Bhadrappa as his successor and he transferred his capital from Keladī to Ikkerī. The next Nāyaka in the line, Dodda Sankanna, was deposed by Rāma Rāya after a short rule, and he was succeeded by his younger brother Cikka Sankanna. His was an outstanding personality, and among his acts of prowess was his defeat of the Bijāpur army and the forces of the Rānī of Gersoppa. His nephew, Veṇkaṭappa, who ascended the *gaddī* after him, was one of the illustrious rulers of the line. The Nāyakaship lasted till about the middle of the 17th century.

Mysore. The town of Mysore acquired a certain importance in 1524 when one Cāmarāja constructed a fort there, 14.48 km. from Seringapatam, the capital of the Kannaḍa viceroyalty of Vijayanagar. In A.D. 1571, Bola Cāmarāja became the ruler, and he was strong enough to refuse to pay any tribute to the viceroy. It was Rājā Wodeyār (A.D. 1578–1617) who may be said to be the real founder of the Mysore state for he actually seized Seringapatam itself which, henceforth, became the centre of the affairs of the state. In spite of his activities vis-a-vis the local rulers he had to bow before Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur who was extending his sway in the Kannaḍa country. Cāmarāja Wodeyār (A.D. 1617–1637) annexed Bangalore. The rule of Kaṅṭhirava Narasarāja (A.D. 1638–1659) was noted for the very cruel wars which he waged against Madura, a feature which was continued in the time of Cikkadeva (A.D. 1672–1704) who extended his dominions at the expense of Thanjāvūr and Ikkerī. It was Cikkadeva who made a formal submission to Aurangzeb who considered himself to be the master of practically the whole of South India after the conquest of Bijāpur and Golconda.

Thanjavur. The Nāyakaship of Thanjāvūr was founded about A.D. 1532 by Sevappa, a kinsman of Acyuta Rāya of Vijayanagar. His works of public utility are many. We know from Portuguese sources that his relations with them were friendly and they were allowed to construct churches in the capital. Sevappa never broke off with Vijayanagar, and this policy was continued at the beginning of his rule by his son Acyutappa who ascended the throne after him. This is evidenced by a number of votive offerings to the temples that he constructed. He also continued the policy of friendship with the Portuguese.

Acyutappa was succeeded by his son Raghunātha (A.D. 1614–1634) who went out of his way to help the Portuguese against Veṇkaṭa in A.D. 1610. Raghunātha was a noted writer both in Sanskrit and Telugu. He was succeeded by Vijayarāghava (A.D. 1634–1673) who was, like his father, a poet of note. His relations with the court of Penukonda varied from time to time, for sometimes tribute was paid and at other times withheld. Vijayarāghava died fighting in a war. His death was a signal for the intervention by the Sulṭān of Bijāpur, who sent Ekōjī, a Marāṭhā general, to put one of the claimants, Chengamaladas, on the throne. But Ekōjī deposed him within a year and became the first Marāṭhā ruler of Thanjāvūr in A.D. 1675.

Malabar. Malabār served as the *entrepot* of trade between India and Western Asia, and it is no wonder that many Muslim traders had settled there permanently. We read not merely of a number of Hindu states but also one or two Muslim rulers in Malabār. The most important of the Hindu princes was the Zamorin of Calicut. Calicut, being a port of importance, grew rich, and the Zamorin extended his sway from Cannanore to Cochin, the Rājā of which became his tributary. On May 17, A.D. 1498, Vasco da

Gama landed a few kilometres north of Calicut which event initiated a new chapter in the history of India.

The Zamorin's rule was marked by toleration towards all castes and religions, while the policy of the Portuguese was one of intolerance as also of forcing the Zamorin and other Rājās to be subservient to them. This estranged the relations between the Zamorin and the Portuguese. The establishment of Portuguese viceroyalty in A.D. 1505 centered first at Cochin and then at Goa, ended the power of the Zamorin and made the Portuguese supreme on the Malabār Coast.

F. MUGHALS

(a) Bābur

Bābur, the founder of the Mughal empire, was a descendant of Tīmūr. Born in February A.D. 1483, he was thrown in the shifting politics of Central Asia when he was only 12 years old. The sudden death of his father made him the head of the state of Farghāna at a time when it was assailed by covetous enemies from all sides. The next twenty years of his life form a record of ambitious projects undertaken with unflinching trust in his own capacity for achieving them. Failing to find a stable footing in his ancestral land, he turned his eyes to new horizons. He occupied Kābul in A.D. 1504, a place of strategic importance in the context of contemporary politics in Central Asia and Persia. At this time Sikandar Lodī was dominant in North India; in Persia it was Shāh Ismā'īl, the founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty; and in Central Asia, Shaibānī Khān, leader of the Uzbegs.

Bābur had to wait for twenty years before he could even think of moving eastwards. His attempts to re-occupy Samarqand failed miserably. In A.D. 1522 he seized Kandahār and thus rounded off the western boundary of his kingdom vis-a-vis the rising Ṣafawī empire of Persia. Claiming what he called Tīmūrid possessions, he led his armies twice against the frontier districts of the Punjab. He appeared before Bhera in A.D. 1519 and exacted heavy ransom. Having crossed the Indus and established certain outposts he sent his envoy to the court of Ibrāhīm Lodī, with a demand for the cession of certain districts in the Western Punjab. The envoy could not proceed beyond Lahore, where he was detained by the governor, Daulat Khān Lodī. When, later, Bābur crossed the Indus on his way back home, his men were expelled from the outposts where they had been stationed. To retrieve his prestige and reassert his claim, Bābur repeated his exploit in the following year. On this occasion he was able to advance as far as Siālkot. He might have gone further but was called back by alarming developments in Kandahār. The governor of the Punjab

was Daulat Khān Lodī, an ambitious, greedy and domineering Afghān noble. He and his supporters resorted to treachery at this juncture. Dilāwar Khān and 'Ālam Khān went to Kābul and prevailed upon Bābur to invade India, remove Ibrāhīm from the throne and install 'Ālam Khān in his place. Thus the Afghān nobles betrayed the cause of their empire and exposed to the ruler of Kābul their internal discord.

Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm Lodī had sent an army which occupied Lahore. Dilāwar Khān fled to Multān to await Bābur's arrival. It was easy enough for Bābur to drive out Ibrāhīm's troops from Lahore. He occupied Dīpālpur. Here arrived Daulat Khān to extend to him a cordial welcome under the impression that Bābur would compensate him adequately for destroying the power of Ibrāhīm Lodī. But Bābur had his own plans. He now realized that the Lodī empire was tottering and he returned to Kābul to complete his preparation. In A.D. 1525, he entered the Punjab and arrived at Lahore. Daulat Khān's army was defeated and he surrendered himself unconditionally. His property was confiscated but no harm was done to his person or family.

Easy occupation of the Punjab gave further impetus to Bābur's adventurous spirit but Ibrāhīm marched westward with a large army to repulse the invader. The Afghān resistance on behalf of Ibrāhīm was easily swept away and Bābur reached Pānīpat. In a battle that followed, the Afghān army was defeated and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was killed (April 21, A.D. 1526). Bābur's victory was due to the strategy he employed: a new method of disposing troops, and a skillful combination of cavalry and artillery, and swift flanking attacks. Āgra and Delhi were soon occupied, and the treasures which fell into the hands of the victor were lavishly distributed among his soldiers, partly out of generosity and partly as an inducement to make them stay on in the new country which held out great possibilities.

Bābur had yet to reckon with Rāṇā Sāṅgā of Mewār, who had built up an extensive and powerful kingdom over the central and western regions of Northern India. His decision to stay in India and the pleadings of the remnants of the Afghān nobility which had sought and found shelter in Mewār spurred the Rāṇā to action. When Bābur was informed of the Rāṇā's warlike preparations, he adopted a policy of conciliation towards the petty Afghān chiefs and declared a *jihād* against the infidels. At Khānua on March 17, A.D. 1527, the Rājpūts fought with their traditional bravery, but could not stand the deadly artillery fire opened at a critical moment. The Rāṇā was severely wounded and the Rājpūts had to suffer a decisive defeat. Yet heedless of the advice that the struggle should not be renewed so soon, the Rāṇā began his preparations, but was poisoned to death on January 30, A.D. 1528.

Bābur had now to go to the East where Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal was encouraging and abetting the Afghān rebels. He despatched some of his

leading officers to deal with the situation in the East while he himself marched against Medinī Rāi of Chanderī. The fort was easily captured (January 29, A.D. 1523). Then Raisen, Bhīlsa and Sārangpur were occupied and the road to Chitor lay open.

Since the Afghāns had gathered strength in the East, Bābur marched to Kannauj and pushed them to the frontiers of Bihār and Bengal. After touring through Avadh he returned to Āgra, took up literary pursuits, and erected buildings and laid out gardens at Āgra and Dholpur. However, he kept himself in touch with the affairs of Mewār, and gave encouraging response to Vikramajīt, a son of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, who expressed his readiness to accept Mughal overlordship. But his eyes were rivetted on the developments in Central Asia where Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the young ruler of Persia, had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Uzbegs. Bābur now directed Humāyūn to conquer Hissār, Herāt and Samarqand, and sent 'Askarī to the East to finally deal with the Afghāns and Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal. The Afghān leaders had proclaimed Maḥmūd Lodī, son of Sikandar Lodī, as their Sulṭān and had started preparations to drive back the Mughals. Bābur marched with his army and confronted the hostile forces at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Ghāghra (May 6, A.D. 1529). The Afghāns were deafeated and dispersed and Nuṣrat Shāh wisely chose to avoid entanglement with Bābur. Bābur returned to Āgra. His health began to decline and he died on December 26, A.D. 1530.

Bābur not only laid the foundations of the Mughal empire but also indicated a new approach to political ideology. Though he could not change the administrative organisation of the Afghāns, he did change the relation of the crown vis-a-vis the nobles. Unlike the Lodīs, he did not consider himself as one among the equals. He was a *Pādshāh* controlling the destiny of his nobles. Though not a politician, he was an intensely practical man. Measured by brief span of life, his achievements were remarkable. He was a poet, a versatile prose writer and a great connoisseur of art. His autobiography, the *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, will ever remain a memorial to his greatness.

(b) Humāyūn

In accordance with Chaghtāī tradition as also in conformity with the last wish of the late sovereign, Bābur's eldest son Humāyūn ascended the throne (December 29, A.D. 1530). He was, doubtless, a man of parts. He was a scholar of Arabic, Persian and Turkī. He was contemplative and courteous, peace-loving, genial, brave and generous but with all his good intentions and high ideals, he was no match to Sher Shāh either in military leadership or administrative ability.

Humāyūn inherited a vast empire extending from Kundūz and Badakh-

shān in the west to the frontiers of Bihār in the east, and from Lahore in the north to Chanderī in the south. But this vast territory did not represent a well-knit, solid unit. It was split into innumerable military camps, each in charge of an *Amīr* or a *Beg* enjoying almost autonomous powers. The administrative machinery of the Lodis was still there, only the directing hand had changed. Nor was the army, the main prop of the new regime, an integrated unit. It comprised various races and tribes, each owing allegiance primarily to its immediate leader.

The immediate consequence of the battles of Pānīpat and Ghāghra was the dispersal of the Afghāns. Some took refuge in Bengal and others in Gujarāt. The rulers of both these kingdoms were alert and watchful. Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt was ambitious enough to dream of acquiring dominance over Northern India. The Afghāns had vowed allegiance to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Lodī. The Rājpūts were smarting under a sense of humiliation and any favourable response from that quarter was out of question. In short, the Mughal empire was faced with a dreadful crisis which deepened with the passage of time.

Humāyūn was faced with a number of problems both internal and external. His first step was the seizure of Kāliñjar, a fort of strategic importance, commanding the routes to Āgra as well as to Mālwa and the other outposts in the east (September-October A.D. 1531). While he was preoccupied there, he received the report of the activities of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Lodī who had moved out of Bihār, occupied Jaunpur and expelled the Mughal officers from that region. Humāyūn defeated the Afghāns. Maḥmūd Lodī fled to Bihār and disappeared altogether from the political scene. But a new Afghān leader in the person of Sher Khān came into prominence. Sher Khān expected that the emperor would confirm his possession of Chunār which he had gained by guile and treachery. But Humāyūn sent Hindū Beg to take over the fort. When Sher Khān refused to comply, the emperor arrived in person to open the siege. Four months were spent in futile operations. The emperor was now distracted by the reports of the activities of Bahādur Shāh who had overrun Mālwa and was besieging Chitor (February A.D. 1533). Humāyūn came to terms with Sher Khān and marched to Gwalior where he remained for two months. Upon this Bahādur Shāh concluded peace with Rāṇā Vikramajīt of Mewār.

So far Humāyūn's plans appeared to be successful. He had suppressed the Mirzās, defeated the Afghāns and overawed Bahādur Shāh. But this was a lull before the storm. Neither Sher Khān nor Bahādur Shāh intended to remain faithful. In fact, Bahādur Shāh had formed a grand design of converging on northern India from three directions; and he once more opened the siege of Chitor. This compelled Humāyūn to leave Āgra in February A.D. 1534. He entered Mālwa and arrived at Sārangpur. His quick movements alarmed Bahādur Shāh who requested the

emperor not to attack him while he was engaged in a holy war. Humāyūn is supposed to have been impressed by this appeal to religion, and yet continued to push on towards Chitor in a circumspective manner. Bahādur Shāh captured the fort of Chitor on March 8, A.D. 1535 and then marched against the Mughal emperor. The rival armies met at Mandasor where sharp skirmishes took place. On April 25, on the very eve of Humāyūn's projected assault, Bahādur Shāh orderd the heavy artillery to be destroyed. He himself fled to Mandu hotly pursued by the emperor. Both Mālwa and Gujarāt fell into the hands of the Mughals and the Sulṭān had to seek protection with the Portuguese. Humāyūn marched towards Diu to bring his campaign against Bahādur to its final end. But soon he received alarming reports of disturbances in Mālwa which compelled him to retrace his steps.

His return to Mālwa produced a salutary effect. The rebels then ran away and Sher Khān slackened his activities in Bihār. But soon an insurrectionary movement spread in Gujarāt where the people looked upon the Mughals as detestable foreigners. Discord and jealousy among the Mughal officers like 'Askari and Tardī Beg Khān made confusion worse confounded, and the conquerors had to beat a hasty retreat from Gujarāt which was reoccupied by Bahādur Shāh. Nor could Humāyūn stay long in Mālwa. He had to abandon it because he suspected the intention of his brother 'Askarī who was speeding towards Āgra. The brothers met at Pālanpur on their way towards the capital.

Humāyūn was now called upon to face the Afghān revivalist movement in its true colour. It was spearheaded by Sher Khān who enjoyed immense popularity and prestige in Bihār. Though he had acknowledged the over-lordship of the emperor, he steadily extended his jurisdiction along the line of the Gaṅgā upto Chunār. He then attacked Bengal and compelled its ruler Maḥmūd Shāh to pay an indemnity of 13 lakh *dinars* (A.D. 1536). He was being secretly helped by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt. He had treacherously seized the hoarded treasures of Fatḥ Malikā, daughter of Kālā Pahāṛ. Thus his resources and striking power had become formidable.

On hearing of Humāyūn's arrival at Āgra, Sher Khān lost no time in withdrawing his men from Chunār and its contiguous districts and in professing loyalty to the emperor. On the other hand he secretly bribed Hindū Beg who had been sent to Jaunpur to assess the situation in that region. The Beg reported that there was no apprehension of trouble from the Afghān leader. This satisfied Humāyūn and he busied himself with the reorganization of his army. But within a month or two news came to him that Sher Khān had launched a second attack on Bengal.

This convinced the emperor that Sher Khān was aiming higher than his professions and that prompt steps should be taken to deal with him. In July A.D. 1537, he started from Āgra inspite of the rains. After

spending a couple of months at Kara he moved on and encamped near Chunar. He was advised to reduce the fort of Chunār. His master of artillery thought that the fort would fall in no time. But the siege kept the Mughal army tied up for not less than six months. Meanwhile, Sher Khān succeeded in capturing Gaur (A.D. 1538) and in driving its ruler into wilderness.

On receipt of the report of the events in Bengal, Humāyūn opened negotiations with Sher Khān for a settlement, and thereby lost much valuable time. Meanwhile the wounded Sulṭān of Bengal arrived in the Mughal camp. His miserable and destitute condition touched the emperor's heart and he ordered his army to march forward. But, when he set his foot in Bengal, the fugitive ruler had breathed his last and his son had been murdered. So the emperor was left with no alternative other than that of occupying Bengal. Here he spent his time usefully, organising the administration, regrouping his army and reviving its morale.

But Sher Khān and his Afghāns did not let the grass grow under their feet. They opened the siege of Chunār and Jaunpur and blocked the southern homeward route of the Mughal army. Humāyūn was alarmed. He handed over Gaur to Jahāngīr Qulī and left for the west. He crossed the Gaṅgā near Monghyr and arrived at Chausa where he set up his camp (Maroh A.D. 1539). Once more negotiations for settlement were started by Sher Khān who, in fact, was marking time. But when, according to mutual understanding, the Mughals crossed the river Karmanāsā, their army was hemmed in from three sides and a terrible carnage ensued (June 7, A.D. 1539). Humāyūn and 'Askarī escaped capture by swimming across the river. Chausa sounded the death-knell of the nascent Mughal empire. Sher Khān proclaimed himself sovereign at Vārānasi and assumed the title of Sher Shāh Sulṭān-i-'Ādil.

Defeated and dejected, the emperor arrived at Āgra where his two brothers Kāmrān and Hindāl accorded to him a warm reception. They began to discuss plans for meeting the Afghān danger. But due to misunderstanding and suspicion, Kāmrān could not see eye to eye with his brother and he went away from Āgra leaving his 3,000 troops at the disposal of the emperor. Humāyūn recruited another army and faced the enemy on the banks of the Gaṅgā near Kannauj. He was again defeated (May 17, A.D. 1540), but he managed to reach Āgra alone. In sheer fright he abandoned the capital and marched to Delhi. He did not stop there and moved on to Lahore. At Rohtak he was joined by Hindāl. In the end all the four brothers met together at Lahore. Kāmrān, however, was able to read the writing on the wall and he left for Kābul. He was accompanied by 'Askarī. Hindāl and Yādgār Nāṣir remained with Humāyūn.

Now the emperor and his retinue left Lahore and entered Sind. Here

Humāyūn married Ḥamida Bānū Begam, the young daughter of Shaikh 'Alī Akbar Jāmī, the tutor of Hindāl. Upon this the relations between the two brothers became strained and Hindāl left for Kandahār. Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, the ruler of Sind, married his daughter to Yādgār Naṣir Mirzā who too gave up the cause of the emperor. Thus Humāyūn was left to fight his battle of life alone. He accepted the invitation of Māldeo of Mārwār who promised to give him Bikaner and help him in recovering the lost territories. But Sher Shāh's occupation of Mālwa and his growing prestige and resources changed the situation. Humāyūn became suspicious of his host and left Mārwār.

Arriving at Amarkot in August A.D. 1542, in a state of utter destitution and misery, he was welcomed by Rāṇā Vīrsāl who made adequate arrangements for his comforts and even promised help against Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn of Sind. It was at Amarkot that Akbar was born to Ḥamīdā Bānū Begam on October 15, A.D. 1542. The projected campaign against Sind did not materialize and Humāyūn left for Kandahār in July A.D. 1543. He narrowly escaped being captured by 'Askarī and made a dash to Persia

Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia welcomed him. After several months the Shāh agreed to help Humāyūn to recover his possessions and placed troops at his disposal. With his new army Humāyūn reduced Kandahār and later captured Kābul (November A.D. 1545). He had now to counter the intrigues of Kāmrān, but gradually he overcame all opposition. Askarī and Kāmrān were exiled to Mecca, and Hindāl died fighting for his brother.

Humāyūn set out for Hindustān in November A.D. 1554, and crossed the Indus. The Afghāns were defeated and put to flight at Māchiwāra and Sirhind. Humāyūn entered Delhi on July 23, A.D. 1555. He had won the crown but not the empire.

Humāyūn now decided to organise the administration. He planned to divide his prospective empire into six zones, each with headquarters of its own under the supervision of a competent and reliable officer. These zonal officers were to be under overall supervision of the emperor who was to make frequent tours of the empire. But before the plan could take a definite shape, Humāyūn met with an accident. He slipped from the staircase of the library he was constructing, and died of concussion on January 24, A.D. 1556.

Humāyūn was not lacking in personal courage or in power of action. His misfortune during the first decade of his career as emperor should not be attributed either to the treachery of his brothers, or even to his own lack of decision. He was faced with situations so formidable and enemies so resourceful that even a greater man might have failed. Both Bahādur Shāh and Sher Shāh had roots in the soil of India, while the Mughals had none. The insurrectionary activities of the Mirẓās and the intransigence of Ṭardī Beg had caused the loss of Gujarāt and subse-

quently that of Mālwa. It is incorrect to say that "Humāyūn stumbled out of life as he had stumbled through it".

(c) Sher Shāh Sūr

The dynamic career of this sagacious and intrepid ruler falls into three successive phases, viz., (a) as the *jāgīrdār* of Sasarām, (b) as the deputy governor of Bihār, and (c) as the emperor. He came in touch with scholars and saints who made a deep impression on his mind. His intelligence and manners, his diligence and humility, his daring restraint earned him popularity among the Afghān tribesmen. To begin with, his father entrusted him with the management of Khavāsspur Tanda. He performed his duties with devotion and care, even making small scale experiments in administration. He rooted out corruption and indiscipline and took steps to ensure that peasants lived in peace and prosperity. His growing prestige, however, became an eyesore to his step-mother, and he left for Āgra (A.D. 1519) to become a protege of Daulat Khān who commended him to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī. After his father's death Farīd, surnamed Sher Khān, hastened to Sasarām, drove out his step-brothers and seized the *jāgīr*. The disgruntled and dispossessed brothers sought the assistance of Muḥammad Khān of Chaund. To save himself from serious trouble Farīd joined the service of Bihār Khān Lohānī of Bihār who conferred on him the title of Sher Khān. Later, he took service with Junaid Barlās, Bābur's representative in the eastern region. He went to Āgra and from there to Chanderī, then being besieged by the Mughals. Subsequently, when Bābur led a campaign into Bihār, he had the *jāgīrs* of Sher Khān restored to him. Sher Khān successfully persuaded Jalāl Khān to render obedience to Bābur (A.D. 1529). Shortly after young Jalāl's mother, Dūdū, sent for Sher Khān and appointed him as her deputy.

As deputy governor of Bihār, Sher Khān launched upon administrative experiments, basing them on the experience he had acquired as *jāgīrdār*. His sternness and honesty of purpose alarmed the Lohānī tribesmen who till then had controlled both the administration and politics of Bihār. They fled in a body to Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal, persuading him to invade Bihār. Sher Khān inflicted a crushing defeat on the allies in A.D. 1530. However, he was compelled to fall in line with the plan of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Lodī and his supporters like Bīban, Bāyazīd and others. He had even to accompany them westward to fight Humāyūn. It is alleged that Sher Khān betrayed his tribesmen. But such conduct was not unusual either in contemporary politics in general or among the Afghāns in particular. After the storm was over Sher Khān recovered his position in Bihār, occupied Chunār and even lulled the suspicions

of the Mughal emperor. He mounted aggression against Bengal and destroyed its independence in A.D. 1537. Next, he shattered the Mughal army at Chausā and Kannauj, and seized from Humāyūn the crown of Northern India. He now assumed the title of Sher Shāh.

Having driven out the Mughals from Āgra and Delhi, Sher Shāh marched to the Punjab. He chastised the Gakkhars and built the fortress of Rohtās to control them. He suppressed disaffection in Bengal (A.D. 1541) and to ensure peace in this region he split it up into smaller units, each incharge of an officer to be directly appointed by him. He liquidated political unrest in Mālwa without much bloodshed. He occupied Ranthambhor. He returned to Āgra in A.D. 1542 and then moved to Bihār to reorganize its administration. He made Patna the headquarters of the province (A.D. 1543). He then laid siege to Raisen which continued for six months. The governor Pūran Mal surrendered on specific assurance of safe conduct of his family. But when the Rājpūts came out of the fort, they were cut down to a man. This was followed by the suppression of a revolt in the Punjab and occupation of Multān and some portion of Sind.

Then occurred the campaign against Mārwār where Sher Shāh was invited by Rāo Kalyāṇa Mal of Bīkaner and Biram Deva of Merta. He had to face the Rāṭhors led by Māldeo. The rival armies faced each other for a month. At the end of it Sher Shāh resorted to a trick which bred suspicion in the enemy's camp. Though some of the Rāṭhor chiefs fought till death, Māldeo was compelled to abandon Jodhpur and take refuge in Siwāna. The fort fell into the hands of the Afghāns who occupied Ajmer also (A.D. 1544). After this Sher Shāh returned to Āgra, but resumed his activities in Rājputāna soon. He invaded Chitor and occupied it. Then he overran Amber and besieged Kāliñjar. On May 22, A.D. 1545, he was hit by a cannon-ball while directing the operations. He died and was buried at Sasarām.

Sher Shāh's sudden death opened out favourable prospects to Afghān leaders to reassert their dominance, particularly because they were called upon to decide the question of succession. He had two surviving sons, 'Ādil Khān and Jalāl Khān. Since Jalāl Khān, the younger of them, was close to scene of the tragedy, he was proclaimed emperor with the title of Islām Shāh. He was ripe in experience and was gifted with qualities of leadership.

He commenced his reign with the execution of the ruler of Kāliñjar and ruthless massacre of his followers. Then he turned his attention towards his elder brother who was at Ranthambhor, ready for revolt and counting on the support of a number of disgruntled *Amīrs*. The intrigues of Khawāṣ Khān was the signal for a storm, but it was quickly suppressed. 'Ādil Khān fled to Panna and Khawāṣ Khān went to the Punjab, where he incited the governor A'ẓam Humāyūn Niyāzī to rise against the sovereign. But the rebel leaders disagreed on the question of succession. Khawāṣ

Khān withdrew from the field and the Niyāzīs were severely defeated near Ambāla (A.D. 1547). Subsequently, Khawāṣ Khān who had taken refuge in Kumaun was lured into a trap and done to death by Islām Shāh. (A.D. 1552). The Niyāzīs fled to the Gakkhars who took them under protection. For two years the Gakkhars were subjected to heavy attack, till at last they grew tired of the unwelcome guests and sent them out of their county. Ā'ẓam Humāyūn with his wife and brother fell into the hands of the enemy and were beheaded. To keep the Gakkhars at bay Islām Shāh constructed the fort of Mankot.

In A.D. 1552 Kāmrān arrived at the court of Islām Shāh to solicit help and co-operation against Humāyūn, but failed to get it. In A.D. 1554, Humāyūn entered the Punjab. The report of Humāyūn having crossed the Indus alarmed Islām Shāh and he rushed towards the Punjab. At Ludhiāna he heard that Humāyūn had returned to Kābul, and so he went back to Gwalior, having narrowly escaped death at the hands of conspirators.

Islām Shāh had to face the strong current of the revivalist Mahdawi movement which he crushed ruthlessly because of its political motivations. Mullā 'Abdullah Niyāzī of Bayāna, subjected to a severe beating, fled to Mecca but his chief disciple Shaikh 'Alā'ī took up the reforming activities with great zeal. Summoned to the court, he openly chided the *'Ulamās* and was exiled to Handia, but his activities did not cease. He was now charged with apostasy, and though very weak in health, he was flogged to death when he refused to recant.

Islām Shāh died in A.D. 1553 and the Sūrī empire now toppled like a house of cards. It split up into five kingdoms: Sikandar seized the Punjab; Ibrāhīm Sūr occupied Sambhal and the Doāb; 'Ādil Shāh held Chunār and the adjacent territory upto Bihār; Muḥammad Khān became the Sulṭān of Bengal; and Bāz Bahādur took over Mālwa.

(d) Akbar

When Humāyūn died of an accident at Delhi, his son was at Kalānaur in the Punjab, campaigning against Sikandar Sūr. The young heir-apparent was proclaimed emperor at Delhi and Kalānaur on February 14, A.D. 1556, under the title of Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Akbar.

The position of the Mughals at the moment, seemed so precarious that some of the followers suggested retreat to Kābul; but Akbar's *Atālīq* Bairam Khān rejected the idea. Sikandar Sūr was still active in the Siwālik hills. Āgra was in the hands of Afghāns under Hemū who was defeated on November 5, A.D. 1556. Bengal, Bihār, Mālwa and Gujarāt had reasserted their independence,

Bairam Khān despatched 'Alī Qulī Khān to Sambhal, 'Abdullah Khān to Kālpi, Qiyā Khān to Āgra, and Pīr Muḥammad Khān to

Alwar. These officers successfully completed their assignments. In the Punjab, Sikandar Sūr was compelled to surrender Mankot (May 24, A.D. 1557). On hearing the report of Akbar's success at Pānīpat, Sulaimān Mirzā who was besieging Kābul withdrew to Badakhshān. Thus, in the short span of four years, Akbar's supremacy was established from Kābul to Jaunpur and from Northern Punjab to Ajmer.

Bairam Khān's success made him ambitious and vain and he tried to perpetuate his dominance by removing from the field his rivals and suspected opponents. However, the restraints imposed upon Akbar irritated him and he issued a *farmān* ordering the dismissal of Bairam. The latter decided on armed resistance; but this was easily suppressed. He was permitted to leave for Mecca but on the way at Pātan, he was murdered by an Afghan fanatic (January 31, A.D. 1561). His son, Abdu'r Raḥīm, and wife, Salīma Begam, were received by the emperor with kindness.

With a careful assessment of events of his father's time, Akbar made a firm decision to liquidate the old order which included the tribal groups like the Mirzās and the Uzbegs and some nobles like Adham Khān, Āṣaf Khān, Mun'īm Khān and Pīr Muḥammad Khān. The first to be punished was Adham Khān who was hurled down the terrace on the charge of murdering Shamsu'd-dīn Akāt Khān and was killed. Āṣaf Khān, the governor of Karā-Mānikpur, subdued Bundelkhand and conquered Gondwānā, then ruled by the gallant Rānī Durgāvatī. She died fighting, leaving behind a sacred memory. Āṣaf Khān marched against Chaurāgarh, conquered Garha Katanga and took an enormous booty. He even thought of becoming independent. Akbar recalled him in A.D. 1567, and restored the kingdom of Garha Katanga to Chandra Shāh, after taking ten forts to round off the province of Mālwa.

The Uzbeg group was guilty of misappropriation of the spoils of war and its members like 'Abdullah Khān and Bahādur Khān were arrogant. They broke out in rebellion in A.D. 1564, but were suppressed with an iron hand. They were pardoned at the intercession of Mun'īm Khān. When Mirẓā Ḥakīm invaded the Punjab in A.D. 1565, they raised their head again and recited the Khuṭbah in his name. Akbar again marched against them and crushed them finally.

The Mirẓās, who synchronized their insurrection in Sambhal with that of the Uzbegs in the East, met with a similar fate. Driven out of Akbar's dominion, they took protection in Gujarāt, then a trouble-torn province. They occupied Champāner, Surat, Baroda and Broach. Surat became their stronghold. Akbar overran Gujarāt, and turned on the Mirẓās who broke up and fled away.

In A.D. 1562 Akbar set out on a pilgrimage to Ajmer and came into personal contact with the Rājpūts. Midway between Āgra and Ajmer, Raja Bhārā Mal Kachwāha waited upon the emperor. He was cordially received and in gratitude the Raja married his eldest daughter to the emperor.

His son Bhagwāna Dās and grandson Māna Singh were taken into imperial service. While on his way back from Ajmer Akbar occupied the fort of Merta which commanded a strategic position both with regard to Mewār and Mārwār. According to Rājpūt traditions, Raja Māldeo of Mārwār sent his son Candra Sen to have an interview with Akbar at Ajmer, offer him presents and enter into some sort of a treaty. But Akbar insisted on the personal submission of Māldeo and negotiations proved fruitless.

Having freed himself from the entanglements of Mālwa, Akbar set his heart on the extension of his control over the Rājpūt states. He left Āgra in A.D. 1567, leading a campaign against Chitor. The fort was closely invested and the garrison put up a stubborn resistance. But their commander Jai Mal fell under a bullet aimed at him by the emperor. This was followed by the gruesome spectacle of *jauhar*. Chitor was captured by the Mughals after a stubborn fight. Rāṇā Udai Singh fled to the hills and subsequently founded the town of Udaipur.

Chitor had fallen but the Sisodiās were not prepared to accept defeat. Although Rāṇā Pratāp, who succeeded Udai Singh in February A.D. 1572, accorded a friendly reception to Māna Singh, his attitude began to harden when Akbar insisted on his personal attendance at the court. Akbār concluded that the root cause of the trouble was the Mahārāṇā. He made up his mind to crush Pratāp and with that end in view he arrived at Ajmer in March A.D. 1576. Haldīghāt was the scene of a grim battle in which bravery on either side rose to the highest pitch. The Mughals won the victory, yet Rāṇā Pratāp remained unsubdued.

Between A.D. 1579-98 the pressure on Mewār declined because of the emperor's preoccupation with the problems of the north-west frontier. Rāṇā spent the last years of his life in recovering his territory, reorganising his administration and building a new capital at Chavand. He died on January 19, A.D. 1597.

Of the other states of Rājputāna, the ruler of Bīkaner, Rāi Kalyāṇa Mal, paid his homage to the emperor in A.D. 1570. The same year Rāwal Har Rāi of Jaisalmer accepted Mughal suzerainty. So the entire Rājputāna with the partial exception of certain tracts of Mewār passed under Mughal supremacy. As far as the Rājpūt states were concerned, Akbar scrupulously respected the sentiments of the rulers. He was agreeable to the maintenance of their local autonomy, but wanted to control their inter-state relations to stop the internecine strife among them. He gave the Rājpūt chiefs every opportunity to raise their stature in the service of the crown and in the constructive process which the emperor had initiated with vigour and enthusiasm.

The death of Bahādur Shāh was followed by a period of political anarchy in Gujarāt when the nobles became king-makers. One of them I'timād Khān invited Akbar to restore peace and order there. Akbar responded with

alacrity and arrived at Ahmadābād on November 20, A.D. 1572 and made adequate arrangements for its administration. The erstwhile state was constituted into a *Ṣūbā* of the empire and 'Azīz Kokah was appointed as *Ṣūbadār*. But soon after the departure of the emperor troubles flared up again. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā at once opened the siege of Surat and seized Broach and Cambay, while Ikhtiyāru'l-Mulk advanced towards Ahmadābād. The whole of Gujarāt was on fire. When Akbar received the report of this widespread rebellion, he left Āgra on August 23, A.D. 1573 and by forced marches arrived at Ahmadābād on the eleventh day. The emperor delivered a concerted attack on the rebels and pacified the province.

Simultaneously with Gujarāt, Bengal and Bihār also became a source of anxiety to the emperor. Among the Afghān leaders, one Sulaimān Karrānī emerged triumphant. He assumed the title of Hazrat Ali and established his capital at Tanda. He was on friendly terms with the Uzbeg leaders who held *jāgīrs* in the eastern districts of the Mughal empire. When the Uzbeg rebellion failed, Sulaimān held out the hand of peace towards Mun'īm Khān to whom the emperor had assigned the *jāgīrs* previously held by the insurgents. Sulaimān died in A.D. 1572 and was succeeded by his elder son Bāyazīd who was killed a few months later. Then Dā'ūd was proclaimed Sulṭān. He repudiated the treaty made by Sulaimān. Upon this the emperor ordered Mun'īm Khān to attack Patna. Akbar himself left Āgra on June 20, A.D. 1574. Hājīpur was captured on August 7. Dā'ūd fled and Patna fell into the hands of the Mughals. Appointing Mun'īm Khān as the supreme commander, Akbar returned to Āgra, leaving instructions for the conquest of Bengal.

Soon Mun'īm Khān occupied Tanda, the new capital, and drew plans for driving out the Afghāns from Bengal. Dā'ūd and his followers fled to Orissa where they continued their rebellious activities. Toḍar Mal marched to deal with them. He was joined by Mun'īm Khān. On March 3, A.D. 1575 a battle was fought at Tukra or Turkra Qasba (in the Balāsore district) in which the Afghāns were routed. They were pursued upto Cuttack. Driven to despair Dā'ūd sued for peace which was concluded. Mun'īm Khān returned to Tanda where he died a few months later. Soon Bengal lapsed into a state of confusion and Dā'ūd once more raised his head. Ḥusain Qulī, the new governor of Bengal, defeated the rebels and put them to flight (July 12, A.D. 1576). Dā'ūd was captured and put to death. Although the Mughal ṣupremacy was re-established, Bengal remained a problem province throughout the Mughal rule.

In A.D. 1580 new administrative and revenue reforms were promulgated in the empire. When an attempt was made to enforce them in Bengal and Bihār, a widespread rebellion flared up. Its root cause lay in the reluctance of the local officers to obey the royal regulations with regard

to branding and to accept reduction in their army allowances. But they were also misled by the pronouncements of the Qāzī Yā'qūb of Bengal and Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī of Jaunpur who severely castigated the the emperor for promulgating heretical opinions. The storm which burst in Bengal spread quickly westward and covered the entire Mughal empire in Northern India.

Such widespread conflagration was a source of much anxiety to the emperor, but he was quick in action and firm in his decisions. He despatched Shaikh Farīd and Toḍar Mal to deal with the eastern rebels. Patna was soon recovered and Toḍar Mal advanced towards Bengal driving the malcontents before him. 'Azīz Kokah and Shahbāz Khān were sent to help him. The presence of the imperial army on the borders of Bengal completely broke the morale of the rebels there. They were dispersed and peace was restored throughout the region.

Akbar was now free to meet the threat from Mirẓā Hakīm. He marched with a formidable army towards the Punjab. He sent Murād in advance and himself crossed the Indus on July 12, A.D. 1581. The emperor entered the fort of Kābul on August 10 and held there a splendid court and banquet. He spent 20 days in the city and then started on the homeward march.

Akbar's entry into Kābul was indeed a red letter day of his life. He had crushed a widespread rebellion and had the satisfaction of visiting the capital of his ancestors. Even after he had occupied Kābul he did not annex it to the empire, giving his brother an opportunity to return to the path of loyalty and refrain from making a common cause with the Uzbeg ruler.

Soon after the emperor embarked upon the plan of securing natural frontiers for his empire. He first turned his attention towards Kashmīr where settled government was unknown since the time of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn. In A.D. 1584 the emperor asked Yūsuf of Kashmīr to come in person or send his son Yā'qūb to his court, but there was no response. Akbar was much annoyed. He appointed Shāhrukh Mirẓā and Rājā Bhagwāna Dās to conquer Kashmīr (A.D. 1585). Though Yūsuf tendered his submission, the trouble did not subside in Kashmīr. On October 7, A.D. 1586, the Mughal army entered Srīnagar where *Khutbah* was recited in the name of the emperor.

In A.D. 1591 'Alī Rāi of Little Tibet sent presents and gave his daughter in marriage to Salīm. Orissa was conquered in A.D. 1592 and Sind a year after. Baluchistān was conquered in A.D. 1595. In A.D. 1596 Rājā Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals.

From A.D. 1585 to 1598 Akbar remained at Lahore engaged in strengthening the north-western frontiers of his empire. He trimmed his foreign policy in relation to Persia and Transoxiana. Taking advantage of the civil war in Persia, he secured the surrender of Kandahār in A.D. 1595 at the hands of Muẓaffar Ḥussain Mirẓā.

The annexation of Mālwa and Gujarāt brought Akbar in clear contact with the Deccan where the various states were constantly on war with each other. In A.D. 1577 an exchange of envoys took place between the Mughal and Niẓām Shāhī courts, and two years later messengers were sent to Bijāpur and Golconda as well. In A.D. 1585 troops were moved towards Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar and there was a show of force against Berār. In A.D. 1589 Akbar supported the claim of Burhān to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Simultaneously envoys were despatched to Golconda, Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar to persuade the Sulṭāns to accept the overlordship of the Mughal emperor. Of the rulers of the Deccan only 'Alī Khān of Khāndesh gave a favourable response to the overtures of the emperor.

When Burhān Niẓām Shāh sought the help of Akbar, it was readily given in the hope of establishing cordial relations. But this did not work and his death in A.D. 1595 was followed by a civil war. In the end leadership passed to Chānd Bībī, queen dowager of Bijāpur and a sister of the deceased Burhān. She undertook to defend the state against the Mughal aggression. She fought bravely, though she had to conclude peace by ceding Berār. Ultimately, her authority was overthrown. Ahmadnagar relapsed into chaos. In A.D. 1597 the Khān-i-Khānān fought a contested battle at Ashti, 38.5 km. from Pathri with Suhail Khān, the leader of the combined Niẓām Shāhī and 'Ādil Shāhī armies. The imperialists, though successful, suffered heavy losses.

It was only in A.D. 1598, that Akbar could give undivided attention to affairs in the Deccan. Prince Dāniyāl stormed the fort of Ahmadnagar (August 19, A.D. 1600). The young king and members of his family were sent to Gwalior as prisoners. But a large part of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar continued to be governed by a local prince named Murtaḍā.

The emperor invaded Khāndesh and besieged Asīrgarh. He occupied Burhānpur on March 31, and laid siege to the fort of Asīrgarh. The investment, which became closer day by day, threw the garrison into great misery due to scarcity of food and fodder and the sudden outbreak of an epidemic. In these circumstances negotiations for a settlement were opened and Bahādur was persuaded to leave the fort and wait on the emperor. But when he arrived at the imperial camp he was placed under arrest, and the fort surrendered without further resistance.

While the emperor was covering himself with glory in the Deccan, prince Salīm rebelled against him. Since A.D. 1591 the emperor had felt dissatisfied with his son's behaviour. In A.D. 1598 Salīm had declined to lead a projected expedition to Transoxiana and later he refused to go to the Deccan. When the emperor himself left for the South, he directed the prince to move to Ajmer and resume operations against Mewār. Salīm arrived at Ajmer but had no heart for the assigned task. He left for Āgra intending to take the fort, but the governor Qulij Khān kept

him out. Then he marched off towards the eastern provinces with the intention of seizing them. Akbar's patience to bring Salim to his senses was soon exhausted and he planned an expedition against him. However, the death of the queen mother put a stop to it and Salim decided to return to Āgra. A reconciliation was brought out between father and son, and Salīm was received publicly. Soon after, Akbar fell ill and died on October 16, A.D. 1605.

Akbar was also a great administrator. He completely reorganised his empire and introduced a number of reforms between A.D. 1573-82. He was also interested in the problems of religion and philosophy, art and literature. In his court was assembled a galaxy of poets and philosophers, physicians and artists, politicians and statesmen, generals and theologians. Akbar's court was indeed a meeting-ground for the talent of Asia.

In spite of his lust for territory and imperialistic ambitions, Akbar was deeply devoted to the maxim of *Ṣulh-i-kul* or peace with all. He held discussions with the orthodox Muslim divines in the *'Ibādat-Khānah;* he welcomed the Jaina saints, the Zoroastrian theologians, and Hindu scholars. He invited one after the other three Jesuit Missions. The streams of thought presented by these outstanding men of different religions did undoubtedly impress the receptive mind of the great emperor, but he was reluctant to subscribe to any one faith as a whole. His inquisitive mind resented all trammels of sectarianism and fanaticism. He pinned his faith in the brotherhood of man.

Akbar adopted the practice of Sun and Fire worship as he saw in them manifestations of the effulgence of God. His inclination towards non-violence was due to Jaina influence and Muslim *Ṣūfīs* who had been practising it for a long time.

His *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* has aroused great controversy. But it was not a religion in the accepted sense of the word. It did not possess a scripture; it had no priests or prescribed forms of worship. Its regulations were intended to raise the ethical standard of its followers while its articles inculcated the universalism of God and Man. Akbar did initiate disciples but only to help them to serve God. The door of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* was not open to all. It involved several grades of sacrifice; but such renunciation was a recognized feature in the process of spiritual evolution and was in vogue among the *Ṣūfīs* and saints. The *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* had only a small following and was symbolic of the spiritual and ethical liberalism of the emperor.

The emperor took genuine interest in removing a number of social evils. He abolished *Satī*, permitted widow remarriage and encouraged monogamy. The marriageable age of girls was raised to 14 and that of boys to 16 years. He banned the sale of wine and advanced the age of circumcision to 12. He prohibited slavery. He made provisions for the protection of small birds and established hospitals and centres of charity.

To satisfy his quest for truth and promote intercommunal harmony, the emperor had a large number of Sanskrit books translated into Persian. He also took interest in the development of architecture and his buildings at Fatehpur Sīkri, Āgra, Allahābād and Lahore stand as monuments of his boldness of conception and execution of details.

Thus Akbar's reign of about half a century is marked by glorious developments in every field of human activity, and the inspiring force was the personality of the emperor. He represented in himself a unique combination of intelligence and sobriety, idealism and reality, emotion and reason. He gave his personal attention to every problem and spared no pains to find out suitable solutions. He was glorious and great, but at the same time modest and full of human kindness.

(e) Jahāngīr

Born on August 30, A.D. 1569, Salīm was crowned emperor at Āgra on October 24, A.D. 1605, assuming the title of Nūru'd-dīn-Muḥammad Jahāngīr He symbolized his accession by issuing a proclamation of his policy embodied in twelve edicts and recorded in the opening pages of his Memoirs. They cover a wide range of subjects. According to them the *tamgha* and *mīr bahrī* (river toll) were abolished, distilling and sale of wine was prohibited, and mutilation of the limbs of criminals was disallowed. It was ordered that the officers of the crown lands and *jāgīrdārs* should not contract matrimonial alliances without obtaining permission; and that the bales of merchants should not be opened without their consent. Possession of the entire property of a deceased noble was allowed to his heirs; and directions were issued to the state officers to keep a record of all property for which there were no claimants. Encouragement was to be given to populate areas near highways which were lonely and deserted. In important towns hospitals were to be established. Killing of animals was prohibited on Sundays and Thursdays and with effect from the 18th of Rabī'-al-awwal for as many days as were indicated by the years of the life of the sovereign. Evidently these regulations were based on the earlier ones of Akbar's time, which had perhaps fallen out of use or required special emphasis. They were by no means sectarian or communal; the emperor was in fact keen to impress on his subjects that the old policy would continue. He was not prepared to ally himself with either Shī'ahs or Sunnis. To strengthen his position further, he increased the pay of soldiers by 20 per cent or more.

The first event which caused some distraction to Jahāngīr was the rebellion of his son Khusraw who was a claimant to the throne after Akbar. He left Āgra on April 6, A.D. 1606 on the pretext of visiting the tomb of his grandfather and marched to Mathura from where he went to

Lahore. But the revolt was quickly suppressed and the prince was imprisoned.

An immediate upshot of the rebellion was the punishment meted out to Guru Arjun, the fifth in line of succession to Guru Nānak, the founder of the Sikh sect. Moved by compassion, he showered his blessings on the rebel prince. His innocent action was misrepresented to the emperor. Jahāngīr at first took a lenient view of the affair but later fell into the snares of Arjun's enemy. The Guru was sentenced to death and confiscation of his property including his hermitage. This kindled among the Sikhs a keen desire to take to arms as a part of their mission.

Guru Arjun was succeeded by his eleven year old son Har Gobind in A.D. 1606. Bearing in mind the dying message of his father, he trained himself in martial exercises and spent his time in hunting the lion and the boar. He encouraged his followers to develop a war psychosis. He was summoned to the court and asked to pay the fine which had been imposed on his father. On his refusal to carry out the order, he was sent to the fort of Gwalior where he remained a prisoner till A.D. 1611.

During the turmoil following the death of Akbar, Shāh 'Abbās, the young and ambitious ruler of Persia, made an unsuccessful attempt to recover Kandahār which had passed into Mughal hands only a decade before. It was in A.D. 1622 that Shāh 'Abbās, taking advantage of the rebellion of prince Khurram, was enabled to seize Kandahār.

With Mewār unsubdued, Mughal conquest of North India appeared to be incomplete. Rāṇā Pratāpa was succeeded by Amara Singh. In A.D. 1606 the emperor appointed Prince Parwīz and Āṣaf Khān to resume the campaign against Mewār. But the operations were interrupted because of the outbreak of revolt of Khusraw. Subsequent campaigns led by Mahābat Khān, 'Abdullah Khān and others yielded no satisfactory results. In A.D. 1613, Jahāngīr himself set up his camp at Ajmer and appointed the young prince Khurram to subdue the recalcitrant Rāṇā. Amara Singh was compelled to sue for peace. Generous terms were granted to him. He was exempted from personal attendance at the court, but had to agree that he would not repair the fortifications of Chitor.

Bengal remained a problem province for the Mughal empire, partly due to its distance from the capital but mainly because of the turbulent Afghāns who had settled there and were reluctant to submit to authority. Rājā Māna Singh was replaced in A.D. 1606 by Quṭbu'd-dīn Khān who was directed to keep an eye on 'Alī Qulī Istajlū surnamed Sher Afghan, a *jagīrdār* of Burdwān. When summoned by the new governor, 'Alī Qulī hesitated to respond. Quṭbu'd-dīn went to Burdwān to punish him. During the scuffle which followed both lost their lives (March A.D. 1607).

Sher Afghan's widow, Mihru'n Nisā', and daughter, Lādilī Begam,

were sent to the imperial court. Mihru'n Nisā' was soon after placed in attendance upon Salima Begam, the widow of Akbar. Jahāngir fell in love with her and married her four years later. Mihru'n Nisā', styled as Nūr Maḥal (Light of the Palace) or Nūr Jahān (Light of the World), was a talented lady. She had a fine aesthetic taste and composed verses in Persian. She was a good shot and used to hunt on horseback. She used to sit in the *jharoka* and the coins also bore her name.

After the conclusion of the Mewar campaign, there was greater concentration of imperial resources in the Deccan. Here a valiant and resourceful leader in the person of Malik 'Ambar had come to the forefront. He set up Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh II as the ruler of Ahmadnagar and began to recover the lost territories of the kingdom. The emperor sent several generals one after the other to subdue him but 'Ambar set these efforts at naught. When it became a prestige issue, Jahāngīr himself moved to Māndu in A.D. 1617 and appointed prince Khurram to reduce 'Ambar to submission. Show of force combined with diplomatic tact produced the desired effect. The states of the Deccan were cowed down. Malik 'Ambar agreed to surrender Bālāghāt and several forts including Ahmadnagar. The credit for success went to prince Khurram who was now given the title of Shāh Jahān.

But this much-vaunted success proved to be a hollow truce. As soon as the military pressure slackened Malik 'Ambar formed a confederacy of the Deccan states, ravaged the imperial territories, and seized large portions of Berār and Ahmadnagar again. The emperor directed Shāh Jahān to march to the theatre of war with a large army. On Shāh Jahān's arrival at Burhānpur the members of the Deccan confederacy were alarmed and began to retreat. The Mughals occupied Khirkī and then advanced towards Daulatābād. In sheer fright Malik 'Ambar appealed for peace (A.D. 1621). He had to surrender all the territory which he had seized and, in addition, had to pay 18 lakhs of rupees. On Bijāpur was imposed a fine of 12 lakhs and on Golconda 20 lakhs.

In Bengal, the governor Islām Khān subdued Pratāpāditya of Jessore and built the fortifications of Dacca. He occupied Sonārgaon in A.D. 1611 and crushed the Afghān opposition. He invaded Kāmarūpa in A.D. 1613 and annexed it. On his death he was succeeded by his brother Qāsim Khān who in A.D. 1617 was replaced by Ibrāhīm Khān. He adopted a firm but conciliatory policy towards the Rājās and *zamīndārs* and thus maintained peace in the region.

In the tribal region on the western frontiers Aḥdād, the leader of the Raushaniyah sect, created trouble in A.D. 1611, but he was defeated. In A.D. 1617 Mahābat Khān was appointed governor of Kābul and he took stringent measures for restoration of peace.

Among the spectacular successes of this reign, mention may be made of the reduction of the fort of Kāngra. Jahāngīr put Sundara Dāsa Vaghelā

in charge of the operations. He started the siege of the fort in October A.D. 1620 and invested it so closely that in sheer distress the garrison offered surrender. Jahāngīr visited Kāngra in February A.D. 1622.

The Prime Minister I'timādu'd-daulah died in January A.D. 1621. Shortly after there occurred the death of prince Khusraw at Burhānpur. In fact, he was murdered by his younger brother Shāh Jahān to whom he had been handed over as prisoner. The emperor's failing health and Shāh Jahān's growing prestige disturbed the equanimity of Nūr Jahān who trembled at the prospect of power slipping out of her hands. Her brother, the astute Āṣaf Khān, was inclined towards Shāh Jahān to whom he had married his daughter Arjumand Bānū Begam. Her father was no longer alive to guide her and her mother had also died.

Ominous clouds were gathering fast on the political horizon of the Mughal empire. The storm burst with the invasion of Kandahār by the Shāh of Persia in A.D. 1622. He succeeded in occupying it.

Shāh Jahān, who was ordered to assume command of the expedition to recover Kandahār, did not move beyond Māndu. Apprehending the safety of his family, he demanded the fort of Ranthambhor for their residence, besides the governorship of the *Ṣūba* of the Punjab. These demands were rejected by the emperor. Soon after, Shāh Jahān rebelled and forcibly captured Dholpur which had been assigned to Shahryār. The emperor censured Shāh Jahān and appointed Shahryār to the supreme command of the expedition against Kandahār. Shāh Jahan then marched towards Delhi but was defeated at Bilochpur. After this discomfiture, he enterned Rajputānā and plundered Amber. Crossing the Tapti on September 10, A.D. 1623, he arrived near the kingdom of Golconda and from there pressed on to Orissa which was surrendered to him. He defeated and killed the governor of Bengal, Ibrāhīm Khān, occupied Patna, Rohtas and Jaunpur, and besieged the fort of Allahābād. Meanwhile, Mahābat Khān defeated the rebels and the prince retreated to the Deccan almost in a destitute state.

He was welcomed by Malik 'Ambar who encouraged him to besiege Burhānpur. When Parwīz and Mahābat Khān arrived on the scene, the frustrated Shāh Jahān retreated to Berār, and sought pardon from his father, which was granted on his surrendering Rohtās and Asīrgarh. He was also required to send his sons Dārā and Aurangzeb to the court as hostages. Thus ended a rebellion which had created much consternation in the empire, occasioned the loss of Kandahār, and brought into being new political groupings.

The question of succession loomed large and the chances of prince Parwīz appeared to be very bright because he was being supported by Mahābat Khān, the greatest general of the empire. On the other hand Nūr Jahān was interested in Shahryār and Āṣaf Khān was interested in Shāh Jahān. The first step in the game was the separation of Mahābat

Khān from Parwīz. He was transferred to Bengal. Soon after charges were framed against him and he was asked to explain his conduct. But he was not the man to submit tamely to disgrace. Taking his Rājpūt soldiers, Mahābat Khān dashed westward and when the emperor was crossing the Jhelum on his way from Kashmīr to Kābul, he took him and his queen as prisoners by a clever stratagem. Subsequently, however, Nūr Jahān succeeded in rescuing the emperor and in driving Mahābat Khān into wilderness. Mahābat Khān took refuge in Mewār, and from there he went to Shāh Jahān and offered his services to him.

Early in the spring of A.D. 1627, the emperor left Lahore to spend his last summer in Kashmīr. But even its invigorating climate failed to improve his health. It was suggested that the court should move to the warmer climate of Lahore. Accordingly, the ailing monarch moved slowly down through the mountains. His condition began to deteriorate fast and he died on October 28, A.D. 1627.

Jahāngīr was addicted to hard drinking, but he never lost his sense of propriety. As long as his health did not fail him, his will dominated the affairs of the empire. He was fastidious in dress and in the pleasures of the table. He was connoisseur of art and was particularly interested in painting. He took delight in laying out gardens, and Kashmīr still bears an eloquent testimony to his skill in that field. He was well-versed in Persian literature, and patronized Persian poets. He also admired Hindī poetry which was gradually becoming decorative and artistic. As a man he was simple and straightforward. He was liberal in his religious views.

It was in his reign that the beginning of intimate contact with the English was made. John Hawkins resided at Āgra for two years (A.D. 1609–1611), and received numerous favours from the emperor who called him Inglīs Khān. Sir Thomas Roe arrived in India in September A.D. 1615 and was granted audience at Ajmer. He accompanied the court to Māndu and Ahmadābād; and though he was unable to secure a treaty, he was granted a *farmān* by prince Khurram, which gave the English reasonable facilities for trade.

As the eldest son of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān was the only rightful claimant to the throne—his two elder brothers had died and Shahryār was younger than him. Āṣaf Khān was interested in his son-in-law Shāh Jahān. He placed Nūr Jahān under guard, removed Shāh Jahān's sons from her charge, and proclaimed Khusraw's son Dāwar Bakhsh as the emperor. On the other hand, Shahryār, who had arrived at Lahore at the instance of his mother-in-law, assumed the title of emperor and seized the treasure which he distributed to the army. Defeated, he was thrown into prison and blinded. Shāh Jahān passed through Gujarāt and Mewār and arrived at Āgra. On his instruction Āṣaf Khān had put to the sword all the surviving male members of the royal house, and Nūr Jahān was pensioned off. She died in A.D. 1645.

(f) Shāh Jahān

Shāh Jahān was proclaimed emperor at Āgra on February 4, A.D. 1628, and assumed the title of Abū'l-Muẓaffar Shihābu'd-dīn Muḥammad Sāhib Qirān Sānī. He was keen to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious grandfather, but had nothing of Akbar's talents and broad outlook.

The general political situation on the eve of Shāh Jahān's accession was fairly satisfactory. The Rājās of Rājputāna, the high nobles and civil and military officers were loyal. But the atmosphere was soon ruffled by the revolt of Jujhār Singh, son of Bīr Singh Deo Bundelā. He fled to Orchha where he was vigorously pursued. Soon he offered submission and was pardoned. His rank was restored and he was sent to serve in the Deccan.

The emperor was now called upon to face a grave situation. Khān Jahān Lodī, who was a partisan of Nūr Jahān, had little friendly feelings for the new emperor. He suspected that Shāh Jahān intended to punish him. He fled from Āgra and evading pursuit arrived at Ahmadnagar where he expected support from Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh II. But the arrival of imperial armies in huge numbers frightened Niẓām Shāh and he turned a cold shoulder towards his guest who was asked to try his fortunes elsewhere.

Khān Jahān decided to march into the Punjab *via* Mālwa, hoping to get support from the disaffected Afghāns. Hotly pursued, he arrived in Bundelkhand where Vikramajīt declined to give him refuge and and even attacked his rear guard. But Khān Jahān escaped and he fled to Kāliñjar where the Qil'adār deprived him of his elephants and arrested one of his sons along with his followers. In utter desperation he turned round with a small number of his followers and died sword in hand at Sihonda near Bānda (February A.D. 1631).

The harassed kingdom of Ahmadnagar had to suffer grievously for its generosity to a rebel. It had to face the calamity of famine, widespread plunder by the Mughal army and party strife. It was completely paralysed. Fatḥ Khān, the son and successor of Malik 'Ambar and now the Chief Minister of Niẓām Shāh, turned faithless to his master. He first threw him into prison and then killed him. He recited *Khuṭbah* in the name of the emperor As Shāh Jahān had suffered bereavement in the death of his beloved wife Mumtāz Maḥal (June 7, A.D. 1631), he did not like to prolong his stay in the Deccan, and left for the North in March A.D. 1632, with the impression that his mission in Ahmadnagar had been achieved. He appointed Mahābat Khān as the viceroy of the Deccan.

But very soon Daulatābād proved to be a storm centre for fresh struggle. There arose a dispute between Shāhjī Bhosle and Fatḥ Khān over certain *jāgīrs* which each claimed as his own on the basis of the imperial grant. Shāhjī sought the 'Ādil Shāh's assistance for enforcing his claim.

This alarmed Fatḥ Khān who appealed to Mahābat Khān. The latter responded, but when he found Fatḥ Khān wavering in his attitude, he made an all-out effort to reduce Daulatābād. He succeeded in his enterprise and occupied the fort in June A.D. 1633.

The occupation of Daulatābād, though a signal triumph, did not prove to be the final stage in the annexation of Ahmadnagar. The Niẓām-shāhī and the 'Ādilshāhī officers still held out some outposts which they were reluctant to surrender without a struggle. Moreover, during the ensuing turmoil the Marāṭhās led by Shāhjī had acquired a firm hold on Junnār, Poona and Chākan. He had set up a puppet Niẓām Shāh and professed to be fighting for his cause. The centre of trouble was Parenda which Mahābat Khān failed to conquer and he died in October A.D. 1634. His death encouraged and intensified Marāṭhā activity which was abetted by 'Ādil Shāh.

Bundelkhand once more became a scene of activity. Jujhār Singh in pursuit of his wild ambition, raided and stormed the fortress of Chaurāgarh and treacherously put to death the Gond Rājā Prem Narāyaṇa. The Rājā's son appealed to the emperor who deputed prince Aurangzeb to punish the Bundelās. Aurangzeb stormed and seized Orchha and Dhāmonī, and relentlessly pursued the rebel leader, driving him into Gondwāna where the tribals put him to death (A.D. 1634). A new chief, Campat Rāi, then asserted his leadership and supported the claims of Pṛthvīrāja, one of the sons of Jujhār Singh. Bundelkhand again relapsed into a state of confusion, and though 'Abdullah Khān was appointed to restore order, his efforts did not prove successful. It was only in A.D. 1642 that Pahār Singh, son of Bīr Singh, succeeded in securing the submission of Campat Rāi.

Shāh Jahān now turned his attention towards the Deccan. He was astute enough to perceive that peace in Ahmadnagar could not be established until the trouble created by Shāhjī, a Marāṭhā leader, was undone and Bijāpur and Golconda were overawed. With this end in view, early in A.D. 1636, he crossed the Narmada and arrived at Daulatābād. From Hindya he issued a proclamation and sent threatening communications to Quṭb Shāh and 'Ādil Shāh. The presence of a large army in the Deccan produced the desired effect. Randolā Khān and Muṣṭafā Khān, the 'Ādil Shāhī nobles, agreed to desist from encouraging Shāhjī, acknowledge Mughal supremacy and pay an annual tribute. Likewise, Quṭb Shāh also signed a treaty according to which he agreed to recite the *Khuṭbah* in the emperor's name and to pay an annual tribute.

Among the minor events mention may be made of the chastisement of the Portuguese pirates of Hooghly, who had been for a considerable time indulging in wanton acts of cruelty and robbing the merchants of that region (A.D. 1632). A petty insurrection among the Bhīls of Mālwa was easily suppressed. In A.D. 1634 the 'Abdāl of Little Tibet submitted,

but when he subsequently became recalcitrant, an army was sent against him and peace was restored. In A.D. 1637 Baglan was conquered; in A.D. 1641, the Kāngra valley was reduced to subjection; and two years later a Gond insurrection in Mālwa was crushed. In A.D. 1638 'Alī Mardān Khān, the Persian governor of Kandahār, fleeing on the charge of embezzlement, surrendered the fort to the Mughal governor of Kābul.

With the confidence engendered by recent victories in the Deccan and the exaltation caused by the recovery of Kandahār, Shāh Jahān went to Kābul in A.D. 1639 to take advantage of the disorder in Transoxiana. He succeeded in occupying Qunduz, Khost, Badakhshān and Balkh, but the territories could not be held for long, first because of the reluctance of the imperial soldiers and officers to stay there, and secondly because of lack of co-operation from the people of that region. When prince Murād declined to continue holding the command, he was replaced by Aurangzeb. He tried hard to stabilize the imperial position there, but he had to return to Kābul.

Kandahār which had been recovered in A.D. 1638, was again lost to the Persians in A.D. 1649. Three attempts were made to recapture it but they proved not only futile but also involved enormous loss of men and money.

The policy of expansion to the north-west proved a costly failure and the emperor sought relaxation and compensation in other enterprises. In A.D. 1654 he sent Sa'dullah Khān to chastise the Rāṇā of Mewār, who had restored the fortifications of Chitor in contravention of the treaty concluded in Jahāngīr's time. The Rāṇā had to demolish the repairs he had made. In A.D. 1656 an expedition was sent against the Rājā of Garhwāl, who was compelled to send his son to the court with an offer of submission.

In A.D. 1652 Aurangzeb was for the second time appointed viceroy of the Deccan. He had as his *Dīwān* Murshid Qulī Khān, whose land revenue administration is a landmark in the history of the Deccan. He embarked upon a policy of aggression against the southern states. The first victim of it was Quṭb Shāh who was asked to pay arrears of tribute. Aurangzeb won over Mīr Jumla, the Chief Minister of Golconda, and in concert with him invaded the kingdom in A.D. 1656, but the campaign was cut short by the emperor. His only gain was that he married Quṭb Shāh's daughter to his son.

Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh died in A.D. 1657 and was succeeded by 'Alī Ādil Shāh, a minor. While conveying this information to the court, Aurangzeb also referred to the suspicions about the legitimacy of the new king and the confusion which was rampant in Bijāpur since his accession, and secured a *farmān* for the invasion of that kingdom. Spurred into action when Mīr Jumla joined him, he occupied Bidar and Kalyaṇī and besieged Bijāpur. On the one hand the garrison put up a stiff resistance

but on the other the leaders tactfully began to play upon the greed of the invaders. They promised to pay 150 lakhs of rupees and to deliver to the Mughals Kalyaṇī and Parenda. The emperor remitted a third of the tribute and ordered Aurangzeb to withdraw.

In September A.D. 1657, Shāh Jahān fell seriously ill. Rumours of his death spread far and wide and his sons forthwith started preparations to contest for the throne. Dārā, the eldest, had enjoyed immense favours from his father who had named him as his successor. Shujā' was posted to Bengal. Murād was in Gujarāt and Aurangzeb in the Deccan. These three brothers came to an understanding and combined against Dārā. Murād proclaimed himself emperor on December 5, A.D. 1657. Shujā' advanced from Bengal to seize the crown

Dārā was by no means in an enviable position. He was confronted with the united opposition of his brothers, and had to counter intrigues in and outside the court. When Shāh Jahān was a little better, he despatched Sulaimān Shukoh and Jai Singh to push Shujā' back and sent two armies to hold Murād and Aurangzeb in check. Eight km. from Vārānasī, Sulaimān Shukoh came in contact with his uncle Shujā's army at Bahādurpur and opened an attack early in the morning (February 14, A.D. 1658). Although Shujā' fought very bravely, he was pushed back with heavy losses and had to return to Bengal.

Turning a deaf ear to the royal instructions and the commands of their father, Aurangzeb and Murād had persisted in their advance, and met each other at Dīpālpur. Rājā Jaswant Singh was sent against them and had to face the combined armies of the two brothers at Dharmat near Ujjain and was defeated. The battle of Dharmat (April 15, A.D. 1658) sealed the fate of Dārā Shukoh.

The victorious princes arrived at Gwalior. Dārā had posted guards on the river banks to prevent his enemies from crossing over. Efforts to prevent a clash of arms were fruitless in the face of Aurangzeb's obduracy and his deep-rooted hatred of his eldest brother. The battle of Samūgarh on May 29 was the second act in the tragedy which had opened at Dharmat. Dārā was decisively defeated and lost his throne.

Shāh Jahān had to open the gates of Āgra fort on June 8. He was placed under arrest by Aurangzeb in the palace. To round up Dārā who had fled towards the Punjab, Aurangzeb moved slowly from Āgra because of his suspicion of the ambitions of Murād Bakhsh. Murād was cunningly inveigled into a trap near Mathura, put in fetters and confined in the fort of Salimgarh. Aurangzeb was now free to pursue Dārā and easily occupied Delhi where he crowned himself emperor and issued a proclamation. He then marched to Lahore which easily fell into his hands and advanced to Multān.

Dārā had already left Multān. He fled towards Sind where he sought the help of Malik Jīwan who surrendered him to Bahādur Khān. Taken

to Delhi, he was paraded in the streets and then ruthlessly put to death on faked charges.

While Aurangzeb was engaged in the pursuit of Dārā Shukoh, Shujā' found the field clear and advanced from Bihār with the object of seizing Āgra. He arrived at Allahābād in December A.D. 1658, bypassed the fort and halted at Khajwah, as his path was barred by Aurangzeb's son, Sulṭān Muḥammad. Soon after, Aurangzeb also arrived on the scene. Shujā' was defeated and put to flight. Mīr Jumla and Sulṭān Muḥammad were ordered to pursue him. He was hounded from pillar to post till he disappeared in the forests of Arakan, where he met with an unmourned death.

The only prince who remained to be dealt with was Sulaimān Shukoh. He sought the protection of Pṛthvī Singh, Rājā of Garhwāl. In July A.D. 1659 Aurangzeb sent a force to coerce the Rājā into surrendering his guest. Sulaimān Shukoh was handed over to his enemies. He was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior where he was put to death in May A.D. 1662, his uncle Murād Bakhsh having been beheaded earlier in December A.D. 1661. Shāh Jahān lingered on and died on January 22, A.D. 1666.

Shāh Jahān inherited some of the virtues of his grandfather and some of the vices of his father. He had a passion for greatness and a love for grandeur. With an inordinate thirst for pomp and power, he had no scruples about the means. He was deeply interested in the promotion of art and culture as his magnificent buildings testify. He was a patron of men of letters, both Muslims and Hindus.

(g) Aurangzeb

Born on October 24, A.D. 1618 at Dohad in Gujarāt, Aurangzeb was in the full maturity of his manhood when, after a bloody war of succession, he proclaimed himself sovereign at Delhi. Subtle and intelligent, brave and thoughtful, he had the ability to plan and execute. Ambitious in his aspirations, and firm in his resolve, he would not fail or falter in the face of difficulties. Having won a vast and extensive empire seething with political and administrative problems, he applied his acute and penetrating mind to their solution, though final success always eluded his grasp. He was undoubtedly well-intentioned, but he could not get out of the narrow grooves into which his aptitide and training had thrown him. His early career was bright, but as emperor he failed to adapt himself to his environments. He toiled incessantly but at the end he was disappointed and frustrated. He was the last of the great Mughals, but his actions and policies struck a severe blow to the greatness of the empire.

It was only after the final defeat of Dārā Shukoh at Deorai that he

celebrated his coronation on June 5, A.D. 1659. His next twenty years were spent at Delhi and Āgra with only occasional absence on military campaigns and once on a trip to Kashmīr in A.D. 1663. The fame of the Mughal empire having spread far and wide, many foreign powers of Asia accredited their representatives to the imperial court at Delhi. The Sharif of Mecca and the rulers of Balkh, Bukhara, Kashgar, Urganj, Yaman and Mocha, sent their envoys to witness the dazzling glory of the Mughal court.

Among the military exploits of the first part of the reign was the invasion of Assam. It was led by Mīr Jumla who after the expulsion of Shujā' from Bengal, had been appointed its governor (June A.D. 1660). He succeeded in capturing the capital of Cooch Behar and annexed the kingdom. He entered Assam, but fell ill and died on his way back. He was succeeded by Shāyista Khān who came to terms with the Rājā of Cooch Behar, but later on annexed the districts of Rangpur and Kāmarūpa.

More serious however, was the problem of law and order in the hilly belt between Afghānistān and the Punjab, inhabited by the warlike tribes who had always been a source of trouble to the rulers of Delhi and Āgra. In A.D. 1667 Bhagu, the leader of Yusūfzai' clans of Swāt and Bājaur, revolted and plundered Peshāwar and Attock. But the insurgents were suppressed with an iron hand. Later in A.D. 1672 the Āfrīdis and Khataks joined hands and overpowered the newly appointed governor of Kābul. It was after five years that the situation could be brought under control by Amīr Khān, the governor of Kābul.

The general atmosphere in the empire was causing worry to Aurangzeb and he began to think seriously of improvements. The nobility was licentious and corrupt; the people had little regard for their ruler; fissiparous tendencies by way of the parochial and defiant attitude of the Sikhs, Bundelās and Marāthās were clearly in evidence; the waywardness of Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh was disturbing and cast suspicion on Rājpūt loyalty. The combination of all these factors posed the problem of formulating an effective policy which should strengthen the empire. Aurangzeb had two alternatives before him: either to carry on the liberal outlook of his predecessors, or adopt stern methods. His conscience favoured the latter course.

In March A.D. 1659, he forbade the construction of new temples; in A.D. 1664, he prohibited the repair of old temples, and five years later he issued a general order to the governors of all the provinces to demolish the schools and temples of infidels and put down their teaching and religious practices strongly. Famous Hindu places of worship suffered destruction: the temples of Somanātha at Pātan, Viśvanātha at Vārānasi and Keśava Rāi at Mathura. In A.D. 1668, Hindu religious fairs were forbidden, and three years years later an order was issued

that Muslims alone were to be appointed as revenue collectors in crownlands. Worst of all, in A.D. 1679 the hated *jizyah* was reimposed on the unbelievers after they had enjoyed exemption from it for more than a century. The discriminating custom duty was raised to 5 per cent for the Hindus in A.D. 1665; two years later it was abolished altogether for the Muslims, who till then had to pay only 2½ per cent.

Among the emperor's puritanical measures are mentioned the abolition of the practice of imprinting the *Kalimah* on the coins, the observance of the *Naurūz*, the cultivation of *bhāṅg*, the practice of 'weighing the emperor' and the custom of *Tīka*. The rising of the Jāts in A.D. 1669 and Satnāmīs in A.D. 1672 were agrarian revolts. Both of them were suppressed with a firm hand. But the causes of Sikh insurgence were different. Ever since the martyrdom of Guru Arjun, his followers had been nursing a grievance against the Mughal emperor. His immediate successor, Har Gobind (A.D. 1606–1645) developed a martial outlook. He was succeeded by Har Rāi who was followed by Har Kishan in A.D. 1661. The next Guru Teg Bahādur (A.D. 1664–1675) was of a kindly and peaceful disposition. He joined imperial service and fought in Assam for the Mughal cause. Returning to the Punjab he settled at Anandpur. By this time the influence of Sikhism had spread from the Punjab to Bihār. Teg Bahādur openly defied the emperor. He was seized and taken to Delhi where he was beheaded.

Gobind Singh was the tenth and the last of the Gurus. He came into conflict with the local officers of the Punjab. He was beseiged in Anandpur which he had to vacate. In the end he made his way to the Deccan to meet the emperor. He took up residence at Nānded where he was stabbed to death in A.D. 1708.

In February A.D. 1679, the emperor learnt that two posthumous sons had been born to Rājā Jaswant Singh of Mārwār, and he was called upon to decide the question of succession. In June A.D. 1679, Jaswant Singh's family arrived at Delhi with only one child, the other having expired. According to the commonly accepted version, before deciding the infant's claim to the *gaddī*, the emperor ordered that he should be brought up in the imperial harem. This made the Rāṭhors suspicious. Perhaps, the rumour that the emperor intended to convert the infant into a Muslim irritated the Rājpūts further. So the fire of bitterness was kindled and this was how the Rājpūt war commenced.

The emperor went to Ajmer and sent prince Akbar and Tahawwur Khān to conquer Mārwār. The Rāṭhors were defeated near Pushkar and their country occupied. Rāṇā Rāja Singh of Mewār took up the cause of his harassed brethren and exposed himself to the full blast of Mughal invasion. His capital Udaipur was occupied, and after a defeat his camp and property were seized by the enemy. But the trouble did not come to an end. Ultimately, the Rāṇā of Mewār saw no alternative

but to make peace with the invaders. He agreed to cede the *parganas* of Mandal, Pur and Bednor in lieu of *jizyah*. The Mughal army withdrew, the emperor having restored to the ruler the title of Rāṇā and the command of 5,000.

The Deccan problem, which had not been completely solved in the concluding years of Shāh Jahān's reign, gained momentum with the passage of time and with the rise of fresh complications. Formerly, the states of Bijāpur and Golconda alone were a matter of concern, but now the Marāṭhās under the leadership of Śivājī seriously imperilled Aurangzeb's prestige in the Peninsula. For a clear appreciation of the developments which occurred during the fifty years of Aurangzeb's reign it is necessary to divide the treatment of the subject into three parts; (1) relations of the Mughals with the Marāṭhās; (2) relations of the Mughals with Bijāpur; and (3) relations of the Mughals with Golconda.

Born on April 6, A.D. 1627, Śivāji, like Sher Shāh, had to pass through successive stages of trials and tribulations. Not content with his petty holding in Poona district, he collected whatever resources he could and began to nibble at the out-lying tracts of 'Ādil Shāhī territory. He succeeded in seizing many forts and in occupying Jāvli (A.D. 1656), and thus he doubled the extent and revenue of his inheritance. His first clash with the Mughals occurred when they invaded Bijāpur in A.D. 1657, and to create diversion in favour of 'Ādil Shāh, the Marāṭhā leader plundered Ahmadnagar and Junnar.

Śivājī entered North Konkan, seized Kalyān, Bhivandi and Māhuli, and advanced as far as Mahad. He then pushed into South Konkan and Kolhāpur, capturing the fort of Panhāla. In A.D. 1660 Shāyista Khān occupied Poona, but he was surprised by the Marāṭhā leader and narrowly escaped death. Emboldened by his success, he sacked Surat in January A.D. 1664.

The emperor appointed Jai Singh as the viceroy of the Deccan. He flooded Mahārāshtra with Mughal troops and brought the Marāṭhā leader down to his knees, compelling him to sign the treaty of Purandhar by which he surrendered twenty-three forts to the Mughals and agreed to be a vassal of the emperor (June A.D. 1665). Śivājī even paid a visit to Āgra (May A.D. 1666), but being dissatisfied with the reception, he secretly escaped and returned to Mahārāshtra. He remained quiet for the next four years. But in A.D. 1670, he repudiated his allegiance and recovered the ceded territories, plundered Surat for a second time, led daring raids into the Mughal provinces of Berār and Aurangābād, and repeatedly defeated the Mughal generals sent against him.

During the next two years the orbit of Śivājī's activities expanded considerably. He struck both at the Mughals and at 'Ādil Shāh. He levied *Cauth* or *Khāndānī* with impunity, and occupied Rāmnagar and Jawhar

south of Surat, and captured more forts from Bijāpuri territory. He crowned himself *Chatrapati* at Raigarh on June 5, A.D 1674—this marked the height of his triumph. Three years later, in A.D.1677, he paid a visit to Golconda and recovered the Karnātaka possessions of his father. In A.D. 1678, the Bijāpur regent Sīdī Mas'ūd made a pact with him for armed assistance in the event of a Mughal attack. Śivājī kept his word and attempted a diversion at Dilīr Khān's rear. He was overwhelmed but narrowly escaped. His health was declining and he died on April 3, A.D. 1680.

Śivajī was succeeded by his eldest son Sambhājī. Hardly had Sambhājī set his house in order when the Mughal emperor arrived in the Deccan. He sent an army to raid North Khāndesh; it also plundered Burhānpur. In A.D. 1682, Aurangzeb began a vigorious offensive against him. Three armies converged on his territories. But they achieved no decisive results. In the next two years (A.D. 1685–87) the military pressure of the Mughals shifted from Mahārāshtra to Bijapur and Golconda. Sambhāji took up his residence at Panhāla to watch the emperor's movements. Later he was captured and taken to the emperor who had him beheaded (March A.D. 1689).

Since Sambhājī's family together with his son Sahu had been captured by the Mughals, his brother Rājā Rāma was proclaimed king. He had to fight for a decade against the Mughals. In A.D. 1699, he planned extensive raids into Khāndesh and Berār but was driven back with heavy losses. He died on March 2, 1700.

After Rājā Rāma's death his senior widow Tārā Bāi placed her minor son Śivājī on the throne. She now became the spearhead of the Marāṭhā national resistance to the Mughals. For two years (A.D. 1702–1704) severe famine and pestilence raged in Mahārāshtra, but Aurangzeb continued his campaign. The Marāṭhās were driven away from Mālwa. Tārā Bāi found the ground slipping under her feet. Her homeland was under Mughal occupation, her forward movement had been beaten back, and her officers were being weaned away from her side. Yet she was firm in her resolve to counter the intrigues of the emperor and to undo what he had achieved so far.

In February A.D. 1704, the emperor marched to Wagingera, between the Kṛṣṇā and Bhīmā, and opened its siege. The Marāṭhās had to evacuate the fort. This was the last triumph of the emperor in the South. He fell ill and though he recovered within twelve days, he broke up his camp and marched slowly to Ahmadnagar where he reached on January 20, 1706.

When Aurangzeb left the Deccan in A.D. 1658, Bijāpur was licking the wounds inflicted by him. After he was free from the anxieties of the war of succession, Aurangzeb sent Jai Singh to the South with the mission to conquer Bijāpur. Like Shāyista Khān and Mahābat Khān, Jai Singh

covered himself with disgrace and that hastened his death (A.D. 1667). 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II died in A.D. 1672. He was succeeded by Sikandar, a boy of four. The Afghān and Deccanī factions began to fight with each other and consequently the Mughal aggression intensified. The imperial viceroy of the Deccan, Bahādur Khān, invaded Bijāpur in A.D. 1676 and annexed Naldrug and Gulbarga. He was replaced by Dilīr Khān who also led a campaign against Bijāpur, but failed in the enterprise.

For four years after Dilīr's failure (February A.D. 1680) preoccupations elsewhere prevented the Mughals from attacking Bijāpur. Prince A'ẓam conducted slow moving operations north of the Nira river. The imperialists now started encroaching on 'Ādil Shāhī territory and it was towards the beginning of A.D. 1685 that the final siege of Bijāpur commenced. The emperor himself went to Bijāpur (July A.D. 1686) to co-ordinate and control the efforts of his officers. The garrison lost heart and on September 12, A.D 1686, surrendered Sikandar who was sent to the state prison at Daulatābād. He died at Sātāra on April 3, 1700.

The Mughal Quṭb-Shāhī relations were on the whole peaceful and satisfactory. But with the arrival of the emperor in the Deccan the situation changed. His aggressive policy alarmed Abū'l Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh who at the moment was dominated by his two Marāṭhā ministers, Madanna and Akkanna. Aurangzeb was annoyed at his conduct and behaviour and he despatched his son Shāh 'Ālam to seize Hyderābād (July A.D. 1685). Abū'l Ḥasan fled to Golconda and his capital was plundered and occupied by the invaders. Subsequently he was pardoned when he agreed to pay a huge amount of money and dismiss his Marāṭhā ministers. After the fall of Bijāpur, the emperor turned his attention to liquidate the lingering existence of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom. He arrived there in January A.D. 1687 and occupied Hyderābād. He then opened the siege of Golconda which was captured on September 21. The Quṭb Shāh was sent as a prisoner to Daulatābād.

In Rājputāna, particularly Mārwār, resistance continued till A.D. 1704 when the emperor got the *jāgīr* of Merta to Ajit Singh and appointed Durgā Dās as the *faujdār* of Patan with a *manṣab* of 3000. Similary there occurred a resurgence of Jāt trouble under the leadership of Rājā Rāma. But Rājā Rāma was shot dead in A.D. 1688 and his stronghold of Sinsani captured in A.D. 1690.

Campat Rai Bundela had been hunted down by the Mughal emperor in A.D. 1661. His son Chatrasāl entered the imperial service and fought against the Marāṭhās under Jai Singh's banner. But in A.D. 1670, he became the spearhead of Bundelā resistance to the Mughals. He was elected king and, like his Marāṭhā contemporary, he began to plunder imperial territories. He captured Kāliñjar and Dhāmoni and extended his depredations upto Mālwa. In 1705 Firūz Jang induced the emperor to make peace with him.

The English traders had a number of grievances, and when these were not redressed they resorted to force. War broke out in Bengal in November A.D. 1686. The viceroy Shāyista Khān seized all English factories. In retaliation, the English burnt Matiaburj, plundered Balasore and destroyed the Indian shipping there. The Mughal viceroy was not slow in making reprisals, and the English had to abandon Bengal and retreat to Madras (A.D. 1689). Next year Ibrāhīm Khān, who was appointed as the viceroy of Bengal, made peace with the English.

Aurangzeb died on February 20, 1707 and his boby was buried at Khuldābād, now called Roza, in a low simple tomb without any marble platform. He combined in himself reckless courage and coolness of temper. Widely read, he had command over the Persian language and literature and his sharp memory enabled him to interperse his letters with apt quotations from well known poets. He was a great stickler for law and on his initiative and patronage the greatest digest of Muslim law was compiled in India—this is known as *Fatawā-i-'Ālamgīrī*. The letters he wrote to his sons and officers reveal clarity of thought and precision in expression. But he had a single-track mind and revelled in his own ideas with the result that his outlook became cramped and his mental horizon narrow. It would be a mistake, though, to doubt his intentions. He meant well of his empire and wanted to raise it to the highest pinnacle of glory and greatness.

G. MARATHAS, SIKHS AND JATS

(a) Marāṭhās

The Marāṭhī-speaking areas of the Deccan were parcelled out among the Sultanates of Berār, Ahmadnagar, Bīdar and Bijāpur. Berar was conquerred by Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1574 and Bidar was annexed by Bijapur in A.D. 1620. The Marāṭhās with the exception of few families like the Nimbalkars and Ghorpades were denied opportunities under the Bahmanis to rise in the service of the state. But under the succession states, particularly in the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur, the Marāṭhās attained high positions both in the army and at the royal court. Under Malik 'Ambar, who for a time stemmed the tide of Mughal advance in the Deccan and revived the glory of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty, the Marāṭhās acquired mastery which they used with great advantage in the years to come. Among the feudal chiefs who rose to eminence in the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur were the Jadhaos, the Bhosles, the Manes, the Shirkes, the Jedhes, the Ghatges, the Gujars, the Mohites, and the Mahadiks, to name only a few. Śāhjī Bhosle, father of Śivājī, proved a great asset in the endeavours of the

Nizamshahi rulers to stem the tide of Mughal aggression, particularly after the death of Malik 'Ambar.

This rise of Marāṭhā families and their growing importance in the political field gave new confidence to the Marāṭhā people in general and contributed, to no small extent, in the creation of political consciousness among them. The Sulṭāns of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur had all along shown tolerance and consideration for the Marāṭhā subjects. But the middle of the 17th century witnessed a growing intolerance towards them in the 'Ādil Shāhī court at Bijāpur. This offended the Marāṭhās and alienated their sympathies.

At this psychological moment Śivājī appeared on the scene. Many young men, conscious of a spirit of awakening in the land, with passionate enthusiasm and reckless courage, gathered round Śivājī and acknowledged him as their leader. His daring exploits won the hearts of many more who joined him and the sympathies of others who still remained in the service of Bijāpur. Moreover, the advent of the Mughals in the Deccan, the extinction of Ahmadnagar, and Shāh Jahān's attitude towards Bijāpur and Golconda indicated that, sooner or later, the southern states were to be absorbed in the Mughal empire. Nor were the internal conditions in Bijāpur any more hopeful. The quarrels at the Bijāpur court after the death of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh plunged the kingdom into disorder. No better opportunity could have been offered to the Marāṭhās to reinstate the glory of Hindu rule in the Deccan.

Never in their history were the Marāṭhā people more united than at the time of Śivājī. There was born in the Mahārāshtra of that time a new spirit, a common feeling of patriotism. Śivājī, with his insight into the nascent forces of Marāṭhā nationality, drew towards himself all that was hopeful and vigorous, without distinction of class or creed.

These Marāṭhās were by nature a freedom loving people. The basis of their character was activity, courage, self-consciousness, self-reliance and pride of community. Geographical factors brought out these characteristics, which were further fostered by social forces.

To the poet-saints of Mahārāshtra is due the credit of loosening the social and religious barriers and bringing the Marāṭhā people closer together. The movement dates back to the days of Jñānadeva (*d.* A.D. 1296), the herald of a puritan and religious revival. "Men are not great by birth; in the eyes of God all are one. Never ask a man's caste, when he has in his heart the faith in God and love of man. God wants in his children love and devotion and does not care for his caste". This rational explanation of society and firm faith in the basic quality of men of all classes permeated the entire country. The centre of the *Bhakti* movement was Pandharpur. There came the poet-saints of Mahārāshtra to worship at the shrine of Viṭhobā. The preaching of these saints was centred on the idea that all men could gain salvation by giving up false class values

and caste-ridden orthodoxy and worshipping the god Viṭhobā with single-minded devotion. People made pilgrimages to Pandharpur and to Ālandi with its shrine of Jñānadeva and discussed the teachings of the poet-saints. These appealed to them because of their directness and simplicity and, when they returned to their respective villages, they disseminated the ideas among their fellows. So the *Bhakti* cult or *Bhagavad-dharma*, as it is otherwise known, grew in strength. It reached its peak point with the greatest Marāṭhā saint Tukārāma (*b.* A.D. *1608*). Another powerful influence during this period was the preaching of the poet-saint, Rāmadāsa who urged in vigorous language the urgency and importance of *Swarāj* for the Marāṭhā people.

So Mahārāshtra achieved a new religion, simpler, more rational, and more appealing to the common people. It also gave to the country a new literature in a language which the people could understand. The Marāṭhās found themselves drawn together by common tradition, common language, common literature, common religion and common race. These factors were responsible for the new political upheaval; the Marāṭhās aspired to become a nation, and Śivājī fulfilled the urge.

The physical features of Mahārāshtra made Śivājī's task easy. The country is hill-strewn. After attacking a fort the Marāṭhās could escape to the hills, avoiding pitched battles. They had developed a mode of fighting all their own, the guerilla technique, in which they had become past-masters.

Śivājī started his political career during the reign of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur (A.D. 1627–1657) when his kingdom had reached the zenith of its splendour. He gathered round him a band of young men inspired by the high ideal of founding a *Hindawī Swarāj*. He was much influenced in this choice of career by the preaching of his mother Jījā Bāī and the training of his tutor Dādājī Koṇḍadeva who had assiduously nursed the young hero's mind. The example of his father too, in carving out so significant a career for himself was before young Śivājī, and he became fired with an urge to do better than his father and to create independent kingdom of his own.

Śivājī first captured the fort of Singhagarh sometime in A.D. 1644. Next he took Rohidā, built Rājgarh and set himself to bring all parts of Shāhjī's western *jāgīr* under his own control, so as to form a compact state ruled by one authority. He easily captured Chakān and naming it Sangrāmdurg placed his own garrison there. He occupied also the Purandhar, Indāpur, Bārāmati and Vijayadurg areas. Simultaneously he brought about administrative consolidation of this newly acquired territory and called upon the Deshmukhs in 'Ādil Shāhī service to join his standard. Those, like the Mores of Jāvlī, who resisted this call were rooted out.

In this struggle for Marāṭhā *Swarāj* which Śivājī had launched, he had

to face the challenge of 'Ādil Shāhī authority and the might of the Mughal empire. Afḍal Khān, the Bijāpurī general, who sallied forth to chastise Śivājī by fair or foul means, met his match in the Marāṭhā hero who killed him at Pratāpgarh (November A.D. 1659). The Mughals now joined Bijāpur in an attempt to extirpate Śivājī. Shāyista Khān, the Mughal governor of the Deccan, occupied Chākan and took up his residence at Poona. Śivājī, at this time besieged in Panhāla, cleverly effected his escape and sought safety in Vishālgarh which he reached as Bājī Prabhu held his pursuers in the famous rearguard action at the narrow pass of Ghod-Khind. Śivājī spent some time during A.D. 1661–62 in raiding and occupying 'Ādil Shāhī territory in the Ratnāgiri district, and after consolidating his conquests he fell on Poona and Shāyista Khān in April A.D. 1663. Next year he looted Surat. But he was soon brought to his knees by the Mughal general Jai Singh, who forced a treaty on him and persuaded him to visit the emperor at Āgra. As the emperor was congratulating himself on the capture of this intrepid warrior, there came the thrilling episode of his escape in a basket of sweetmeats.

Marāṭhā power grew stronger and stronger and in June A.D. 1674 Śivājī was crowned at Raigarh. His kingdom comprised the whole of the Konkan area and extended from Gandevi (in South Gujarāt) to Phonda on the Goa border, with the exception of Bassein, lower Chaul, the islands of Bombay and Janjīra. Its eastern boundaries included Bāglān in the north, passed through the middle of the present day Nāsik and Poona districts, and comprised the whole of Sātāra and much of the Kolhāpur region. He had deliberately built up a second line of defence, which he used also for offensive purposes against Bijāpur and Golconda under the exigencies of the situation. In the extreme south he had acquired possession of the strong fort of Gingee and the town of Vellore and its adjoining areas, and on the Tungabhadra he had Koppal and Bellary. This was an achievement of no mean order. He thrilled the Marāṭhās and infused the spirit of freedom and self-confidence in them.

Śivājī died on April 3, A.D. 1680 and was succeeded by his son Sambhājī, who inherited his father's daring but not his statesmanship or character. On account of his erratic and obstinate behaviour he was estranged from his father, and saddened the last year of Śivājī's life by going over to the Mughals. Śivājī persuaded him to return, and placed him in the fort of Panhāla under the supervision of one of his trusted lieutenants. Receiving the news of Śivājī's death, Sambhājī managed to reach Raigarh and established his claim to the throne as against his stepbrother Rājārāma. He was, however, unable to win over the persons who had espoused Rājārāma's cause and his inconsiderate treatment of many of the officers of his father created great dissatisfaction in the Marāṭhā ranks and weakened the solidarity of the newly founded kingdom. There could be no better

opportunity for Aurangzeb to descend on the Marāṭhā kingdom and destroy it.

The immediate cause of Aurangzeb's wrath against young Sambhājī was the welcome he had given to prince Akbar, the Mughal emperor's son, who had rebelled against his father and sought refuge with the Marāṭhā king. Determined to annex the young Marāṭhā kingdom and also to conquer Bijāpur and Golconda, Aurangzeb arrived in the Deccan with a large army (March A.D. 1682). In a short time he subjugated the kingdoms of Bijāpur and Golconda, and then Muqarrab Khān, one of Aurangzeb's generals, ambushed the young Marāṭhā king at Sangameshwar in the Konkan. Sambhājī showed a last noble flicker of defiance before he was tortured to death (March 11, A.D. 1689).

Rājārāma, Sambhājī's step-brother, now ascended the throne at Raigarh, the Marāṭhā capital. This mighty fort too was besieged by Dhulfiqār Khān. Rājārāma managed to escape from the fort and made his way to Gingee in the far south. Meanwhile Raigarh fell to Dhulfiqār (October 19, A.D. 1689) and Sambhājī's wife Yesū Bāī and his young son were taken prisoner by the Mughals.

At Gingee Rājārāma found that there was no money in the Marāṭhā treasury. There was no Marāṭhā army and no government. "But just when their country's fortune was at its lowest ebb, and everything seemed to be lost beyond hope, these very misfortunes served to rouse a band of patriots, who had been trained in Śivājī's school, to resolve, resourceless and penniless as they were, to secure their national independence and drive Aurangzeb's army back to Hindustān."

From Gingee, Rājārāma started granting *sanads*, *ināms* and *jāgīrs* to the Marāṭhā bands who would plunder the imperial territory and harass the enemy in all possible ways. These *sanads* were nothing but promises of future reward. The roving Marāṭhā bands borrowed money, raised troops, and carried on expeditions to distant parts. The unwieldy Mughal armies were harassed, massacred or left to starve. Thus did Rājārāma allow the nation to conduct its own defence and succeeded admirably. Aurangzeb realized the hopelessness of the task he had set himself to achieve. A nation was now up in arms. The Marāṭhā state servants supported themselves by plundering indiscriminately and paying a small part of their booty to the king.

In A.D. 1700, Rājārāma died. His wife Tārā Bāī placed her son on the throne as Śivājī II and became the soul of Marāṭhā activities. Within three years the Marāṭhās gained the upper hand and the Mughals were thrown on the defensive. The new situation brought about a change of tactics. The Marāṭhās were no more light bodies of men, moving at lightning speed, avoiding pitched battles and disappearing at the enemy's approach. They had grown conscious of their strength. They gradually increased their incursions. In A.D. 1696, they looted Māndogarh.

In the following year they crossed the Narmada and ravaged some places. In October 1703 Nimājī Sindia burst into Berār, and captured Rustam Khān, the deputy-governor of the province. Raiding Hoshangābād district and crossing the Narmada he advanced into Mālwa at the invitation of Chatrasāla, and after plundering many villages he laid siege to Sironj. Between November 1705 and July 1706 Dhanājī Jādav surprised Ahmadnagar and inflicted a severe defeat on the Mughal deputy governor, taking him prisoner and levying *Cauth* on the surrounding country.

Aurangzeb's ambition to crush the Marāṭhās could not be realised. Sick at heart the aged emperor died at Ahmadnagar on February 20, 1707. The Mughals now connived at the activities of Śāhū, Sambhājī's son, who had spent eighteen years in the Mughal camp. In May 1707, Śāhū escaped from the Mughal camp near Bhopāl. Arriving in the Deccan, he claimed the Marāṭhā throne then occupied by Tārā Bāī's son, Śivājī II. In the contest that followed, Śāhū was able to establish partially his claim. He was strongly supported by Bālājī Viśvanāth, whom he appointed later (1713) as his Peśwā. The most important achievement of the first Peśwā, it is believed, was to obtain a *farmān* of *Swarāj* from the Syed brothers in the name of the puppet emperor at Delhi and the right to collect *Cauth* and *Sardeśmukhī* in return for certain services to be rendered to the emperor. These arrangements were repudiated by Farrukhsiyar who was dethroned but were ratified in the name of the sick and helpless Rafīu'ddarajāt (March 1719). This so called *Magna Carta* of the Marāṭhā dominion ushered in a new era of Marāṭhā expansion and gave reorientation to the Marāṭhā State which in course of time grew into a loose confederacy.

Śāhū continued to rule till A.D. 1749. He showed great understanding of the problems facing the Marāṭhā state. His selection of young Bājī Rāo to succeed his father Bālājī Viśvanāth as Peśwā (1720) was admirable; by his statesmanship and soldierly qualities Bājī Rāo amply justified the faith shown in him by his master. The Niẓām, who was the *Ṣūbadār* of the Deccan, Gujarāt and Mālwa, had ambitions of establishing his own dynasty in these areas. Jealous of the growing power of the Marāṭhās, he intrigued with various Marāṭhā dissident elements. He instigated Sambhājī of Kolhāpur against the Sātāra throne occupied by Śāhū and intrigued with the Dhābādes in Gujarāt to defeat Bājī Rāo's policy. But Bājī Rāo outmanouvred the Niẓāmul Mulk at Palkhed near Aurangābād and imposed a settlement on him (1727). The Niẓām, though humbled, continued his intrigues against the Marāṭhās. Bājī Rāo firmly established Marāṭhā rule in Mālwa by 1738, when he once again humbled the Niẓām and obtained from the emperor *sanads* for Mālwa.

The occupation of Mālwa by the Marāṭhās, the defeat of the Dhābādes

at Dabhoi in Gujarāt and the treaty of Warna by which Śāhū won over Sambhājī of Kolhāpur, neutralized for a time the mischief-making proclivities of the Niẓām. The Sindias, the Holkars and the Pawārs now rose to eminence in Mālwa, the Gāikwārs in Gujarāt and the Bhosles in Nāgpur.

An outstanding achievement of the Marāṭhās under Bājī Rāo was the capture of Bassein from the Portuguese. The campaign against the Portuguese was conducted by Cimnājī Appā, the younger brother of the Peśwā. At this time Bājī Rāo himself was busy in Mālwa. Immediately after his return to Sātāra he heard of Nādir Shāh's invasion. Bājī Rāo's reaction was significant. In a letter to his brother he says, "Appā, if foreign rule is established, it will engulf all". On his way to Delhi to repel Nādir Shāh, Bājī Rāo heard that the invader had left the imperial capital for Persia.

On Bājī Rāo's untimely death at Raver on April 28, 1740, Chatrapati Śāhū once again showed his unerring judgement: he invested Bājī Rāo's young son Bālājī with the robes of Peśwāship. The office of the Peśwā now became hereditary, as agreed to by Śāhū at the time of his death in 1749. Under Bālājī's leadership, the Marāṭha power extended both in the south and in the north. Ḥaidar 'Alī, then a rising general in Mysore, Bussy, the Frenchman, and Niẓām 'Alī Khān of Hyderābād tried to check the southern progress of the Marāṭhās, but their success was only partial. Sadāśiva Rāo, Bālājī's cousin, inflicted a defeat on the Niẓām at Udgīr (1760), and once again affirmed Marāṭhā superiority in the politics of Southern India. In the North, Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī had been indulging in sporadic campaigns from 1748. He had even occupied the Punjab for a time. Two parties now came into existence in Delhi: one led by Ghāziu'd-dīn of Avadh was in favour of close co-operation with the Marāṭhās in order to meet the menace of Abdālī; the other, led by Najīb Khān Rohilla, advocated a union of all Muslims to keep the Marāṭhās out of Delhi politics. One thing stands out clearly. The Marāṭhās took upon themselves the role of protecting the Chaghtāī throne of Delhi. Rāghūnāth Rāo, the Peśwā's brother, occupied the Punjab for a time. Aḥmad Shāh, encouraged by the Rohilla party, drove the Marāṭhās out of the Punjab, and Dattājī Śindia who made a brave but futile attempt to check Abdālī died in an encounter at Kunjpura. Sadāśiva Rāo, the hero of Udgīr, now moved north to deal a final blow to Abdālī and drive him out of India. The two sides massed their forces near Pānīpat north of Delhi. Attacks and counter-attacks, rallies and sorties went on for a couple of months. The final battle was fought on January 14, 1761, resulting in the defeat of the Marāṭhās. This was the memorable third battle of Pānīpat. It crippled the Marāṭhā state for a time and put a temporary stop to Marāṭhā activities in Hindustān. Phoenix-like the Marāṭhā state regenerated itself only to find a trading power from overseas making a bid for supremacy in India.

(b) Sikhs

Guru Nānak, whose religious teachings laid the foundations of Sikhism, was born at Talwandi (Pakistan) in A.D. 1469. He lived and worked in an age of disintegration. The first significant utterance of Guru Nānak as a religious teacher and reformer—"there is no Hindu and there is no Mussalman"—has been variously interpreted. An attack on blind conventionalism, it was a message of truth and peace. A simple monotheistic faith found utterance in Guru Nānak's hymns. After wandering for years he settled down in the Punjab and died in A.D. 1539.

Guru Nānak nominated his disciple Lehanā (Guru Angad) as his successor. He started the work of collecting and compiling Guru Nānak's hymns. His successor Guru Amar Dās (A.D. 1552–1574) divided the Sikh spiritual empire into twenty-two parishes or *manjīs*, each under a pious and devoted Sikh. The *langar* or the free kitchen maintained by voluntary offerings had already become a source of Sikh unity and solidarity. Guru Amar Dās introduced many innovations which helped in the building of a Sikh church. Guru Amar Dās was succeeded by his son-in-law Guru Rāma Dās. He had a tank dug at the site granted to his wife by emperor Akbar. He also laid the foundations of Amritsar which was destined to become the religious capital of the Sikhs. He died in A.D. 1581 and his son, Guru Arjun built the Harimandir (Temple of God) in the midst of the tank. In A.D. 1604 the compilation of *Granth Sāhib* was completed and it was placed in the Harimandir. The Sikhs formed a compact community with an extensive organization and a religious leader at its head.

Guru Arjun became somewhat implicated in Khusraw's rebellion against Jahāngīr. This gave the emperor a pretext for his execution (A.D. 1606). This was the turning point in the history of Sikhism. The Sikhs took to arms in self-defence. Guru Har Govind, son and successor of Guru Arjun, enlisted a body of troops. Taken to Delhi and then imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, he was released in A.D. 1611. There followed a period during which the Guru was at peace with the Mughal government even while his military set up continued. Then came a period of open hostilities and the transformation of Sikhism began. The Guru withdrew to the mountainous region of the Punjab. He died in A.D. 1645 and was succeeded, according to his choice, by Har Rāi, one of his grandsons. Guru Har Govind demonstrated the possibility of the Sikhs opposing the Mughals.

Guru Har Rāi (A.D. 1645–1661) wanted to live peacefully though he continued to maintain a small army and the missionary efforts also went on unabated. But he could not escape trouble and is said to have blessed Dārā Shukoh. When Aurangzeb emerged triumphant from the fratricidal war, he summoned the Guru to Delhi. The Sikh leader sent his elder son Rāma

Rāi to Delhi to represent him. He was succeeded by his younger son, Har Kishan (A.D. 1661–1664), a boy of five who died soon after. Then Teg Bahadur, the youngest son of Guru Har Govind, succeeded him. Guru Teg Bahādur, the ninth Guru, attached himself to the Rājā of Amber, Rāma Singh, and accompanied him to Assam. He was for some time in Patna and then returned to the Punjab. He strengthened in many ways the spirit of resistance against the religious intolerance of Aurangzeb. He was taken to Delhi and beheaded (A.D. 1675).

Sikhism seemed to be threatened with extinction. Guru Govind Singh, the tenth Guru and son and successor of the executed leader, found himself was in a very difficult position. The hill chiefs of the Punjab tried at first to oppose him but were defeated. As Mughal administration had broken down in the Punjab hills, the hill chiefs joined the Guru against the local *faujdār*. But when they submitted again to the Mughal government, the Guru became completely isolated and had to depend upon the strength of his followers. His mission was now proclaimed as one of 'spreading the faith, saving the saints and extirpating all tyrants'. He revitalized the Sikhs by giving them a new ideology and a new plan of action. He suppressed the organization of *masands*, collectors of the offerings of the Sikhs, since they had become corrupt. Laying new foundations for the old religion, he created what was henceforth known as the *Khālsā*. A great open air gathering of the Sikhs was convened and the Guru selected five of his followers who were prepared to lay down their lives. Those 'Five Beloved Ones' (*Pañj Piyāre*) received a new sacrament which has been described as a "sacrament of steel". In place of humility and surrender came self-assertion and self-reliance. The assembled Sikhs, including the Guru himself, took their initiation from the "Five Beloved Ones". Guru Govind Singh declared that those who accepted the new method of initiation formed the *Khālsā*: "the *Khālsā* is the Guru and the Guru is the *Khālsā*". The Sikhs were to wear the five emblems—*Keśa* or long hair, *Kacchā* or short breaches, *Kaḍā* or iron bangle, *Kirpān* or sword and *Kaṅghā* or comb. Thus was created 'a compact brotherhood in faith which was also to be a brotherhood in arms'. The Sikhs were to find spiritual leadership in the *Guru Granth Sāhib* and temporal leadership in the *Khālsā*.

The hill chiefs were alarmed. They made a pact with the local Mughal officers and besieged Anandpur where the Guru had his residence. The Guru evacuated the fort and in a battle that followed the Guru was defeated and his two elder sons Ajīt Singh and Jujhār Singh were slain. In the confusion of the fight his two younger sons, Zorāwar Singh and Fath Singh, with their grandmother, were separated. They escaped to a place near Sirhind where they were surrendered to Wazīr Khān, governor of Sirhind, who had the boys executed. The Guru's mother died when she heard the news of the execution. The Guru next took up his position

at Kot Kapura where Wazīr Khān launched an attack. But the Guru was victorious. He withdrew to Patiāla, resting awhile. Here a large number of people embraced Sikhism. The Guru wanted to acquaint the Mughal emperor with the misdeeds of the Mughal officials. But Aurangzeb having died, he attached himself to Bahādur Shāh whom he accompanied from the battlefield of Jajau to Delhi and Āgra and then to Rājputānā and the South. He was assassinated by a Pathān at a place called Nanded on the Godāvari. Wazīr Khān of Sirhind was probably the real instigator of the murder. Thus Guru Govind Singh's efforts to come to an understanding with the central government failed. He left to Bandā the task of accomplishing by force what appeal to justice had failed to achieve. The Guru died in 1708. He "released a new dynamic force into the arena of Indian history" and the ordeal of the Sikh war of independence followed.

The Sikh guruship ended with Guru Govind Singh. Bandā, entrusted with the military command of the followers of the tenth Guru, left for the Punjab where he led a crusade against Wazīr Khān of Sirhind. A battle was fought in which Wazīr Khān was defeated and killed, and Sirhind was sacked. Bandā established himself in a strong hill-fort which he named Lohgarh. A general Sikh uprising made Bahādur Shāh march against the Sikhs. Lohgarh was besieged and taken, but Bandā escaped with many of his followers. Bahādur Shāh died in Lahore in 1712, and battles of succession held up the campaign against Bandā. After Farrukhsiyar's success in defeating and killing Jahāndār Shāh, the drive against the Sikhs began again. 'Abdu's Ṣamad Khān, the Mughal governor of Lahore, ultimately succeeded in defeating and capturing Bandā with his followers. They were put to death at Delhi (1716).

The Sikhs kept quiet for some time. Dhakariyā Khān, who succeeded 'Abdu's Ṣamad Khān, tried to follow a policy of firmness and kindness. The Sikhs now and then created disturbances and then fled to the hills or to impenetrable forests. In 1738, Bhāī Manī Singh, one of the most respected Sikh leaders, was put to death and became a martyr. The Sikh bands gradually organized themselves under a leader Kapūr Singh. Nādir Shāh's invasion in 1739 was a landmark in the history of the rise of the Sikh power. Their depredations now increased in intensity. They even plundered the baggage of Nādir returning with the spoils of India. Dhakariyā Khān, governor of the Punjab, died in 1745, and his sons started quarrelling among themselves. The Sikhs took advantage of the decline of Mughal authority and organized independent *jatthās* into one army, the *Dal Khālsā*, under Jassā Singh. Mīr Mannū, the next governor of the Punjab, could not give his undivided attention to the suppression of the Sikhs for Aḥmad Shāh Abdalī invaded in 1747 and again in 1751, and the Mughal emperor Aḥmad Shāh had to cede Lahore and Multān to the invader.

The war of independence fought by the Sikhs entered its second phase, and they arrived through a series of reverses to complete victory. They fully utilized the local distractions. Abdālī came again in 1756 and left his son Tīmūr Shāh as governor of the Punjab. The new ruler desecrated the shrine at Amritsar and killed many Sikhs. This resulted in a general Sikh uprising. At this point the Marāṭhās appeared in the Punjab and drove Tīmūr Shāh out. The train of events led ultimately to the third battle of Pānīpat on January 14, 1761.

(c) Jāts

The Jāts form a considerable part of the rural population of Haryana, the Punjab, the western regions of the Gaṅgā Doāb, and Eastern Rājputānā. During the ancient and medieval periods the Jāts were known for being hardy agriculturists, doughty warriors, and daring robbers of caravans. They were employed as mercenary soldiers by Hindu as well as Muslim kings. However, they did not attain political importance till the second half of the 17th century. The ambition of some of the Jāt *zamīndārs* of the Āgra region to establish an independent principality brought them into conflict with the Mughal government. It also aroused the hostility of the Rājpūts who held extensive *zamīndārī* in the area and of the neighbouring Rājpūt state of Amber. Later, the Jāts clashed also with the Afghāns who formed numerous settlements in the Doāb region and held many *zamīndārīs*, particularly in Mewāt.

In A.D. 1669, there was a serious uprising of the Jāts near Mathura under the leadership of Gokla, the *zamīndār* of Tilpat. The Jāts mustered 20,000 men. The *faujdār* of Mathura was defeated and killed and the trouble extended almost to the district of Āgra. The rising was suppressed by Ḥasan 'Alī Khān. Gokla was captured and cut to pieces.

In A.D. 1685 when Aurangzeb was involved in the Deccan, the Jāts again started pillaging and brigandage under the leadership of Rājārāma and Rāma Cehrā, the *zamīndārs* of Sinsani and Soghor. They made the high road to the South unsafe. The governor of Āgra could not suppress them. The Jāts built numerous mud-forts (*garhīs*) which served as places of refuge. Aghar Khān, a very able general of Aurangzeb, was killed owing to his rashness. The Jāts became more aggressive and plundered the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra. Desultory fighting continued until at last Rājā Bishan Singh Kachwāha of Amber, who had been appointed *faujdār* of Mathura, stormed the Jāt stronghold of Sinsani (A.D. 1690) and stemmed the rising power of these people.

Cūrāman, a nephew of Rājārāma, succeeded to the leadership of Jāts. He recovered Sinsani from the Mughals in 1704 but soon lost it again. Three years later he submitted to Bahādur Shāh, the son and

successor of Aurangzeb, and obtained from him an imperial rank (*manṣab*) and charge of the royal highway from the border of Delhi to Āgra. In Bahādur Shāh's Sikh campaign he served against Bandā Bahādur. When Bahādur Shāh died at Lahore (1712) and civil war broke out among his sons, Cūrāman unscrupulously plundered the regions held by various contestants. During the next few years he utilized the growing feebleness of the Mughal empire and dissensions at the court to take possession of several areas in the Āgra region, and to build a new stronghold at Thun (about 19 km. west of Sinsani). Efforts of successive governors of Āgra *Ṣūba* to bring him to book having failed, Farrukhsiyar summoned Rājā Jai Singh Sawāi, the ruler of Amber, and commissioned him to lead an expedition against Cūrāman (1716). Jai Singh made extensive preparations and besieged Thun with 50,000 men. But due to lack of support from the Syed brothers who dominated the affairs at Delhi, he made very slow progress. At the instance of Syed 'Abdullah Khān, the *Wazīr*, Cūrāman was pardoned (1718). In return for a promise to surrender his strongholds, Thun, Dīg etc. and to pay an indemnity of fifty lakhs of rupees, he was restored to his former charge and allowed to retain his possession.

Cūrāman served the Syed brothers in a number of expeditions following the deposition of Farrukhsiyar (1719), and was rewarded by promotion to the rank of 5,000 in the Mughal peerage. But the loss of political power by the Syed brothers (1720), and Cūrāman's continued defiance of imperial authority brought a renewed invasion of his territory under the command of Rājā Jai Singh Sawāi. The Rājā systematically cut down the thick jungles around Thun and took the fort by storm (1721). Cūrāman had died a short time before. Thun and other Jāt strongholds were levelled to the ground; and a nephew of Cūrāman, Badan Singh, who had sided with Rājā Jai Singh, succeeded to the hereditary possessions.

Badan Singh (1722–1756) styled himself a feudatory of Jai Singh, adopting the humble title of Ṭhākur. Till his old age he regularly attended Jai Singh's *Dussehrā Durbār* at Amber. He strengthened his position by gradually building up a system of administration and entering into matrimonial relations with the more important Jāt chiefs. Expanding his territories unobstrusively he adopted the manners and etiquette of the Mughal court. He is also credited with having converted Bharatpur, Dīg and Kūmher into strongly fortified centres. Badan Singh may accordingly be regarded as the real founder of the Jāt state of Bharatpur.

The Jāt kingdom attained its zenith under Sūraj Mal (1756–1765), the adopted son and successor of Badan Singh, who had gradually relegated to him the direction of state affairs. One of Sūraj Mal's early exploits was the capture of Bharatpur from Khem Karan Sogāria, the old ally of Rājārāma Jāt. Mewāt and the Jāt areas across the river Yamunā were the chief spheres of Sūraj Mal's expansionist activities. While laying

hold of many areas in Mewāt, Sūraj Mal maintained friendly relations with the Mughal government through the *Wazīr*, Qamaru'd-dīn Khān. In 1745 he led a Jāt contingent in emperor Muḥammad Shāh's campaign against 'Alī Muḥammad Rohilla. Later, he helped the Mughal *faujdār* of Alīgarh against local rebels and gained a foothold in the area. Following the death of Rājā Jai Singh of Amber, Sūraj Mal led a contingent of 10,000 troops to the aid of his eldest son, Īśvarī Singh, whose claim was being contested by a younger brother, Mādho Singh. Sūraj Mal gave a valiant account of himself in the battle of Bagrū (1748), defeating a Marāṭhā contingent under Malhār Rāo Holkar. He gained fresh laurels after two years by humbling Ṣalābat Khān, the Mughal *Bakhshī*, who had advanced into Mewāt to recover some of his *jāgīrs* from the Jāṭs.

When Safdar Jang became *Wazīr* at Delhi, he decided to extirpate the Bangash Afghāns of Farrukhābād and their Rohilla allies, both of whom he regarded as barriers to his ambition of bringing the entire Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb under his control. The interests of Sūraj Mal and Safdar Jang were by no means identical, but the Jāt Rājā joined Ṣafdar Jang, partly for money and partly because he considered the Afghāns' ambitions a more immediate threat to the rising Jāṭ power. While these campaigns showed the real weakness of Safdar Jang's position, forcing him to turn to the Marāṭhās for support, the Jāt contingent acquitted itself creditably. For Sūraj Mal's part in the campaign against the Rohillas (1751), the grateful *Wazīr* induced the emperor to make Badan Singh a Rājā with the title of Mahendra, and Sūraj Mal a Kumār Bahādur with the title of Rājendra (October 20, 1752). Sūraj Mal was also appointed *faujdār* of Mathura. This greatly increased the prestige of the Jāt Rājā and also placed him in a favourable position for extending his control across the Yamunā into the Doāb. Sūraj Mal supported Safdar Jang in his abortive civil war against the emperor (1753), and thoroughly looted Delhi in the process. But after Safdar Jang's defeat he made terms with the emperor through the new *Wazīr*.

The growth of Jāt power in the Doāb alarmed other elements, while the reputed wealth of the Jāt ruler aroused the cupidity of the Marāṭhās. Malhār Rāo Holkar demanded a huge amount as ransom from him and, on his refusal to pay, invaded his territories in alliance with the imperial *Bakhshī*, 'Imādu'l Mulk, who wanted to recover his *jāgīrs* and Mewāt. The allies besieged Kūmher (1754). The siege had lasted for four months when peace was concluded through Jayappā Sindia on the Jāt Rājā's promise to pay 30 lakhs of rupees. This resistence raised the prestige of Jāt arms, although the Jāt ruler was forced to relinquish his interests in the Doāb, at least for the time being. And he considered it prudent to maintain outwardly good relations with the Marāṭhās. A civil war between Sūraj Mal and his son Jawāhir Singh, and the growing

threat from Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī with whom the Rohilla Afghāns had openly allied themselves kept the Rājā in suspense.

In 1757 the Abdālī king sacked Mathura but was unable to follow up with an attack on the Jāt strongholds. Sūraj Mal had to reckon with the hostility of the Abdālī king as well as the Afghāns, but felt he had nothing to gain from a Marāṭhā victory over them. He, therefore, treaded warily. After the defeat of the Marāṭhās and the withdrawal of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, the Jāt Rājā remained the strongest potentate in North India, his army unscathed and his treasury full. He utilized the opportunity to seize Āgra (1761) and thoroughly stripped the fort of its valuables. He had already captured Alwar in 1756 and now expanded his control in Mewāt upto and beyond Delhi into the districts of Gurgaon and Rohtak. He also overran Sikandarābād and Ballabhgarh. These expansionist activities brought him into clash with Najību'd-Daulah, the vice-regent at Delhi. The Jāt chief had the benefit of local support, while the Afghāns were more hardy and experienced fighters. The outcome of the conflict was uncertain. But in a clash on the bank of river Hindan, south-east of Delhi, Sūraj Mal rode into an ambuscade and was shot dead (December 1763).

Sūraj Mal had remarkable talents for war and diplomacy, and successfully welded the scattered Jāt *zamīndārs* near Āgra into a powerful state. Though, internally, it remained a tribal confederacy, and no new principles of administration were enunciated, the rise of a Jāt state had a definite impact on the state system of North India, and affected land holding and social developments over a large area.

H. ADVENT OF THE EUROPEANS

(a) Portuguese

The geographical discoveries of the last quarter of the 15th century produced momentous consequences in world history. The spirit of enterprise and adventure generated by these led to the discovery of new areas and new routes to distant lands bringing them into commercial relations with one another. Vasco da Gama discovered a new sea route to India and reached near the famous port of Calicut on May 17, A.D. 1498, with three vessels. The opening of the sea route to India had undoubtedly "far-reaching repercussions on the civilized world". The Portuguese were the first among the European nations to embark on adventures in the East.

The ruler of Calicut, bearing the hereditary title of Zamorin, accorded a friendly reception to Vasco da Gama and his party. His discovery of the new route to India opened great prospects of trade for his countrymen.

On his recommendation Pedro Alvarez Cabral was sent from Lisbon along this route in command of thirteen ships and 1,200 men, including Bartholomeu Dias. But due to misunderstanding between him and the ruler, the Portuguese captain had to leave Calicut for Cochin and then he returned to Portugal with his vessels laden with fabulous quantities of merchandise.

These early enterprises emboldened the Portuguese to think of diverting to themselves the entire trade of the East with Europe. The King of Portugal was ambitious enough to assume at this time the title of "Lord of the Navigation". A well-equipped fleet was organised under the command of Vasco da Gama for trade and conquests. He arrived at Calicut in October A.D. 1502. His relations with the Zamorin were far from friendly. In their ambition to gain exclusive commercial supremacy in the Eastern seas the Portuguese were bent on depriving the merchants of other nations, mainly the Arabs, of the benefits of trade and even molested them. On November 3, Vasco da Gama sailed for Cochin and established a factory there.

The year A.D. 1505 saw the beginning of a new era in the history of Portuguese India. In order to consolidate the position of the Portuguese in India and to destroy Muslim trade by seizing Aden, Ormuz and Malacca, the King of Portugal decided to appoint a governor in India for a three-year term, with a sufficient force to protect the Portuguese settlements there. Francisco de Almeida was appointed to this post with special instructions to erect fortresses at Kilwa, Anjadiva, Kannanur and Cochin, and he reached India in September A.D. 1505. His viceroyalty was marked by conflicts with the Muslim powers in the Peninsula. The Sulṭān of Egypt also sent one of his specially organized fleets which inflicted a severe defeat on the Portuguese in January A.D. 1508. But Almeida engaged the Muslim fleets off Diu and won a victory (February A.D. 1509).

On November 5, A.D. 1509 Almeida was succeeded by Affonso de Albuquerque, who is regarded as the real founder of Portuguese power in India. Albuquerque had first come to this country in A.D. 1503 as a naval commander, and the new appointment was given to him in recognition of his earlier satisfactory work. He wanted to make Goa the headquarters of the Portuguese in India. In November A.D. 1510 he succeeded in capturing Goa, a rich port which then belonged to the Sulṭān of Bijāpur. Reporting this success to the King of Portugal, Albuquerque wrote on December 22, A.D. 1510: "My determination now is to prevent any Moor entering Goa, to leave a sufficient force of men and ships in the place, then with another fleet visit the Red sea and Ormuz".

Bitter persecution of Muslims was one serious drawback of Albuquerque's policy. This could have been due to his resolve to further the interests of his countrymen by complete extinction of Muslim commercial interests

in the East. During his rule Albuquerque did his best to strengthen the fortifications of Goa and enhance its commercial importance. In order to secure a permanent Portuguese population in India he encouraged his men to take Indian wives. Albuquerque's activities extended outside India as well. He brought Malacca and Ormuz under his control. Having contributed much to the establishment of Portuguese influence in the East, he died at the age of seventy-three (December 16, A.D. 1515).

Another somewhat important Portuguese viceroyality in India was that of Nino da Cunha who reached India in November A.D. 1529. Early in the following year he shifted the headquarters of his government from Cochin to Goa. When Humāyūn came into conflict with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, the latter enlisted Portuguese support by ceding to them in A.D. 1534 the island of Bassein with its dependencies and revenues, and also promised to allow them a footing at Diu. But after Humāyūn's withdrawal (A.D. 1536) the relations between Bahādur Shāh and the Portuguese ceased to be friendly. To stop clashes between the Portuguese and the people of the town, Bahādur wanted a wall of partition to be erected. The Portuguese opposed this. Negotiations followed. Bahādur was invited to a Portuguese ship and killed. During Cunha's viceroyality attempts were also made to extend Portuguese influence in Bengal by settling many Portuguese there with Hooghly as their headquarters.

Garcia de Noronha succeeded Nino da Cunha as the Portuguese governor in India (September A.D. 1538). The Sulṭān of Turkey, who had been in possession of Egypt since A.D. 1517, sent a combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet against the Portuguese in India. Diu was besieged (October A.D. 1538) but the Portuguese ably defended the place against the assailants. In March A.D. 1539, Noronha entered into a treaty with Bahādur Shāh's successor under which the Portuguese were allowed to retain Diu along with a third of the custom receipts from the fort. A treaty was concluded also with the Zamorin of Calicut, the Portuguese securing some important privileges (January A.D. 1540); this lasted for thirty years.

Gradually the Portuguese established other important settlements in India: Damān, Salsette, Chaul and Bombay, St Thome (Mylapore) near Madras and Hooghly in Bengal. They also extended their authority over the greater part of Ceylon. The arrival in India of the famous Jesuit saint Francisco Xavier in the company of the Portuguese governor Martim Affonso de Sousa in A.D. 1542, was an event of great significance, since it marked the beginning of 'ecclesiastical supremacy' in Portuguese India.

The fortunes of the Portuguese in India began to decline after the death of Dom João de Castro, an able governor (June A.D. 1548), and in course of time, they lost most of their Indian possessions with the exception of Goa, Daman & Diu. They lost Hooghly during the reign of emperor

Shāh Jahān in 1632;and Salsette and Bassein were captured by the Marāṭhās in A.D. 1739.

By the 18th century the Portuguese in India lost their commercial influence, though some of them still carried on trade in their individual capacity and many took to piracy and robbery. This.decline was brought about by several factors. The religious intolerance of the Portuguese caused resentment—this was heightened with the arrival of Franciscan missionaries in A.D. 1517. Goa became the centre of an immense propaganda. Dishonest trade practices reacted likewise. The discovery of Brazil diverted colonizing activities of Portugal to the West. The union of the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal in A.D. 1581, dragging the smaller kingdom into Spain's wars with England and Holland, badly affected Portuguese monopoly of trade in India. Finally, the Portuguese failed to compete successfully with the other European trading companies who came to India after them. During the first half of the 17th century the contest was triangular—between the Portuguese and the Dutch, between the Portuguese and the English, and between the Dutch and the English.

(b) Dutch

Commercial enterprise led the Dutch also to undertake voyage to the East. Cornelis de Houtman was the first Dutchman who, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, reached Sumatra and Bantam in A.D. 1596. This gave the Dutch much encouragement for further enterprise, and in course of the next few years new companies for the Indian trade were formed. These were amalgamated by the States-General with the grant of a Charter, dated March 20, A.D. 1602., into the United East India Company of the Netherlands. Besides being vested with the exclusive right to trade in all countries between the Straits of Magellan, and the Cape of Good Hope, this Company was "empowered to carry on war, to conclude treaties, to take possession of territory and to erect fortresses". The Dutch captured Amboyna from the Portuguese in A.D. 1605 and gradually displaced them from the Spice Islands in A.D. 1619. They captured Jacatra, and their famous Governor-General, Jan Pieteroovn Coen, raised Batavia on its ruins as the seat of the Supreme Government. They blockaded Goa (1639), seized Malacca (1641), and occupied the last Portuguese settlement in Ceylon (1658). Profitable trade in pepper and spices of the islands of Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas took the Dutch to those places.

Commerce drew the Dutch to India also, where they established factories on the Coromondel Coast, in Gujarāt, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and

Bihār. Their principal factories were at Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Bimlipatam (1641) Chinsurā (1653), Barānagore, Kāsimbāzār (near Murshidābād), Balasore, Patna, Negapatam (1658) and Cochin (1663).

By removing Portuguese influence the Dutch gained monopoly of the spice trade in the East throughout the 17th century. They carried from India to the islands of the Far East various articles such as indigo manufactured in the Yamunā valley and Central India, textiles and silk from Bengal, Gujarāt and Coromandal, saltpetre from Bihār and opium and rice from the Gaṅgā valley.

The 17th century was also marked by protracted and bitter commercial rivalry between the English and the Dutch not only in Europe but also in the East for command of the Eastern seas and monopoly of sea-borne trade. In A.D. 1623 the massacre of ten Englishmen and nine Japanese at Amboyna marked "the climax of Dutch hatred of the English" in the East.

While the Dutch were drawn more and more to the Malay Archipelago, the English concentrated their attention on India. Dutch hostility to the English in India, however, continued. In the Third Anglo-Dutch War (A.D. 1672-74) communications between Surat and the new English settlement of Bombay were constantly threatened, and three homebound English ships were captured in the Bay of Bengal. Defeat in the battle near Hooghly (November, 1759) dealt a crushing blow to Dutch ambitions in India.

(c) English

Drake's voyage round the world in A.D. 1580 and England's spectacular victory over the Spanish Armada were outstanding events in British history: they generated in the British mind a new enthusiasm and spirit of enterprise and encouraged sea captains to make voyages to the Eastern waters. It was on December 31, A.D. 1600, that the first momentous step was taken in respect of England's trade in the East by the incorporation, under a Charter from Queen Elizabeth, of the East India Company under its first title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies". Monopoly of trade in the East was granted to it for fifteen years. A fresh Charter was granted to the East India Company in May A.D. 1609, and its privileges were extended indefinitely. In the early years the Company sent independent fleets, each organized by a group of merchants who divided the profits among themselves.

The Company had to face numerous difficulties. One was the determined opposition of their commercial rivals, the Portuguese and the

Dutch. In A.D. 1611 the Portuguese turned back three English ships under the command of Sir Henry Middleton who tried to make a landing at Surat. But the following year the Portuguese were defeated in naval engagements off Swally Hole (near Surat) by Captain Thomas Best and again, in the same waters, by Nicholas Downton (A.D. 1615). The English also captured Ormuz in the Persian Gulf (A.D. 1622). In A.D. 1654 Cromwell forced Portugal to acknowledge formally England's right to trade in the Eastern seas.

The first definite attempt on the part of the English to establish a factory in India was made with the arrival of Captain Hawkins at the court of Jahāngīr in April A.D. 1609. But the mission did not bear fruit because of the hostile activities of the Portuguese, and Captain Hawkins left Āgra in November A.D. 1611. After Captain Thomas Best's victories Jahāngīr issued a *farmān* early in A.D. 1613 permitting the English to establish a factory at Surat under Thomas Aldworth. Two years later, Sir Thomas Roe visited the Mughal court as an accredited ambassador of James I and stayed in India till February A.D. 1619. Roe's object of concluding a commercial treaty with the Mughal emperor was not fulfilled, but he secured certain privileges for the Company, including permission to establish factories at different places within the Mughal empire. Before his departure from India the English had set up factories at Āgra, Surat, Ahmadābād and Broach. These were kept under the authority of the chief factor at Surat factory, who also controlled the Company's trade with the Red Sea ports and Persia.

Anglo-Dutch hostilities in A.D. 1652-54 drew the English and the Portuguese closer on the western coast of India. According to a secret article in the marriage treaty of A.D. 1661 with Portugal, the Portuguese possessions in the East were guaranteed by England against the Dutch, and the island of Bombay was included as a part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, the new queen of Charles II. In A.D. 1668 Charles II transferred Bombay to the Company on an annual payment of ten pounds. Bombay gradually rose to prosperity during the administration of Sir George Oxenden (A.D. 1662-1669), Gerald Aungier (A.D. 1669-1677), and Sir John Child (A.D. 1682-1690), and the seat of the Western Presidency was shifted there from Surat in A.D. 1687.

On the south-east coast of India the English had started a factory in A.D. 1611 at Masulipatam. Their position was improved by the '*Golden Farmān*' granted to them by the Sulṭān of Golconda in A.D. 1632. This gave them the privilege of trading freely in the ports of Golconda on payment of 500 *pagodas* a year as duties. In A.D. 1639 Francis Day, a British merchant and member of the Masulipatam Council, who was responsible for opening the factory at Armagon, obtained from the ruler of Chandragiri, a representative of the decayed Vijayanagar empire, permission to build a fortified factory at Madras, known as Fort St George. Two

years later Fort St George superseded Masulipatam as the headquarters of the English settlements on the east coast.

By this time the English had extended their trading activities to the north-east and had started factories at Hariharpur in the Mahânadi delta and at Balasore (A.D. 1633). In Bengal, factories were established at Hooghly (A.D. 1651) and other places like Patna, Kâsimbâzâr and Râjmahal. In A.D. 1661 all the English settlements in Bengal, Bihâr and Orissa and on the Coromandel Coast were reorganized and made subordinate to Fort St George.

Due to various factors the Company's trade in India was on the decline during the reign of Charles I. Charles II and James II increased the powers of the Company besides confirming its old privileges.

The Company's policy in India underwent a change during this period. In view of the prevailing political disorders in India, the Company's officials sought to establish its influence on a strong basis through territorial acquisitions. Gerald Aungier wrote to the Court of Directors: "the times now require you to manage your general commerce with the sword in your hands". Approving of this policy the Court of Directors asked the Chief at Madras in December A.D. 1687 "to establish such a politie of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue ......as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, secure English dominion in India for all time to come." Sir Josia Child, a dominant personality in the Company, and his namesake, Sir John Child, who became president of Surat and governor of Bombay in A.D. 1682, tried to follow the new policy vigorously. But this involved him into trouble with the Mughal government. John Child had to submit and an agreement was reached in February 1690: the English restored all the captured Mughal vessels and were granted a licence for their trade on payment of one-and-a-half lakhs of rupees in compensation.

In spite of certain privileges granted to the Company by the *nishâns* of Shâh Shujâ (D.A. 1651), the Company's trade was occasionally obstructed by local customs officers who demanded payment of tolls. In pursuance of its changed policy, the Company wanted to have a fortified settlement at Hooghly so that force could be used if necessary. The mission of William Hedges (the first governor and agent of, the English Company in Bengal) in August A.D. 1682, to Shayista Khân, governor of Bengal, proved to be of no avail. Four years later, hostilities broke out between the English and the Mughal Government in Bengal. In retaliation for the sack of Hooghly (October A.D. 1686) the English captured the imperial forts at Thana (modern Garden Reach), raided Hijili on the east of the Midnapore district, and stormed the Mughal fortifications at Balasore. But the English were forced to leave Hooghly and to retire to an unhealthy place at the mouth of the river. Their agent, Job Charnock, opened negotiations for permission to return to Sutanuti. But hostilities were renewed

on the arrival of the Company's new agent, Captain William Heath: in November A.D. 1688 he stormed the Mughal fort at Balasore and committed inhuman atrocities on the people there. His attempt to capture Chittagong did not succeed and he sailed away for Madras on February 17, A.D. 1689. After the conclusion of peace between the Company and the Mughal government in February A.D. 1690, Job Charnock came back to Bengal as agent and reached Sutanuti on August 24, where he established an English factory on February 10, 1691. On the same day, an imperial order was issued permitting the English "to contentedly continue their trade" in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 a year in lieu of all dues. This marked the foundation of Calcutta, which was destined to develop as one of the greatest cities of the world. The rebellion of Sobhā Singh, a *zamīndār* in the district of Burdwān, gave an opportunity to the English to fortify their settlement at Ṣutanuti in A.D. 1696, and two years later they were permitted by 'Aẓīmush-Shān, governor of Bengal, to purchase the *zamīndārī* of the three villages of Sutanutī, Kalikātā and Govindpur on payment of Rs. 1,200 to the old proprietors. In 1700 the fortified settlement was named Fort William and became the seat of a Presidency; Sir Charles Eyre was its first President.

Growing prosperity of the East India Company under Charles II and James II excited the jealousy of its enemies and after the Revolution of A.D. 1688 the Whigs, with their enhanced influence, opposed its monopoly of trade. A rival company was formed and it deputed Sir William Norris as its ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb (January 1701-April 1702) to gain trading privileges for itself. The new Company, however, proved a failure. Under pressure from the Crown and Parliament, the two companies agreed to a union in 1702. This was actually effected in 1708 after the arbitration of the Earl of Godolphin. They were amalgamated under the title of "The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies".

The period from 1708 upto the middle of the 18th century, when political motives began to dominate, saw the expansion of the Company's trade and influence in India, and the impediments which appeared as a sequel to the disintegration of the Mughal empire were easily overcome. The most important event in the history of the Company during these years was the diplomatic mission led by John Surman in 1715 to the court of the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar, resulting in the grant of three famous *farmāns* addressed to officials in Bengal, Hyderābād and Gujarāt. The *farmāns* gave the company many valuable privileges. In Bengal it exempted the Company's imports and exports from additional customs duties excepting the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 as settled earlier. The Company was allowed to rent additional lands around Calcutta. In Hyderābād, the Company's old privilege of freedom from dues in trade was retained, and it had to pay only the existing rent for Madras. At

Surat, the Company was exempted from the levy of all duties for its exports and imports in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 10,000, and the coins of the Company minted at Bombay were to have currency throughout the Mughal empire.

In Bengal, Murshid Qulī Khān, its able governor, tried to control the Company in various ways and to place it on the same footing as the other traders. But on the whole the Company's trade prospered. The importance of Calcutta increased and its population grew to 100,000 by the middle of the century. In Madras, the Company carried on "peaceful commerce" and its relations with the *Ṣūbadār* of the Deccan and the Nawāb of Karnātak were cordial. Thomas Pitt, governor of Madras from A.D. 1698 to 1709, obtained from the Nawāb of Karnātak a grant of five villages near Madras in 1708 (actually occupied nine years later) and in 1734 it also got Vepery and four other settlements. In Bombay, there were some disturbances for nearly two decades due to quarrels between the Portuguese and the Marāṭhās and the exploits of Marāṭhā sea captains, notably Kānhojī Angria, on the western coast. But here also the Company's military strength and trade increased and, in 1744, Bombay had a population of 70,000 and the revenues amounted to about sixteen lakhs of rupees.

(d) French

The French appeared late on the Indian coasts, but they had a desire for "eastern traffic" since the early days of the 16th century. Their earlier attempts were foiled largely due to the opposition of the Dutch, who were determined to maintain their monopoly of eastern trade. Richelieu, one of the ablest ministers of France who did much to enhance her influence in Europe, realized the importance of trade for the development of his country. Under his guidance was granted, in A.D. 1642, the permission to sail to Madagascar and the neighbouring islands, to establish colonies and trade there.

The reign of Louis XIV, a brilliant period in the history of France in several ways, was also marked by a significant step in respect of French commercial enterprise, the urge for which was strengthened after French missionaries and travellers had succeeded in finding a land-route to India through Asia Minor. Colbert, the famous minister of Louis XIV, had a genuine desire to help his country's economic development through maritime trade, and France owed him the foundation of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* in A.D. 1664. The king also took a deep interest in this regard. Though endowed with important privileges and financed by the state, the Company frittered away its resources and energies in trying fruitlessly to revive the colonies of Madagascar. In A.D. 1667 an expedition

was sent under Francois Caron, who established first French factory in India at Surat. In A.D. 1669 Marcara founded another French factory at Masulipatam by securing a patent from the Sulṭān of Golconda. A French squadron under De la Haye encountered a fleet of the Dutch, who were in hostility with the French, near Cape Comorin on February 21, A.D. 1672. But due to the treachery, or wrong advice of the directors, Francois Caron did not act on this occasion with vigour and promptness. In July, De la Haye occupied St Thome near Madras, which the Sulṭān of Golconda had conquered from the Portuguese ten years earlier. This led to a combination of the Dutch and the Sulṭān of Golconda against the French. Faced with a critical situation De la Haye had to capitulate (September 6, A.D. 1674) and surrender St Thome to the Dutch; they allowed the Sulṭān of Golconda to reoccupy it.

Meanwhile, in A.D. 1673, Francois Martin, Director of the Masulipatam factory, obtained from Sher Khān Lodī, governor of Valikondāpuram, a site for a factory. Thus "began in modest fashion the historic role of Pondicherry". After taking charge of Pondicherry in A.D. 1674 Francois Martin developed it as a place of importance "amid the clash of arms and the clamour of falling kingdoms". In Bengal, the French laid the foundation of their famous settlement of Chandarnagar in A.D. 1690 on a site granted to them by Shāyista Khān.

The outbreak of war in Europe between the French and the Dutch, who were in alliance with the English since the Revolution of A.D. 1688, adversely affected French position in India. The Dutch occupied Pondicherry (A.D. 1693). It was restored to the French by the Treaty of Ryswick, concluded in September A.D. 1697, but the Dutch garrison did not vacate the site until two years later. Under Francois Martin's able guidance Pondicherry grew in prosperity and became the most important settlement of the French in India.

There was an unfavourable turn in the position of the French in India after the War of Spanish Succession had broken out. They had to abandon their factories at Surat, Masulipatam and Bantam by the beginning of the 18th century. Further deterioration came after the death of Francois Martin on December 31, 1706. The French Company was in a bad way until its reorganization in June 1720 as the 'Perpetual Company of the Indies'. There was again a period of progress under the two wise and active governors, Lenoir and Dumas, between 1720 and 1742. The French occupied Mauritius in 1721, and Masulipatam Calicut, Mahe and Yanam in the next two years. They took possession of Kārikal in 1739. They had only commercial objectives in view till now. Political motives appeared after 1740 with Dupleix's ambition to establish a French empire in India.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC LIFE

A. NATURE OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

1. Sultanate and Mughal Empire

The first question that arises in this context is whether the state under the Sulṭāns of Delhi and the Mughal emperors was Islamic or otherwise. This has been the subject of a lively controversy among modern historians. According to Muslim constitutional law, the world is divided into *dār-ul-ḥarb* or 'abode of war' and *dār-ul-Islām* or 'abode of Islām'; and a *dār-ul-Islām* is a country which is under the rule of a Muslim sovereign and where the ordinances of Islām have been established. The Sulṭāns of Delhi acknowledged the sovereignty of the Caliph and considered their kingdom as a part of *dār-ul-Islām* of which the Caliph was the juridical head. India under the Mughal emperors was governed by the Muslim law, *shar'*. The fact that the bold and daring 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī consulted the *Qāḍī* of Bayāna to ascertain what was legal proves the supermacy of the *shar'*; and neither he nor Muḥammad Tughluq with his revolutionary inclinations, dared violate it. Even Akbar the Great, considered infidel by orthodox Muslims, did not disregard Muslim law. In his letters[1] to 'Abdullah Khān of Bukhara, Akbar defended himself against the charge of impiety and posed as the champion of Islām. He further claimed to have introduced Islām into many lands where it had been unknown, and referred to the conversion under his regime of the churches and temples of infidels and heretics into mosques and shrines for the faithful. The *Maḥḍar* (Declaration) of A.D. 1579 made Akbar the *Imām* and *Amīr-ul-Muminīn* (Commander of the Faithful) and the chief *Mujtahid* (legal authority). It recognized the *Qurān* as the fundamental law of the state. Akbar, of course, based his government not only on the *shar'* but also on what Badāyunī calls *ḍawābiṭ* or state-laws. His own religious policy, as well as that of his two successors, was not inspired by notions of Muslim law. However, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān considered themselves as Muslim kings and, as such, not above Muslim law. Shāh Jahān, infact, took some steps towards making an Islamic state. It may, therefore, be stated that the Mughal empire, excluding the period under Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, was an Islamic state. Even so, neither under the Delhi Sulṭāns nor under the Mughal emperors did the state conform absolutely to Islamic ordinances since it had to adapt itself to realities and expediency. According to

the Muslim canon law, only the 'people of scripture' (*ahl-i-kitāb*), namely the Jews, Christians and Sabeans as well as Zoroastrians are guaranteed life, liberty and property by the Muslim state on payment of *jizyah* (poll-tax) and *kharāj* (land-tax). They are called *dhimmis* (*ahl-i-dhimma*), while all the others are described as idolators who must be killed or enslaved. This distinction between *dhimmis* and idolators among the non-Muslim population fell apart in India. In Sind the first Muslim conquerors—the Arabs—had to tolerate those who were not 'people of the scripture'. The Turkish and Afghān rulers of India followed their example. They had to treat the Hindus, who formed the vast majority of the population, with consideration and toleration out of sheer expediency, if not from choice or sympathy. In India, more than in any other country, the ordinances of Islam in respect of idolators were disregarded because of the existence of an overwhelming non-Muslim population who were not 'people of the scripture'. Firūz Shāh Tughluq confessed his helplessness in preventing Hindus from openly blowing their conches, beating drums and going daily to the river Yamunā by the side of his palace, to worship their idols. Even Aurangzeb found it impossible to rule absolutely according to Islamic law and had to concede to certain extra-Islamic practices of his predecessors. In fields relating to religion, the Hindus were allowed full freedom to have their cases tried by their own communal courts. Even in matters of property and several other non-religious affairs if both the parties were Hindus, the case was referred to the judgement of *paṇḍits* or Hindu lawyers. The land-revenue system under Muslim rulers and the ceremonies and procedure at the Mughal court bear the unmistakable evidence of Indian traditions. These deviations from Muslim law, however, did not affect the fundamental Islamic character of the state. Under the orthodox 'Abbāsid Caliphs, who were officially champions of the *Faith* the state betrayed predominantly Persian and Byzantine ideas, but was, nevertheless, Islamic.

The next question is whether the medieval Indian state was a theocracy. Here also the same controversy persists among scholars of today. The medieval state under Muslim rule was definitely a theocracy, since it had all its essential elements—the sovereignty of God and government by the direction of God through priests in accordance with divine laws. The Sulṭāns of Delhi considered themselves as deputies or assistants of the Caliph who was God's viceregent. Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh assumed the title of Caliph and the Mughal emperors, from Akbar to Aurangzeb, those of 'shadow of God', 'Caliph of God', and 'agent of God on earth'. The sovereignty of God was unquestioned. The supremacy of the *shar'* was always acknowledged, though Akbar added to the *shar'* the state-laws. Under him and his two immediate successors, Islamic law ceased to be the exclusive code of government.

Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān, however, did not regard themselves as above Muslim law and the former even assumed the role of 'protector' of Islām and *shar'*. The *shar'* is based on the *Qurān*, the word of God, and *hadīth* or the Prophet's interpretations of the word of God. Hence, the *shar'* consists of divine commands and not human ordinances. There was no ordained priesthood in medieval India as Islām has no priesthood. There was, however, the body of *'ulamā'* which had a strong influence on the state. 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Muḥammed Tughluq wanted to get rid of them, but they rose to their height under Muḥammad's nephew Firūz. Even a powerful ruler like Sher Shāh, who tamed the unruly nobles, found it expedient to listen to the advice of the *'ulamā'* in his dealings with Pūranā Mal of Raisen. There was a slump in their authority during 'Alāu'd-dīn's regime and even an eclipse of their power under Akbar, but they remained an influence all through the medieval period. The *'ulamā'* virtually served the function of the priestly class, though they did not form an ordained clergy or hereditary priesthood or claimed 'sacredotal immunity from error'. From the *'ulamā'* were recruited *ṣadrs, muftīs, mīr-adls,* and *qāḍīs* who interpreted the law and advised the king in all matters of administration. The state under the Muslim rulers of India with the exception of Akbar and Jahāngīr, was, therefore, a theocracy.

This description, however, does not exhaust the points of controversy as to the nature of the state. Was the Delhi Sultanate or the Mughal empire a culture state or a police state? Some scholars think that the Sultanate of Delhi was a full-fledged culture state and it was on par with the Mughal empire. There are others who maintain that it was merely a police state. Defence, law and order and the collection of revenue were its primary concern. In other matters, it followed a policy of *laissez-faire*. Welfare of the people was not the primary concern of the Sulṭāns. They did not hesitate to sacrifice even the interest of their creed at the altar of their personal ambition. The people were for the state, not the state for the people. The state rendered a few benevolent functions under some of the Sutlāns in respect of the Muslim citizens. "The guiding principle of the Sulṭāns was benevolence; they aspired to serve and protect 'the servants of God' entrusted to their care." The non-Muslims were not treated as 'the servants of God'. The schools, colleges, hospitals, inns, caravanserais and free kitchens for the poor, established by these Sulṭāns catered mostly to the needs of the Muslims who formed a small minority of the population. The benevolence of even the most considerate among them, Firūz Tughluq, was confined to the Muslim community. 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī's healthy measures of reform were inspired by military considerations. Further, these benevolent measures were religious benefactions of the Sulṭāns for gaining personal merit rather than acts of state. The educational institutions subsidized by

them served as academies for training *'ulamā'* for the service of the state church and did not aim primarily at educating the people. The patronage of art and literature was for the personal satisfaction of the Sulṭāns and not for the promotion of national culture. The Sultanate of Delhi, which could not control the provincial administration and make the state an organic whole by devising well-ordered provincial and local government, was not in a position to undertake responsibility for the multifarious aspects of the people's life—social, moral, economic and cultural. These were left to the communities themselves. Even the administration of the vast rural areas was the concern of the village councils. The state intervened only in cases of violent crime or rebellion against the king. This is not to say that the state followed absolute *laissez-faire* out of respect for village self-government. It did so because it was too weak to shoulder the burden of administering such a vast area. Not only was the Sultanate weak as a state, but it could not also extend toleration to the majority of its subjects. Toleration under the Sulṭāns was the exception rather than the rule. Apart from Zainul-Ābidīn of Kashmīr (A.D. 1420-1470), Sher Shāh was the first Muslim ruler who followed the policy of toleration. He expanded the scope of state activity because of his realization that the function of the government was not merely policing and revenue collection but also the welfare of the people. His reign was, however, too short for the translation of his ideas into action. The Sultanate could never have the will to undertake benevolent measures for the children of the soil, the preponderant majority of whom were non-Muslims. It could not, therefore, rise above the stature of a law or police state.

When we come to the Mughal empire, which properly begins with Akbar, we stand on different ground. Toleration and benevolence were the guiding principles of Akbar's government; and he gave a new orientation to the conception of the state in medieval India. Akbar considered his subjects as his children and hence held himself responsible for their welfare. According to Abū'l Faḍl, 'royalty is a light emanating from God, *farr-i-Izidī* (the divine light) and many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light'. Among them are 'a paternal love towards the subjects' and 'a large heart'. The state, as conceived by Abū'l Faḍl and established by Akbar, was universal including all human beings irrespective of sect, creed or nationality. Unlike the Islamic state, it was not confined to any particular class and was based on the principle of 'peace with all' (*Ṣulḥ-i-kul*). Abū'l Faḍl's king was just, wise, enlightened, shepherd of his people, father to his subjects, and protector of the weak. He was, above all else, cherisher of every sect and creed. 'And with all these notes of perfection, he (the king) cannot be fit for his lofty office, if he does not inaugurate universal peace (toleration) and if he does not regard all conditions of humanity and all sects of religion

with the single eye of favour—not be-mother some and be-stepmother others—he will not become fit for the exalted dignity'. Akbar followed this ideal and based his state on it. He himself expressed this feeling in his letter to 'Abdullah Khān of Bukhara. 'All this autocracy and world-rule, all this sword-bearing and clime-conquering are for the purpose of shepherding and for doing the work of watch and ward; not for the amassing of treasures of gold and silver or for decorating the throne and diadem'. 'Divine worship in monarchs', according to Akbar, 'consists in their justice and good administration'. Shāh Jahān also considered the well-being of his subjects and the protection of the weak as the duties of the monarch. If there was any period when the Mughal empire could rise to the stature of a culture state, it was definitely under Akbar. It did away with discrimination between the ruler and the ruled, between Muslims and Hindus, abolished the pilgrim tax on the Hindus and the *jizyah*, and undertook some social and moral reforms, restricting the use of wine and gambling, abolishing forced *satī* or burning of widows and compulsory widowhood, and discouraging child marriage and polygamy.

But in spite of Akbar's benevolent and enlightened policy and its partial continuation by Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān, the Mughal rule had but limited scope in its functions. It did not undertake programmes for the benfit of the people as modern governments do. It did not concern itself with education, health, public works, and the moral, social and economic life of the people, while village life was outside its scope unless there was rebellion against the king or violent crime. This was not due so much to' respect for the immemorial village autonomy', as to the policy of *laissez-faire* which the state had to follow since it found itself unequal to the burden of undertaking responsibility for the vast rural areas. The Mughal government collected the bulk of land revenue through *jāgīrdārs* and maintained the vital position of the army through *manṣabdārs*. The state did not directly bear these burdens and naturally left the villages to themselves. The various functions of a socialistic character were left to the communities or to private enterprise. Of course, as head of both the church and state for the Muslims, the emperor undertook certain socialistic functions on their behalf, such as education and charities which were the responsibility of the *Ṣadr's* department. Certain social functions were rendered by the *Kotwāl*, and the *Moḥtasib* looked after the moral aspect. But, for the vast majority of the people who were non-Muslims, these activities were left to the community or to society. Nevertheless, it is difficult to agree with the view that 'the aim of the (Mughal) government was extremely limited, materialistic and sordid'. Sordid is not the right word to use. From Sher Shāh to Shāh Jahān, we have rulers whose policy can hardly be described as sordid. They were, indeed, benevolent monarchs. They founded schools and colleges and provided endowments for their maintenance. Sher Shāh's *madrasah* at Nārnaul and Humāyūn's at Delhi.

Abū'l Faḍl's college at Fatehpur Sikri and Akbar's at Āgra, and Shāh Jahān's *madrasah* near Jāmi' Masjid at Delhi are only a few notable examples. Jahāngīr also ordered the erection of several schools. Akbar made improvements in the curricula and in the scheme of education for Hindus as well as Muslims with bias in favour of secular education. Jahāngīr abolished the barbarous practice of making eunuchs in Bengal and enforced some of the social reforms of his father. The Mughal emperors also undertook a number of public works, such as wells, tanks, canals, baths, dams, bridges, *serāis*, public kitchens, hospitals, etc. Jahāngīr ordered the erection of rest-houses and hospitals with attending physicians. The *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* refers to hospitals established by the central government for the treatment of the rich and the poor with both *yūnānī* and *āyurvedic* physicians on the staff. Akbar established stores of food grains and free kitchens and alms houses at various centres as permanent measures of poverty relief and famine insurance. His successors did not maintain such regular department. But, during Shāh Jahān's reign, when several famines occurred, he made the best efforts for providing relief, though they proved inadequate. All these activities stemmed obviously from the personal benevolence of the monarchs and were neither regular nor well-planned since they did not issue from the regular mechanism of the state.

The munificent patronage of arts and letters by the Mughal emperors and the marvellous efflorescence of Indo-Muslim culture at their courts do not make the Mughal empire a culture state. These were the personal activities of the emperors concerned and were rooted in their elegant tastes and refined pleasure. They did not primarily aim at the intellectual progress of the country. On occasions, as under Shāh Jahān when the empire was struck by severe famines, the enormous expenditure for the construction of his magnificent edifices involving extensive employment of unpaid labour must have led to huge exploitation and untold misery for the people. A culture state could not enjoy this luxury while the country was being bled. A dispassionate study does not make us share the zeal of Jahāngīr's historian when he calls the Mughal empire a culture state. However, it was undoubtedly a great advance on the *laissez-faire* police-state of the Sulṭāns of Delhi and an approach towards a culture state.

Was the medieval state a *Kriegstaat*? The main prop of the Muslim rulers who were foreigners in India, was undoubtedly their army. The Sulṭāns of Delhi as well as the Mughal emperors emphasized the importance of military force. Under 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī, the military objectives decided his policy and actions. This does not mean that the Sultanate was primarily a military state. The military department was separate from other departments of the state both at the centre and in the provinces. The provincial governor and the provincial *'Arīḍ* were independent of one another and accountable only to their respective heads at the centre. It

would be incorrect to say that the mainspring of the Sultanate was military force and its chief function was that of recruiting soldiers and employing them to keep the people under subjection.

The *manṣab* system of the Mughals has misled some to think that the Mughal government was military in character. The basis of the public service system was military and even the status and salary were regulated and controlled by military standards and regulations. This did not affect the efficiency of the civil administration or the interests of the people and in no way did it involve the subordination of the civil to the military interest. Further, the entire range of public services was not based on military organization, the lower officers of the various departments holding no *manṣab* and getting their salary in cash. Likewise, the fact that the provincial governor was called *Sipāh-sālār* has led some to believe that the provincial government too was military in character. In reality, the executive and judicial powers of the governor were limited and he had to work under a series of checks and restraints. He had no power or control over the finance department, whose head, the *Dīwān*, was independent and enjoyed parallel authority. The Mughal state was by no means a *Kriegstaat*. It has been said that while every state possesses an army, in Prussia the army possessed the state. This would not at all be true of either the Delhi Sultanate or the Mughal empire.

The form of government was a monarchy which passed through different stages of evolution : Iltutmish, Balban, 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī, Sher Shāh and Akbar, each marks a definite step. Iltutmish laid the foundation of the monarchy, Balban and 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī consolidated it, the Tughluqs weakened it, the Lodīs degraded it, the Sūrīs revived it and Akbar restored it to full vigour. In its initial stages, the kingship was elective, with no fixed law of succession; the prominent among the nobility formed the electoral body and force finally determined the issue. It became hereditary in the sense that it was confined to the royal family. Of the many rulers of the various dynasties, during this period, (A.D. 1206-1526), only a few such as Balban, Kaiqubād and Sikandar Lodī succeeded unchallenged and peacefully to the throne. Consequently, no law of succession could develop. Election, birth and royal nomination clashed with one another and ultimately yielded to force. This position continued under the Mughals even when monarchy became hereditary. The absence of the system of primogeniture bred ambition for the throne in all the princes and led to premature rebellion and wars of succession.

The king was an autocrat: he was the head of all branches of the government and there was no check on his authority. In fact, under the weaker Sulṭāns, the nobility and the *'ulamā'* exercised powerful checks on the authority of the king. The nobility was a major factor all through this period: it was only a Balban or an 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī who could make

the nobles subservient to the crown. Otherwise, they held much power in the state. Under the Lodis, when the monarchy was at its lowest ebb and the monarch was only *primus inter pares*, they were the real power. Ibrāhīm lost his throne because he alienated them by his attempt to play the monarch. The nobility was quite powerful under Bābur and Humāyūn. Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh forced the Afghān nobles into submission, while Akbar finally converted the nobility into a loyal but powerful instrument of royal absolutism.

The *'ulamā'* also exercised effective check on royal power, though during the days of its weakness the state often allied itself with them. 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī ignored them in matters of state and Muḥammad Tughluq followed the same policy. It was not until Akbar assumed the headship of both church and state by virtue of the *Maḥḍar* (Declaration) of A.D. 1579 that the power of the *'ulamā'* was finally broken. They, however, raised their voice again under Jahāngīr and regained their position to a certain extent under Shāh Jahān. Under Aurangzeb, they rose to dizzy height of power.

A further check on the monarch's authority was judicial and external. The Sulṭāns of Delhi acknowledged the legal sovereignty of the Caliph. According to Muslim political jurisprudence, no Sulṭān had legal right to the throne unless he was recognized by the Caliph. Iltutmish received the Caliph's envoy at Delhi and had himself recognised as Sulṭān. He was content to look upon himself as the Caliph's deputy. Even when the Caliphate came to an end in A.D. 1258, the Sulṭāns of Delhi upto Jalālu'd-dīn Firūz Khaljī (A.D. 1290-1296) continued to strike coins and read the *Khuṭba* in the name of the dead Caliph Musta'ṣim. The succeeding Sulṭāns, excepting 'Alāu'd-dīn's profligate son Mubārak who himself assumed the title of Caliph, paid homage to a nameless Caliph and mentioned him on the coins and in the *Khuṭba*. 'Alāu'd dīn Khaljī assumed the title of 'right hand of the Caliphate'. Muḥammad and Firūz Tughluq received envoys from the 'Abbāsid Caliphs of Cairo and owed allegiance to them. The later Sulṭāns of Delhi continued this tradition of acknowledging the supremacy of a nameless Caliph. The Mughal emperors came with the different conception of being the Caliph in their own country. Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh seized the tradition and assumed the title. When Sīdī 'Alī R'aīs, the Turkish admiral, pointed out to Humāyūn that no king had the right to rule without his master's sanction, he must have ignored it with supreme indifference. The claim of caliphal supremacy over the Mughal empire was finally overthrown when Akbar assumed the title of *Imām* and *Amīr-ul-muminīn* by virtue of the *Maḥḍar* (Declaration) of A.D. 1579. The coins and the *Khuṭba* mention him as Caliph and *Amīr-ul-muminīn*. By becoming the chief *mujtahid*, he also challenged the pretensions of the Safavī Shāhs of Persia who claimed suzerainty over the Mughal empire, on the ground that both Bābur and Humāyūn

had sought and obtained their military help. It was under Akbar that the monarchy in India became absolutely independent of any foreign or external authority. His successors maintained this tradition. The Mughal emperors from the time of Akbar assumed the authority of the Caliph and called their capital *dāru'l-khilāfat*.

The king was not only an autocrat but he was also invested with 'the divinity that doth hedge a king'. Both Muslim and Hindu traditions made the monarch a divine agent. Balban took the title of 'shadow of God' (*zill-i allah*) and cast a halo of superiority on the monarchical office. Amīr Khusraw and Baranī called 'Alāu'd-dīn the 'shadow of God on earth'. Muḥammad Tughluq's coins describe him as 'Sulṭān, shadow God'. The Mughal emperors came with the tradition of divinity of monarchs, which obtained among the Mongols and Turks. Humāyūn was described by the historian Khwândamīr as the 'shadow of God' and personification of the spiritual and temporal sovereignty. Sher Shāh also believed that he had directives from God and styled himself *Khuld Allah Khilāfāthū*. Islām Shāh outdid Balban who insisted on *zamīnbūs* and *qadambūs* (kissing the ground and kissing the foot) and made his nobles show respect to his slippers. He thus prepared the ground for the divine-right monarchy of the Mughals. Akbar was not only the shadow and Caliph of God, but he also ruled by divine right as God's elect and considered kingship as a gift of God. According to Abū'l Faḍl,'royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the Sun' and that Akbar possessed this light. Akbar himself said: 'We, by nature of our being the shadow of God, receive little and give much'. 'The very sight of kings has been held to be a part of divine worship. To behold them is a means of calling to mind the Creator and suggests the protection of the Almighty'. Jahāngīr also considered kingship as a gift of God: 'The Just Creator bestows acts of sovereignty and world-rule on whom he considers fit for this glorious and exalted duty'. Shāh Jahān called himself 'shadow of God' in his *farmān* to 'Ādil Shāh. Aurangzeb referred to himself as the agent (*wakīl*) of God on earth. The monarchy of the Mughals was indeed 'a divine inheritance' and not 'a human compromise'.

Thus, under Akbar, the structure of Muslim monarchy reached culmination as absolute, unrestrained, sacrosanct and divine, above all classes and independent of any external authority, perfectly sovereign besides being enlightened and benevolent. Inspite of the Islamic theory of kingship being democratic and constitutional, monarchy in India could not rise above the level of benevolent despotism.

The Delhi Sultanate was in theory a unitary government, but it was actually a confederation of semi-independent territorial units ruled by military chiefs as governors. The control of the central government over these units or provinces was loose, shadowy and vague. There was hardly more than nominal allegiance of the governors

to the centre. The main obligations were payment of tribute or revenue and supply of soldiers in war-time. They exercised full liberty of policy and action in their internal administration. Balban and 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī made effective attempts at establishing the centre's control over the provincial and local governments. Under the Tughluqs, however, the central government became weaker and the Lodīs virtually abdicated their authority. The Afghān polity was a grouping of tribal chieftains and the kingdom was to be divided among the nobles, and the tribal chiefs. Under such a polity, the authority of the provincial and local administration vastly increased at the expense of the centre. It was Sher Shāh who for the first time attempted successfully to establish provincial administration in the proper sense of the term. He defined the territorial limits of the provinces and regulated and controlled the powers and functions of the provincial and local administrations. Sher Shāh's work was completed by Akbar, under whom the provincial and local administration became an integral part of the central government, subject to its full control. The government of the Mughals was an effective unitary organization.

Neither the government of the Delhi Sultanate nor that of the Mughal empire was feudalistic. Both the governments were organised bureaucracies with regular gradations of departments and officers. The officers were appointed, transferred and dismissed by the monarch at his will and were accountable to him and the higher authorities. No office, civil or military, was hereditary and there was no sub-infeudation. The *jāgīr* and *manṣab* systems have misled some to believe that Muslim government in India was feudalistic. The *jāgīr* system was not based upon feudalism as it lacked two fundamental or major elements of feudalism—hereditariness and sub-infeudation. The *jāgīrdār* was an officer of the state as collector of the revenue of his *jāgīr* land which he realized on behalf of the state with a view to obtaining his salary. He had no administrative control over the land beyond revenue collection and he had no right to grant it to anybody under him. After his death, the *jāgīr* was not necessarily inherited by his successor. It could be resumed by the state. Similarly, the *manṣab* system was based upon the organization of the public services of the empire. A *manṣab* was personal and not hereditary and there could be no sub-infeudation in respect of the *manṣab*. Even the wealth and property of a *manṣabdār* reverted to the state by escheat after his death. This absence of a feudal organization with its principles of rights and obligations, privileges and duties deprived the government of a force which could serve as a healthy check on royal absolutism. Medieval India had no system of independent hereditary peerage. Under the Delhi Sulṭāns, the nobles were an influence in the state, while under the Mughals, they were the main prop of the government. An aristocracy created by and dependent on the will of the sovereign,

instead of checking his autocracy and acting as a barrier between the emperor and the people, contributed strength to his pretensions. A peerage that could win *Magna Carta* from John, the King of England, was impossible under such a system. It is interesting to find that though the Mughals did not recognise women's right to sovereignty, the harem became an influence in the state during their rule.

Medieval government was thus a composite structure – a fusion of Perso-Arabic, Turko-Mongol (Central Asian) and Indian elements. The central and provincial governments and the fiscal system excluding land-revenue were based on the Perso-Arabic system. The army administration was based on the Central Asian model. The principles of government, the church policy, the departmental arrangements and the very titles of the officers were derived from outside India, mainly from Arabia and Persia. The land-revenue system was, however, predominantly Indian and there were Indian elements in the judicial system as well. The very conception of monarchy as it finally developed under the Mughals betrayed Indian influence.

2. Hindu Kingdoms

The nature of the state in the Hindu kingdoms of the medieval ages may as well be briefly reviewed. Out of the fragments of the Coḷa and Cālukya empires which ended about the beginning of the 13th century, four kingdoms emerged—the Kākatīya, Yādava, Hoysala and Pāṇḍya. The prevailing form of government was hereditary monarchy. The king was the supreme head of the state and pivot of the administrative machinery. He was not, however, an unfettered autocrat, but was at every step restricted and regulated by the injunctions of *Dharma*. It may, however, be noted that the ancient Vedic concept of Ārya *Dharma* had undergone far-reaching changes, both in content and ideology, in the medieval ages owing to the dominating influence of the neo-Brahmanical society. It mainly represented the unquestioned ascendancy of the priestly class and complete loss of freedom of thought and action by the laity people. Thus the *Dharma* which the king had to uphold was mainly *Varṇāśrama Dharma*, the greatest stress being on the numerous obligations of the Hindus towards the members of the priestly class. The law conferred on the latter exceptional privileges and legal immunities not enjoyed by any other section. The king's chief duty was to enforce the observance by each caste of its particular *Dharma*.

Like all medieval Hindu states, the Vijayanagar empire was a monarchy with the only exception that the law of heredity was not strictly adhered to. The monarch frequently exercised the right of nominating the successor, although he usually nominated his son or brother as *Yuvarāja*. This

practice was the result of the peculiarly perilous situation in which the empire was placed owing to the unceasing hostility of its neighbouring Muslim kingdoms on the one hand and the intransigence of its feudatories on the other. Yet, the concept of *Dharma* as the sanction behind the restraint on the actions and policies of the king remained unquestioned. The king was bound to obey the laws of the Dharmaśāstras and the accepted conventions, customs and practices of society.

The Rājpūt kingdoms, during the medieval ages, were based upon the clannish order. The revenue assignments were made to those who were connected with the royal family with clannish ties and at the same time undertook to supply military contingents to the army of the ruler. In theory, the state was governed by the ancient concept of the Hindu Dharmaśāstras. During the Mughal age, the Rājpūt chiefs (named as *Zamīndārān-i-umda*) were by and large enrolled as the *manṣabdārs* in the Mughal administration. They held hereditary *watan jāgīr* as well as *tankhwah jāgīr*, i.e. revenue assignment in lieu of their salaries for rendering active service to the Mughal state. However, they had the right to make religious grants in their territories and they had also the right to administer justice.

The Marāṭhā state in the Deccan was formally founded by Śivājī in June A.D. 1674. The coronation of Śivājī was performed perfectly in accordance with the ceremonial prescribed in the Dharmaśāstras. Like any Hindu king, Śivājī was fully subordinate to the demands and dictates of *Dharma*. His insistence on Sanskrit nomenclature and titles is reminiscent of the ancient Hindu polity. A complete revival of ancient administrative practices was, howerer, not possible. Śivājī continued the existing customs and practices to a considerable extent. In theory, therefore, it may be characterized as a limited and enlightened monarchy which made no discrimination between man and man on the basis of his faith or class.

Besides land revenue, other substantial sources of state income were war-booty, *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī*. Śivājī deliberately plundered the property of his opponents in order to replenish his own coffers on the one hand and weaken the adversary on the other. *Chauth*, that is to say, one-fourth of the land revenue to be collected from any region, was for the first time demanded by Śivājī at the time of the Treaty of Purandar made with Mirẓā Rājā Jai Singh in A.D. 1665. In return for its payment, the region was to be protected and spared from depradations. *Sardeshmukhī* was an old right, equal to one-tenth of the revenue, due to be paid to the *deshmukhs* who, under the Quṭb Shāhīs, were revenue collectors. Śivājī also asserted this right along with *chauth* on lands which were outside the territories included in his kingdom. These were called *Swarāj*, while the lands outside it were named *Mughlai*. No perceptible change was found to be necessary in the

prevailing system of justice, most of which was disposed of by village *pañcāyats*. The policing of the countryside was made the responsibility of the *Paṭel* and the *pañcāyats* as before, thus making the work of the central government lighter.

Śivājī's successors relied more on their counsellors. During Sāhū's reign, the Peśwā or Chief Minister became the hereditary leading chief. The other chiefs subject to the Marāṭhā authority became the hereditary *jāgīrdārs*. They had a free hand in the management of their *jāgīrs*, but they had to contribute military contingents to the common Marāṭhā army. The Peśwā continued to wield supreme authority till 1818. The position was rather peculiar. The Rājā of Sātāra was the nominal head of the state, but he regarded himself as the vassal of the Mughal emperor who was himself a titular head. The Marāṭhā state, in actual practice, came to comprise big and small autonomous chieftainships rather than an empire directed by one sovereign authority. However, it remained secular in concept as the religious grants even in the conquered Mughal territories were continued on the basis of *status quo* regardless of the religious communities.

B. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

1. Sultans

The administrative organization set up by the Turkish conquerors, who established their rule over northern India in the beginning of the 13th century, was a composite structure. It represented a combination of elements drawn from indigenous as well as foreign sources. The actual performance of the Sulṭāns was not in tune with their loud professions of loyalty to the *Sharī'ah* and the injunctions of the Prophet. Religious obligations had to yield invariably to the demands of political expediency and personal ambition. The ancient local institutions, such as village and caste councils, were discreetly allowed to continue. On these, the Sulṭāns superimposed new institutions and laws imported from abroad, such as the method of succession and the system of taxation. These, too, were not in conformity with the laws of the *Faith*.

Descended from Turkish stock, the Sulṭāns had imbibed the Persian traditions of monarchy. Their armies, on the other hand, continued to be modelled on the Turko-Mongol system. Below this super structure was the deep-rooted indigenous village system. It was tacitly allowed to continue its work of assisting the administration at the base without which the super structure was sure to topple.

In the first century and a half of their rule, some able and powerful

Sulṭāns strove with much zeal and earnestness to build up a sound machinery of administration. Their racial vanity and sectarian outlook, however, never let them attain the higher and nobler human ideals of government. Their political concepts were rendered useless by a static creed which never permitted them to concede to the mass of the people the equality and liberty enjoyed by the Muslims. They always remained in a state of *jihād* (holy war) in the cause of Islām and of the Muslim brotherhood. In point of fact, the outlook of the Mamlūk Turks was exceedingly narrow and communal. They regarded the kingdom as the patrimony of the small group of Tāzik alone and jealously preserved their monopoly of all high and profitable offices. Even the Indian Muslims were treated with scorn as mean and low-born. The vaunted social—much less political—democracy of Islām, even within the Islamic community itself, never found favour with them. In such circumstances, how could the large majority of the Hindus ever hope to hold any position of honour or respectability ? As for the revenues and other resources of the kingdom, by the very logic of the prevalent political ideas and ideals, they were meant for the use and enjoyment of the ruling party. If ever, any public works like canals and gardens were laid out, they were confined to certain favourite localities and were the product of personal whim or administrative need. Nothing was ever planned on a country-wide scale primarily for public benefit or the welfare of the masses. The constructive measures of men like Sulṭān Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq were undertaken to save the government from complete economic collapse to the brink of which it had been carried by the senseless and ruinous policies of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī. With the exception of a couple of seminaries in the capital towns imparting theological teaching to Muslims or a hospital here and there, all social services were left to private charity and initiative. Apart from the splendour and luxuries of the courts and the nobility, the bulk of the state revenue was spent either on wars or royal edifices, such as mosques and tombs. The idea was that the government was not for the people but the people were for the government. The Turko-Afghān rule remained, all through, a rule of the camp. It never became a civil system of administration.

Central Structure At the apex of the administrative pyramid was the Sulṭān with his pretensions as the deputy (*nāib*) of God. His authority was limited only theoretically by the *Sharī'ah*. No human agency could dispute or question it. In actual practice, the Sulṭān was restrained by the advice of ministers, the opposition of the theologians, or the threat of revolt. The Sulṭān was the maker of the administrative law which consisted of his ordinances and regulations. The functions and duties assigned to the Muslim rulers by the *Sharī'ah*, as interpreted by Muslim jurists, were observed more in the breach than in their performance.

The Chief Minister, who was called the *Wazīr*, acquired unlimited

power under weak or young and inexperienced Sulṭāns. The *Wazīr* had generally to supervise all affairs of the government. He excercised particular control over the financial department. Next to him in the finance ministry were the *Mus͟hrif-i-mamālik* (accountant-general) and the *Mustaufī-i- mamālik* (auditor-general). Originally, the *Mus͟hrif* maintained the account of receipts and disbursements, and *Mustaufī* audited them. Under Firūz Tug͟hluq, the *Mus͟hrif* was put incharge of receipts and the *Mustaufī* of expenditure. There was, of course, a large staff to assist the *Mus͟hrif* and *Mustaufī* headed, respectively, by a *Nāẓir* and *Waqūf*. The department of the *Wazīr* was called *Dīwān-i-wazārat*.

There were three other ministries, and these were said to be the main pillars of the vault of the state: the *Dīwān-i-risālat* headed by the *Ṣadr-us-sudūr* (chief *Ṣadr*) who looked after religious affairs and charities, etc. The chief *Ṣadr* generally held the office of *Qāḍī-i-mamālik* (chief *Qāḍī*) also, and in this capacity he controlled the department of justice. The *Dīwān-i-'arḍ* headed by the *Arīḍ-i-mamālik*, controlled the military department and, with the assistance of provincial and local officers, recruited and managed the army. The *Dīwān-i-ins͟hā*, which dealt with state correspondence, was under the *Dabīr-i-k͟hās*. He was assisted by a large staff of competent and reliable writers. All important correspondence with other states as well as provincial heads was carried on by this ministry.

Besides the above four chief ministries, there was an important department headed by the *Barīd-i-mamālik*, which functioned as the intelligence branch of the government. Through a net-work of local *barīds*, it kept the centre informed of happenings in all the parts of the realm. After Iltutmis͟h, some very ambitious ministers forced young and inexperienced Sulṭāns like Muizu'd-dīn Bahrām to appoint them to the high office of *Nāib-i-mamālik* (Deputy-king). This practice became well established and eventually led not only to the *de facto* assertion by the *Nāib* of all kingly authority, but also to the actual usurpation of the throne. The most glaring example of this is to be seen in the action taken by Balban. Subsequently, *Nāibs* were appointed by 'Alāu'd-dīn and Mubārak K͟haljī, but after them, the practice was discontinued.

The chief source of income of the state was land revenue. Under the Sulṭāns, this came to be known as *k͟harāj*. The term originally signified all taxes including *jizyah* raised from the non-Muslims, who were called *k͟harāj guzārs*. The amount of land revenue was raised from the earlier one-sixth or less to at least one-third of the gross produce. This was further raised by 'Alāu'd-dīn K͟haljī to the maximum legal limit of one-half or 50 per cent of the gross produce. After his death, this practice was discontinued and the original incidence of the state share was restored. On lands held by Muslims, *'us͟hrah* or one-tenth only was levied in the beginning. However, if *'us͟hrī* land was purchased by a non-Muslim, it became *k͟harājī*. Later, *k͟harājī* lands, even when acquired

by Muslims, were ordered to remain *kharājī* because their conversion to *'ushrī* involved much loss of revenue to the state.

Other sources of income were *jizyah*, a sort of capitation tax levied upon every adult Hindu male with independent means of maintenance; *zakāt*, a tax raised from well-to-do Muslims for the sake of helping needy Muslims ; *khams* or *ghanīmah*, the booty taken in war; transit and octroi duties, mines, forests, treasure trove (*dafīnah*) and heirless property. The *jizyah* was a means of inflicting on the Hindu *dhimmī* not only a financial burden but also a sense of humiliation.

The main branch of the army was the cavalry, which was deployed in accordance with the demands of the situation in different parts of the kingdom. Constant vigilance had to be kept up for the security of the frontiers. For this purpose, a series of garrison posts and fortresses were either repaired or newly constructed on the marches. The infantry comprised a numerous crowd of people, who were put to all sorts of menial jobs to serve and assist the cavalry. Some sort of rudimentary firearms such as combustible naphtha and rockets were used, especially during sieges. The elephant corps was an important branch of the army and was meant to serve as mounts for the chiefs or to pull heavy loads. The sources of supply for the army were the *banjārās* and local stores, supplemented with the plunder of the country around, if necessary.

Judiciary and police were placed under the chief *Ṣadr* and chief *Qāḍī*, both offices being held usually by the same person. The Sulṭān was the final court of appeal. In due course, a hierarchy of *Qāḍīs* was established to dispose of cases of civil disputes and criminal complaints. In civil disputes between Hindus, Hindu customary law appears to have been applied. There was a separate judiciary for the army, under a *Qāḍī-i-'askar*. The *Moḥtasib* inspected the religious and civic behaviour of Muslims. The policing of the cities and towns was entrusted to *Kotwāls* and of the countryside to *Faujdārs*.

The whole kingdom was divided into provinces. Most of them, especially the distant ones, were almost autonomous, owning only a nominal allegiance to the Sulṭān and even withholding tribute frequently. The governors (*Walīs* or *Muftīs*) were enjoined to collect revenue and propagate the *Faith*. With the passage of time, they could not but be influenced by their environment and many of them showed a conspicuous spirit of tolerance and constructive ability. The provinces were sub-divided into *shiqs* and *parganas*, which were under the charge of *Shiqqdārs* and *'Āmils* or *Mushrifs*. The *pargana* was the smallest unit of administration.

2. Surīs

Sher Shāh does not seem to have had ministers—they are not mentioned

by any chronicler—he had only secretaries to execute his orders concerning the business of all departments of government. Towards the close of his reign, Sher Shāh's kingdom extended from Sonārgaon in the east to the border of the Gakkhar country and Sind in the west, and as far as Mewār and Chitor in Rājputāna, touching the fringe of the blue mountain. His northern boundary touched the fringes of the Himālayan range, and, in the south, he pushed his possessions as far as the Vindhyas.

Sher Shāh evidently rationalised the old provincial boundaries and re-adjusted them only where necessary. The following twelves provinces are definitely mentioned by contemporary writers: Bengal, Bihār, Avadh, Rohilkhand, Āgra, Delhi, Lahore, Multān, Sind, Jodhpur, Chitor and Mālwa. To the province of Bengal, in view of its distance and propensity to revolt, special attention had to be paid. It was divided into a number of smaller units, which may be called sub-provinces, independent of each other, but under the overall supervision and direction of an *Amīn* or trustee.

The provinces (*ṣūbahs*) were divided into *sarkārs* and these further into *parganas*. Within the *parganas*, the ancient village councils (*pañcāyats*), with their headmen continued to function under the aegis of the government. The *sarkār* seems to have had three main officers; *Faujdār*, *Shiqqdār-i-sarkār*, *Kotwāl* and *'Āmil*. The *Faujdār* was a semi-military police officer charged with the maintenance of law and order. The *Shiqqdār* was the chief executive of the *pargana*. He was assisted by the *'Amal-guzār* (*'Āmil*) in the assessment and realisation of the revenue. The *Kotwāl* was head of the police and as also criminal magistrate.

Sher Shāh revived and regulated the system of survey or measurement (*ḍabṭ*) wherever it was possible throughout his kingdom. The assessment of land revenue was based on the measurement of land. There were two other systems of assessment: *ghallahbakhshī* or *baṭāī*, i.e., a simple division of crops; and *kankūt*, meaning assessment by a general estimate made by the revenue officer of the government assisted by the headman of the village in the presence of the cultivator. These two systems were in force wherever conditions for *ḍabṭ* were not favourable. The share of the government revenue was fixed at one-third of the gross yield, the only exception being the province of Multān where, due to the undeveloped conditions, only one-fourth of the yield was levied. As for the mode or form of payment, the peasant had the option to pay in cash or kind in case of hard crops only. The *'Āmil* assisted the *Shiqqdār* in preserving law and order. Another important officer of the *pargana* was the *Foṭadār* or *Khizānadār* who was in charge of the treasury.

With regard to the army, Sher Shāh's first step on his assumption of power was to remove a basic weakness by introducing a number of reforms in the service regulations as well as in the method of recruitment of both soldiers and horses. They were subjected to a test before being

employed. Every horse had to be branded (*dāgh*) and its descriptive roll prepared to prevent fraudulent practices by the soldiers. At regular intervals, a muster roll of the army was held and systematic inspection carried out. Payment of salaries was made in cash and the system of *jāgīrs* was discontinued.

Sher Shāh made allotments of revenue to different departments on a rational basis. The military expenditure was high as there were constant wars and campaigns and an efficient and well-equipped army had to be maintained. Even so, due to his high financial acumen, he could spare a substantial amount for his intensive public works and other services for the general welfare of all his subjects. At the same time he relieved them considerably from the burden of the various local *abwāb* (cesses), which were strictly forbidden. Apart from these measures, it is notable that charitable endowments as also grants to educational institutions and stipends to scholars were liberally made. It may be justly presumed that Sher Shāh exercised strict economy in his household expenditure and privy purse. There is no evidence that he maintained a large harem, as was customary with the monarchs of the time. A very efficient postal service was established and, for the first time, it was made available for public use. There were two kinds of postal conveyance—a relay of foot-runners and horse-carriages for carrying heavier loads.

3. Mughals

By the time the Mughals arrived on the political scene of northern India, a far reaching change had come about in the concept of monarchy, both in theory and practice. The Caliph had long been dead and was all but forgotten. Every great Muslim ruler assumed the role of Caliph in his own right for all practical purposes. However, some shadowy recognition of the authority of the early Caliph was still retained by the Mughals through the practice of inscribing the names of the first four Caliphs on their seals and coins. This served the purpose of keeping alive the delusion that they were still following the Islamic law. The question of departures from that law was conveniently ignored.

Akbar stands in splendid stature, intellectually and culturally, amidst the pygmies who preceded and followed him. His genuis and breadth of vision imparted Islām and the Muslim state with a new all-inclusiveness. All men, without distinction of faith or complexion, found welcome under the sheltering wings of the state. Akbar believed that the Islamic law warranted progressive adjustment in accordance with the growing needs of an ever-changing society. He broadened the basis and concept

of Islamic polity from a communal to a universal theocracy. His contemporaries and even his successors failed to comprehend the profound significance of the change.

Central Structure. The king was the fountain-head of all authority, executive, judiciary, civil and military. He was also the final judge in religious matters where opinions among the legists differed. It should not, however, be inferred that the Mughal emperor was an unlimited autocrat. The force of public sentiments and view-points, as expressed through the ministers and high dignitaries of the court, the obligation imposed by time-honoured customs and traditions of society, the need for the support and co-operation of the leading sections of the people, and above all, the ruler's own concern for the well-being of the people exercised a great restraining and guiding influence on the policies of the monarch. The ruler's popularily and the stability of the government depended on the extent to which the above factors were kept in view or disregarded by the emperors. An extreme case of utter disregard of these considerations was that of Aurangzeb. In spite of his great ability and industry, he precipitated the ruin and disintegration of the Mughal empire. The cultural and social traditions initiated and nurtured by Akbar had gone so deep into the soil and had given rise to such a composite society, as much on the administrative level as on the popular, that it was impossible for any one to roll back the tide of history and undo the progress achieved. The general tone of the government, therefore, as set by Akbar, refused to yield to reactionary policies and pressures. On the whole, it continued to be an enlightened despotism.

The machinery of the government, which had started to disintegrate under the earlier chaotic conditions, was soon renovated and set in order. The government took up its obligations, constituent as well as ministrant. Peace and security of life and property were restored, the judiciary reorganised, and facilities for economic growth assured. Positive steps were taken to provide education, medical relief and other social services. Above all, legal and civic equality was extended to all men and encouragement given not for material progress alone but also for cultural and intellectual and even spiritual endeavour.

Akbar's ministry comprised four members. 1. *Wakīl* (Prime Minister), who later on came to be called *Wazīr*; 2. *Wazīr* (Finance Minister), later known as *Dīwān*; 3. *Mīr Bakhshī*, Minister in charge of army and general administrator of royal establishments; and 4. *Ṣadr-us-ṣudūr* (in-charge of religion and charities, etc.). Usually, the office of the chief *Qāḍī* was combined with that of *Ṣadr*. Next to the four principal ministers, there were a few others. These included the *Khān-i-sāmān* in-charge of the royal household, which was a very important department; *Mīr-manzi* (quarter-master); *Mīr-bakāwal*, (master of the kitchen); *Mīr-ātash* (commander of artillery); *Mīr-baḥr* (commander of the flotilla). Frequent

reshuffling of departments and portfolios of ministers was necessitated by exigencies of sound administration, especially in the ministry of finance and revenue. The first *Wakīl*, Bairam Khān, was most powerful and behaved as a substitute-king. After him the office of *Wakīl* became more or less a sinecure and real power devolved on the *Dīwān*, who held charge of the finance department.

In course of time, the office of *Wazīr* and *Dīwān* at the centre merged into one. While there were *Dīwāns* in the provinces, there were no corresponding *Wazīrs*. So, the term *Wazīr* came to signify the Prime Minister of the empire. The provincial *Dīwān* worked under the direction and supervision of the *Wazīr*. He was in no way subordinate to the provincial governor.

Practically all services, with the exception of the religious and judicial, were organized on a military basis and were controlled and paid by the military department. It did not, however, imply that the character of the government was that of an army of occupation. While every officer was under the obligation to be called up for military service, whenever necessary, they functioned as civilians in normal times.

Akbar overhauled and perfected the army in every detail. The standing army of Akbar may be broadly classified under two categories—the central army directly maintained by the emperor, and the provincial army maintained by the *manṣabdārs*. The strength of the imperial cavalry which was the main wing of the army was more than three lakhs. There was a special body of troopers who were directly recruited from amongst the nobility. They enjoyed special privileges and constituted the imperial bodyguard, called *ahadīs*. There was an inferior class of soldiers known as *dakhīls*, recruited and equipped by the army department and filling the lower ranks.

A rudimentary *manṣabdārī* system existed in former times also, but, under Akbar, it was given a definite and systematic form. The *manṣabs* between 10,000 and 10 were divided into sixty classes known as *dhāt manṣabs*. Originally, there were only *dhāt manṣabs*, but to facilitate further gradation, another rank named *sawār* was introduced from 5000 *dhāt* downwards. Under this scheme, each *dhāt* rank could be divided into three grades. The *sawār* rank, which equalled *dhāt*, was first grade. Any rank less than equal but not less than half of *dhāt*, was the second grade while less than half of *dhāt* formed the third grade. The amount of funds needed to maintain the equipment, including horses, accoutrements, etc., obligatory on each *manṣabdār*, plus his personal pay, were worked out according to certain fixed rules in the secretariat. The *sawār* rank, it would seem, was added only to distinguish the different grades of officers within the same class. It did not entail any additional obligation to maintain horses or any other equipment.

The infantry consisted of all sorts of camp-followers, attendants and others. It numbered more than forty-four lakhs, according to Abū'l Faḍl. There were numerous corps of elephants and also of camels. A large flotilla of boats for river transport was maintained for use during the rainy season. The Mughal artillery, consisting of large and heavy cannons which were cast in their own foundries, grew to be a powerful branch of the military machine.

For the first time in Indo-Islamic literature, the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* expounds the principles of taxation. According to Akbar, as explained in the *Āīn*, taxes were in the nature of wages for the services rendered to his subjects by the king. He abolished all inequitable taxes and humiliating or discriminating imposts, which had been the practice of earlier Muslim rulers to levy on non-Muslims. In addition to land revenue, there were several other sources of income, such as customs, internal transit duties, ferry taxes, octroi, mints, indemnities, monopolies and *abwāb* or illegal cesses enforced by local officers. Many of these were remitted by Akbar. Presents, fines and war booty also constituted a substantial source of income for the emperor.

The system of measurement (*ḍabṭ*) introduced by Sher Shāh in Hindustān was soon subjected to scrutiny and several experiments were tried to ascertain the best and most efficient method of assessment. The final method of revenue settlement that was decided upon was named *Āīn-i-dahsāla*. The basis of this was the average annual yield of the previous ten years. The whole arable land was divided into areas of more or less uniform productivity and the average yield of each was calculated. The value of the yield in respect of each crop, such as cereals and pulses, was worked out on the average rates of the past nineteen years. Thus, the cash value of the average yield of each farm was calculated and fixed. This system brought about a definiteness in the demand or share of the government, left no chance for any type of corruption, and encouraged cultivation of a superior type of crops. The rate of land tax was fixed at one-third of the gross yield, its value in terms of cash being calculated on the average rate of the previous nineteen years, as stated above. Regarding the form of payment, the choice was given to the cultivator in the case of hard and non-perishable crops. For fruit and vegetable crops, cash payment was made obligatory.

A word might be said here with regard to the proprietorship of the land. Some writers have asserted the utterly erroneous view that in India, all the land was always considered legally to be the king's property. There is overwhelming evidence in support of the theory that land was never claimed by any Hindu or Muslim ruler (with the doubtful exception of the Afghāns) to be his private property, and that it always belonged to the cultivator.

Justice was administered by means of a hierarchy of courts

rising from the village council (*pañcāyat*) to the *pargana, sarkār* and provincial courts and finally to the chief *Ṣadr*-cum-*Qāḍī* and the emperor himself. These courts were presided over by *Qāḍīs* appointed in every town and even in important villages. They tried civil and religious cases, applying to Hindus and Muslims their respective laws. In criminal cases, a great deal of discretion was allowed to them and they took a variety of factors into account in awarding punishment. Lapses on the part of government officers were thoroughly investigated, if necessary, through commissions of enquiry. The punishment grew in severity in proportion to the status of the accused and was meant to serve as an example to others.

Traditionally, the Muslim rulers did not concern themselves with the education of the masses, apart from establishing a college or two in capital towns to teach Muslim scriptures, theology and law. Besides, they encouraged deserving scholars by granting stipends and gave grants to *madrasahs* (seminaries). Akbar, however, reviewed the whole system of education and drew up a new curriculum of studies which included subjects like mathematics, logic, astronomy, household economy, medicine and history. The study of ancient Indian literature was greatly encouraged by grants to *pāṭhasālās* and schools. A regular bureau for translating great works such as the *Vedas, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa,* and *Pañcatantra*, was established. The emperor's creative ideas found expression in a number of stone structures. Numerous royal palaces, mosques, tombs and other edifices were built and the emperor's architectural dream was realised, above all else, in the city of Fatehpur Sīkri. He was responsible also for the construction of many works of public utility: roads, tanks, wells, reservoirs, public and medicinal baths, *sarāis*, lakes, canals, hospitals for men and animals, dams, ferries and bridges. An elaborate postal system was organised and its use was extended to the public.

At the close of Akbar's reign, the empire had fifteen provinces. Subsequently, Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bijāpur were added to his realm. The head executive of a province was the *Nāẓim* or *Ṣūbadār*. But the status of the provincial *Dīwān* was the same and the two were supposed to keep watch over each other's activities. There were also law officers of the province, viz., the *Qāḍī* and *Mīr-adl* who were under the chief *Ṣadr* of the empire. The *sarkār* and *pargana* were administered by almost the same set of officials as under Sher Shāh. The *Kotwāl* of the *sarkārs* had charge of criminal justice too, a subject which, in the *pargana*, was dealt with by the *Shiqqdār* while the *pargana* was the lowest unit of administration, the importance of village and caste *pañcāyats* as the bedrock of the administrative edifice can hardly be overemphasised. The village council (*pañcāyat*) performed every type of function from the judiciary and the police to that of maintenance of local

roads, irrigation works, temples, mosques, and educational institutions.

C. INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCE

1. Industry

While the Persian chronicles give scant information about the economic conditions during the period, there are numerous references in the contemporary literature in Sanskrit and in the regional Indian languages to enable us to reconstruct the state of agriculture and other associated industries in different parts of the country under Hindu rule, prior to the Turkish conquest and during the Turko-Afghān regime. In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, however, we have a reliable source from which we get authentic and detailed information about the extent of cultivation. This work contains measured area statistics in detail; province-wise village and area statistics have come down to us since Aurangzeb's reign. This statistical area within the Mughal empire was about half that of 1900-20 in parts of Bengal, Bihār, Eastern U.P., Berār and the Indus regions, and from two-thirds to four-fifths in Western U.P., Gujarāt, Mālwa and Khāndesh.

Agriculture. The techniques and implements of agriculture and irrigation evidently remained unchanged during the period under review. Besides sowing by the ordinary plough, drill-sowing seems to have been an equally common practice. We learn that, during the 17th century, dibbling was prevalent in the cultivation of cotton. It may be presumed that cowdung was used more as manure than as fuel, since wood- fuel was available in plenty. Farming was carried on by individual farmers who were also owners of the land. In some cases, however, payment of revenue was the joint responsibility of the whole cultivating community of a village. Means of irrigation were both natural and artificial. Some parts had plentiful rain besides rivers and lakes. Wells, tanks, reservoirs and canals were constructed wherever necessary. Drawing water for irrigation by means of leather buckets and the Persian-wheel and lifting water by means of a *dhenkli* (a system worked on the lever principle) and baling were commonly employed.

The cereal crops of medieval India were the same as today, both in kind and geographical distribution. Certain crops in limited quantities were sown outside their natural zones, such as rice around Lahore and wheat in Bengal. On the whole, the distribution of barley and millets was also similar to that of the present day. As regards cash crops, the cultivation of both cotton and sugar-cane in the 17th century was spread all over the country and not concentrated in a few large tracts as at present. All the oilseed crops (except groundnut) and fibre-yielding crops

were also cultivated in the medieval period. In Akbar's time, the oilseeds were cheaper in relation to wheat, obviously owing to their abundance. Jute was still an unimportant crop grown only for local consumption in Bengal. On the other hand, the dye-yielding crops like indigo possessed considerable economic importance in medieval times. The best quality of indigo for the purposes of export was produced in the Bayāna-Doāb-Mewāt area and in Sehwān (Sind) and Sarkhej (Gujarāt). Opium cultivation was encouraged and it was widely grown in Mālwa and Bihār. The cultivation of tobacco, introduced at the beginning of the 17th century, was extended to almost all parts of India by the middle of that century, particularly in the districts around the deltas of the Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā rivers.

Horticulture and Sericulture. Besides a large variety of fruits grown all over the country, there were wild fruits in abundance. Fīrūz Tughluq is said to have planted 1,200 fruit gardens around Delhi. The aristocrats generally maintained orchards. The Mughal gardens all over northern India are well known. In medieval times, silk was produced largely in Bengal, Assam, Kashmīr and on the western coast. Woollen cloth of the finest variety was produced in very large quantities in Kashmīr and other Himālayan regions and was an item of export. In cold regions animal skin for use as apparel was quite popular.

Cattle and Pastoral Produce. It may be safely presumed that the medieval Indian peasant was better off in respect of cattle wealth than his modern descendant. Akbar's administration allowed four bullocks, two cows and one buffalo as the number of cattle exempted from tax. The price of *ghee* in relation to wheat was much lower. All edible oils, such as mustard, linseed, gingelly etc., were very abundant and cheap.

Forests and Fisheries. The forests covered nearly half the area of northern India. In the Deccan as well as the coastal regions, there were extensive forests. These were sources of a large variety of economically valuable products, including timber, firewood, gums, fruits and numerous herbs. Fish also formed an important part of the diet of the masses in Kashmīr, Bengal and in the coastal regions. Medieval India could also boast of pearl fishery, located off the south-western coast. As many as 60,000 persons are said to have been engaged in collecting pearls at the end of the 16th century.

Extractive Industries. Salt, an everyday necessity, was extracted from the soil almost everywhere. The Sāmbhar lake in Rājasthān and the Salt Range in the north-west produced plenty of salt which served the needs of the whole of North India. Stone of several varieties besides marble, both black and white, was quarried in large quantities. This industry and crafts of architects, masons, carpenters and smiths prospered greatly under the state's patronage. Diamond-mining, associated with Golconda, was another notable industry of the Deccan. The actual mines were, in fact, situated

far away from Golconda. Iron was plentiful everywhere, except on the western coast. Copper was mined at several places in Râjasthân. It appears to have been a government monopoly in the 17th century. Silver was scarce, but the large amount of gold found in the form of both coins and ornaments in all parts of the country makes one presume that the metal was available in sufficient quantities to satisfy the enormous demand.

Village Industries. A number of processes of production, which have now been separated from agriculture, were in medieval times undertaken by the agricultural producer himself. Cotton for instance, was ginned by the peasants, then cleaned or carded by a class of itinerant labourers, called *dhunvās,* and finally spun into yarn by the *julāhās*. Sugar and *gur* were manufactured from sugar-cane in "mills" and "furnaces" in the villages as observed by travellers in the 17th century. The extraction of oil from oil-seeds was entirely in the hands of a semi-itinerant class of *telis* (oilmen) working with ox-driven presses. Indigo too was manufactured almost entirely in the villages. Among other rural industries may be mentioned the manufacture of spirits and liquors from unrefined sugar, *mahuā*, barley and rice and scents from flowers.

Pottery and leather-work were the most important non-agricultural village industries. Leather-tanning, manufacture of such articles as leather-buckets, footwear, sheaths, bags and boxes etc., were flourishing industries all over the country. The smith's craft in gold, silver, bronze, iron, copper and many alloys was highly developed. Besides ornaments, the craftsmen produced agricultural implements, weapons of war, domestic utensils, and bronze, silver and copper statues of gods and goddesses, in large quantities. All these crafts attained an excellence and refinement not found anywhere else in the world at that time.

Textile Manufactures. The weaving of cloth from cotton yarn was undoubtedly the foremost industry in the country. The ordinary weavers (*julāhās*) formed the largest group among the artisans. Just as cotton cultivation was spread throughout India, so also was cloth made everywhere for local use. The cotton cloth was of such fine quality that it was in great demand abroad. A large amount of wealth was earned from this export. In addition to ordinary cloth, finer varieties were woven for a limited market. In the 14th century, as well as in the 16th and 17th, the muslin of Dacca enjoyed a high reputation for its fine texture and light weight. In Akbar's time, fine cloth of many varieties was also produced at Vārānasi, Mau, Āgra, Mālwa and Gujarāt.

Cotton-weaving also supported certain subsidiary industries, such as dyeing and, in certain regions, calico-printing, besides that marvellous variety of cloth-printing technique known as *bandhanī* (tie and dye) which was the speciality of Rājasthān and its neighbouring regions. Gujarāt had a long established silk-weaving industry, although sericulture

itself was alien to that province. Cambay silks were listed among luxury goods at the time of 'Alāu'd-din Khalji (A.D. 1296-1316). In the Mughal days, silk fabrics woven at Ahmadābād enjoyed a high reputation. Abū'l Faḍl also notices the silk-weaving industry of Lahore, Āgra and Fatehpur Sīkri.

Blankets and carpets were woven from the coarse Indian wool. The production of woollen cloth was, however, small since quilted vests stuffed with cotton were generally used in winter. The famous shawls of Kashmir were woven from the mountain-goats' fleece imported from Ladākh and Tibet. Among the coarser fibres, hemp, not jute, predominated. Outside Bengal, sack-cloth was woven out of hemp, but on the western coast, coconut fibre was in extensive use for this purpose.

Metal Industries Brass and copper were among the large-scale industries. These metals were used in the mints for currency. The high level of purity and uniformity of the coins of the Delhi Sulṭāns and the Mughals is a testimony to the skill and technique of medieval coiners. Copper, brass and bronze were largely used for making images of deities in various sizes, the famous *Naṭarāja* being an example. They were also used for making vessels of worship. The architectural enterprises of the state included palaces, fortresses, city-walls, mosques and tombs These kept a large force of labourers and artisans employed. The number of skilled artisans, sculptors, masons and other craftsmen engaged in building private houses in the cities, the gigantic temples and palaces, fortresses and dams must have been literally countless.

Boat and Shipbuilding A large number of boats operated by the *mallāḥ* caste were constructed throughout India for riverine navigation. Large sea-going ships were built on an extensive scale both on the eastern and the western coasts. They were built not only for Indian ship-owners but for foreigners as well. The heaviest passenger ships of the time (1,000-1,500 contemporary tons) were meant for the *haj* traffic in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Paper There is enough evidence that paper of some sort was manufactured and used in ancient and early medieval India. It is likely, however, that the Chinese type of paper was brought to this country only in the 11th century. Even in Balban's time (A.D. 1266-1287), paper used to be so scarce that old *farmāns* had to be washed off so that new ones could be written on the same paper. In southern India, palm leaves were still largely in use till the 17th century In northern India, the manufacture as well as use of paper developed so rapidly that the village accountant had begun to keep his detailed records on paper as early as the 14th century An extensive book trade, unknown in previous times, now developed. The printing press, was not yet established in India, despite the fact that the Chinese invention had reached Europe as early as the 15th century

Leather and Other Industries. Leather was used for making a large variety of articles, such as saddles, scabbards, book-covers, shoes and shields. In Bengal, sugar was packed in leather parcels. In Gujarāt, gold and silver embroidered leather mats of such beauty were manufactured that they won the admiration of the Italian traveller Marco Polo. Two other important industries, providing means of livelihood to large numbers of artisans, were carpentry and pottery. It is not possible to enumerate here all the minor industries that existed in medieval India. A large number of these were devoted to the production of decorative articles. The coral industry of Gujarāt and Bengal, the cornelian industry of Gujarāt, besides ivory-carving, gold-embroidery etc., may be cited as examples.

Industrial Organisation. The industrial production of medieval India was entirely based on handicraft, the instruments in use being simple and cattle being the main source of power. There is no evidence of wind or water being harnessed. However, the use of grinding mills driven by hydraulic turbines (*pan-chakkis*) seems to have come into vogue quite early. Production was carried on by individual craftsmen usually in their homes and with tools owned by themselves. The village artisans as well as those who rendered domestic services, such as barbers, washermen and water-carriers, were paid through land allotments or fixed shares out of each harvest from every peasant. The rural cotton-carders, weavers, oil-men, smiths, carpenters and potters generally bartered their services for such payments in kind. However, in the cities, the artisans generally sold their finished products for cash in the open market. Here, too, on festive occasions, some of them bartered their products for gifts in kind. Others, such as gold and copper smiths, weavers, and glass-manufacturers seemed to have worked on a kind of 'putting-out' system very similar to that of Europe during the 17th century. The existence of a number of wealthy merchants, who also carried on import and export trade, shows that these and many other similar industries throve because they were well organized. In such industries as ship-building, mining and construction of forts, palaces, bridges, *sarāis*, *bāolis* (stepwells) and many others, large numbers of skilled and unskilled labourers were employed. For state consumption, *kārkhānas* or workshops were maintained by kings and nobles who perhaps imposed still greater discipline and supervision on the artisans. Firūz Shāh's *kārkhānas* are well known and Bernier (17th century) has left us a description of these workshops, which were maintained to meet the requirements of the employers and their households.

2. Trade and Commerce

Local Trade. There can be little doubt that the bulk of marketable

products, both agricultural and non-agricultural, was absorbed by local demand. The needs of the towns for food, clothing and other articles had to be met largely from the country around them. It may be justly presumed that the large urban population, interspersed in the midst of villages all around, would have absorbed a considerable portion of the production of the villages. The sale of these products was well organised. A market day was fixed for each locality when all the cottage manufactures were brought and exposed for sale. These consumer goods represented the surplus left after the bulk had been taken by the rich merchants who marketed them. Apart from the periodical markets known variously as *peṭh* or *hāṭ*, itinerant peddlars also supplied articles of daily consumption to householders in towns as well as villages

Inland and Coastal Trade. The conception of a road in medieval times was naturally very different from that of the present day. Most roads seem to have been unmetalled and were only in the form of a track with rows of trees on both sides. One notable feature of all roads was the existence, at short distances, of *sarāis* (rest houses or pavilions), wells, a small clump of shady trees and quite often a tank, all in one group. Small tanks containing water for cattle were also invariably added. These amenities were provided by well-to-do Hindus who believed it to be a necessary religious duty. There can be no doubt that there were cross-country or trunk roads as well as branch or minor roads, pathways and, in hilly areas, bridle-paths. On some roads at least, there were minarets at intervals of *karohs* (about 3 to 4 km) to show the way. There were bridges on smaller rivers and ferries and fords on the larger ones. Bullock carts, camels (in western India only) and pack-oxen were chiefly used for conveying goods over long distances. The merchants usually organised themselves in *qāfilahs* or caravans for safety. The *banjāras* specialised in conveying goods of bulk, such as foodgrains, sugar, butter and salt on their pack-oxen. Each mobile camp or *ṭāndā* of *banjāras* could consist of thousands of pack animals. But, unless price differences were very substantial, it did not pay to transport goods in bulk overland. River transport was cheaper and, therefore, very common. In Bengal, Sind and Kashmir, goods were mostly conveyed by boats. There was considerable traffic on the Yamunā and Gaṅgā rivers as, indeed, on all navigable rivers. In the 17th century, barges of 300 to 500 tons are said to have sailed from Āgra to Patna and Bengal, each taking a year to make the downward and return journey. In the Indus system, Lahore and Multān were big river-ports sending down boats to the port of Tatta. The tonnage of Indian shipping engaged in coastal trade was also quite large by contemporary standards.

Pattern of Trade. The evidence available enables us to draw a fairly comprehensive picture of the pattern of trade between various regions of the country in the 17th century. Information about the earlier centuries

is rather scanty, but we may assume that, in broad features, the pattern was practically similar.

During the 17th century, as also earlier, Bengal enjoyed great reputation for plentitude and low prices. It maintained a regular coastal trade with Coromandel, exporting rice, sugar and butter, and importing cotton yarn and tobacco. Kerala received rice and sugar, besides opium, from Bengal by sea. Bengal sugar was carried even to Gujarāt. Wheat was also sometimes exported from Bengal to southern India and to the Portuguese possessions on the western coast. There was an equally brisk trade between Bengal and Patna, which was further connected with Āgra by river and by the great imperial highway. Bengal exported rice, raw silk, sugar and textile to Patna and Āgra, receiving salt, cotton, opium and wheat in return. Salt was very scarce in Bengal and was imported from other places, especially from Rājasthān *via* Āgra.

Āgra was certainly the biggest commercial centre of the 17th century. Its needs of rice, wheat and butter were met by supplies drawn from places far down the Gaṅgā, Patna and even Bengal. Salt was brought here from Rājasthān, while it sent sugar, wheat and Bengal silk to Gujarāt. Āgra owed much of its commercial fame to indigo, which was exported to all parts of India and to many parts of the world. From Lahore and Multān, textiles, sugar and ginger were sent down to Tatta in return for pepper and dates. Sehwān indigo was also exported through Tatta, which itself received pepper from Malābar. The chief export of Kashmīr was saffron and shawls, while it imported salt, pepper, opium, cotton yarn, etc., from the rest of India. Gujarāt occupied a very prominent position in the commercial world of the time. It imported wheat and other foodgrains from the Mālwa and Ajmer provinces, while rice was brought from the Deccan and Malābar. It exported cotton, cotton textiles and silk goods to Āgra and tobacco to Tatta. With Kerala, it had a traditional coastal trade, exchanging opium for pepper. From the Deccan, specially Khāndesh, cotton and cotton textile were sent to Āgra. Pepper from the western coast was also sent overland to Āgra. Coromandel had an extensive trade with Bengal. In addition, it exported rice to Kerala *via* Kanniyākumāri.

Foreign Trade. The mainland routes connecting India with the rest of Asia went through mountain-passes in the north-west. Abū'l Faḍl wrote that Kābul and Kandahār were 'the twin gates of Hindustān, the one leading to Turkistān and the other to Persia'. The caravans for these places and beyond were made up in Lahore and Multān, which were great marts partly for this reason. Sea-borne trade was conducted from a large number of ports. On the western coast, Lahari Bandar (in Tatta) had replaced in importance the old port of Diabal by the 13th century. In Gujarāt, Cambay was the chief port till the end of the 16th century, when its place was taken by Surat. Further South, there were a series

of ports viz. Kandahâr (till the 17th century), Goa, Calicut and Cochin. From these ports, trade was carried on with the Persian Gulf and Europe. Calicut and Cochin also served as stopping places for ships plying between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. On the eastern coast, Masulipatam, Pulicut, Nāgappattinam, Madras (in the 17th century), Sâtgaon (and later Hooghly) and Sripur (near Sonârgaon, Bengal) served for trade with the East Indies. There were cargo-ship services to Persia and the East Indies *via* Coromandel. Chittagong was a base for pirates and was more closely associated with Arakan than with Bengal. It is difficult to estimate the volume of trade conducted through these ports. The overland trade was probably much smaller in volume than sea-borne trade. A description of the exports and imports may now be attempted. China exported to India silk goods, porcelain, lacquered ware, camphor, and various drugs and perfumes. From Burma and the East Indies (Pegu to Java), India received spices, particularly cloves and nutmeg, and small quantities of gold and silver. In return, textiles, yarn and opium were sent from both Bengal and Coromandel. Bengal exported sugar and textiles received from Gujarât. To Central Asia, India exported textiles, indigo, silk and opium, receiving in return horses, fur and musk. Bengal silk and sugar were exported to Persia, from where were brought coined silver, horses, dried fruits, silk goods and carpets etc. From Bahrain came pearls. Trade with the Lévant was conducted either through Basra or the Red Sea ports. Before the 16th century, when Europe also drew supplies of Indian goods through the Levant, this trade was more important. India exported textiles, indigo and pepper and received coined gold and silver, fine woollen cloth and silk. From the Red Sea region, India received Yemen horses, coffee, corals and Abyssinian slaves; textiles were the chief articles of export from India to this region, though rice was also sent to Yemen. With the East African coast, the volume of trade could not have been large, Indian textiles being exchanged for small quantities of amber, ebony and ivory.

A new element, which we have excluded from this description, was introduced by the opening of the direct sea-route between Europe and India at the end of the 15th century, when Vasco da Gama reached India after rounding the Cape of Good Hope in A.D. 1498. This resulted in an immense increase in the volume of Indo-European trade, though it is difficult to speak in precise quantitative terms. Undoubtedly, the new trade stimulated production in particular commodities, such as indigo and textiles in Gujarât and silk in Bengal. In the internal economy of the country, the most important effect of the European trade was probably seen in the rise of prices which the influx of silver and gold brought about in the 17th century.

Currency System. The standard coin under the Delhi Sultâns from

Iltutmish onwards was the silver *tankā* weighing 175 grain. The currency system was, however, bimetallic, there being parallel coins in copper, the basic unit of which was the *jital*. In the 14th century, 48 or 50 *jitals* were held equal in worth to a *tankā*. The Sulṭāns issued billon coins as well, and gold issues have also survived. The Lodīs, who never minted silver, issued a heavy billon coin of 145 grains called *bahloli*. In many of the successor kingdoms of the Delhi Sultanate, such as Gujarāt, Mālwa, Khāndesh and Berār, *tankās* of coarse silver continued to be minted well into the 16th century. The Vijayanagar empire had only gold and copper coins, the standard gold coin being the *hun* or pagoda. The pagoda continued to be the standard coin in southern India and Golconda in the 17th century, long after the destruction of the Vijayanagar empire. In northern India, Sher Shāh established a bimetallic system by issuing a rupee of silver and making the *tankā* a purely copper coin. The Mughals from Akbar onwards continued the same system: their rupee weighed 178 grains (180 under Aurangzeb), and the alloy in these never rose above 4 per cent. In copper they minted *dāms* of 323 grains each, these being originally the half-*tankā* of Sher Shāh. In the last years of Akbar, a rupee fetched 40 *dāms*, and this became subsequently the paper value of the rupee. In fact, the copper price of the rupee declined throughout the 17th century. The Mughals also issued gold coins, known as *mohur* or *ashrafi*, but these were not normally used in the market. The Mughal coinage was of great metallic purity and uniformity. The minting was 'free' in the sense that any one could take bullion to the mint and get it coined at a small charge (not exceeding 6 per cent of the value). The value of coins, therefore, corresponded with their weight in bullion. They were, however, liable to depreciate not only from loss in weight, but also with the passage of time. A newly minted coin enjoyed a premium over older coins. The *ṣarrāfs* or shroffs specialised in getting the bullion coined at the mints, and in testing and changing money.

Commercial Credit. Trade in medieval times was helped by an elaborate system of short-term credit, based on the drawing and discounting of *hundis*. The *hundi* was a written order or promise to pay an amount at sight or after a period of time at a place specified in the paper. When an ordinary person wanted to remit money to some other place, he went to a *ṣarrāf* who accepted the amount and drew a *hundi* on his agent or correspondent at the other place. The *ṣarrāf's* charges for this service were not very high, for instance, it was 1 per cent on *hundis* drawn at Delhi on Āgra (A.D. 1651). The *hundi* was also drawn by merchants for raising money to pay for goods purchased. In such cases, a *hundi* was very similar to a bill of exchange. It was usually discounted by the *ṣarrāfs* and was fully transferable. The rates of discount naturally varied with the credit of the drawer. The discount on *hundis* of merchants with high credit drawn at Āgra on Surat amounted to about 4½ to 5 per cent in the 17th

century. The *hundis* generally matured after two months, but the holder could not demand payment if the goods against which it was drawn were lost in transit.

Insurance. Goods in transit, whether on land or on sea, could be insured with *ṣarrāfs* by taking *hundis* covering the risk of loss of goods against which they were drawn. Sea-going ships were also insured. Insurance charges do not seem to have been very heavy, e.g., 2½ per cent of insured value on cochineal sent from Surat to Āgra (A.D. 1655), while it was 2½ per cent on sugar sent from Surat to Gambroon (a Persian port) by sea. The *ṣarrāfs* also undertook to convey insured goods themselves, a practice for which the term *bīmah* was employed.

Banking and Money-lending. Medieval India had a large class of professional money-lenders, known as *sāhukārs, mahājans* and *ṣarrāfs*. They engaged in money-lending of all types, from usurious loans to the discounting of *hundis*. The *ṣarrāfs* and *mahājans* sometimes attempted to augment their resources by accepting deposits. The augmentation of the resources of the *ṣarrāfs* and *mahājans*, either through their own profits or through deposits, did not necessarily add much to the volume of mercantile capital, the additional resources being largely re-employed in usurious money-lending. The big money-lenders and bankers of the town found in the nobility a much more profitable clientele than among merchants. The medieval Indian state commanded large financial resources. 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī's government is said to have advanced loans to merchants to encourage trade. The Multānī merchants alone received twenty lakh *tankās* from his treasury to enable them to bring goods to Delhi. But these were exceptional measures, and medieval governments normally did not grant financial assistance to merchants in this manner.

D. GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The problem of forming anything like a faithful picture of the general economic condition of a vast country like India with a variegated population, over a long period of no less than eight centuries, is naturally fraught with great difficulties. The inherent complexities of the problem are further enhanced by the paucity of available data on the economic life of the early centuries of the period under review.

The crucial point to bear in mind in this context is the historical nature of the subject, and that socio-economic conditions kept evolving with the passage of time. Another fact to be remembered is the basically different attitudes of the Turkish conquerors and the Hindu rulers and subsequent changes in the outlook of their successors. No sweeping generalisations, either for the whole period or the entire

country, can be correct or fair. Hence, it would be necessary first to be clear as to the criteria by which to estimate the country's general economic condition.

To start with, we should try to estimate the overall quantum of wealth which the country possessed as compared to that of the contemporary world. We should endeavour to see in what manner its economic resources were distributed among the various sections and classes of the society. We must also note what role the successive state systems played in promoting the general welfare of the people or increasing the wealth of the country as a whole. It would also be essential to understand the role of the time-honoured system of local self-government in its various forms of village and caste *pañcāyats*, trade guilds and group corporations, Finally, it is of the utmost importance to comprehend the part played in the preservation and stability of the country's economy by the co-operative effort and organisation of its merchant princes and big business houses on the one hand, and on the other by those religio-cultural institutions of which the main centres were the great medieval temples rendering all manner of services to the community.

Wealth of India. As regards the wealth of the country as a whole, certain broad facts stand out unmistakably. All foreign travellers and observers as well as our own literary, historical and epigraphical sources bear witness to the enormous treasures possessed by the kings and the nobility, as also the equally vast wealth accumulated in the numerous temples throughout the country. There was another great centre of riches the importance of which has never been properly appreciated by writers on this subject. This centre of wealth was represented by our great industrial magnates and merchant-princes. Since the earliest historical times, they wielded a degree of influence on the economic life of the country which can hardly be over-rated. The accumulation of incalculable but dead treasures was one permanent aspect of our economy at the point of time when northern India was suddenly convulsed by a series of invasions which fell like lightning on the Indian princes, in quick succession and eventually wiped them out. Apart from the ruin and devastation that the invader left behind, what is more relevant to our present purpose is the enormous wealth and treasures of every description which he carried away from the royal houses and the temples where they had been accumulating for centuries. It is noteworthy that the Hindu chiefs had vied with one another over a long period in raising temples and filling them with treasures. The glory thus earned was reckoned only next to the glory won in warfare. The temples of Ābu, Dhār, Khajurāho and Konārak were being built at the time when Multān, Thānesar, Mathura, Kannauj and Vārānasi were being ravaged by the Turkish invaders.

The situation in the South was not different, although this region

remained free for another three centuries from the depredations to which the North had fallen victim. Here, the expenditure on the religious enterprises far outstripped those of the North. As if the fabulous expenditure on the construction of the temples was not enough, they were filled with gifts and donations in the form of the costliest jewels, precious metals and dresses, almost beyond count.

It is obvious that the plunder of the capital cities and sacred centres of the Hindus, which became a regular feature in the following centuries, first by foreigners and then by the Delhi Sulṭāns, did not succeed in depleting these treasures. It was as though they were inexhaustible. It must also be noted in this connection that every Hindu in the country, rich or poor, high or low, made a gift according to his means not only to the temples but also to the numerous works of public utility, as a sacred social obligation which he fulfilled happily and willingly. This was ingrained in the minds of the people as a traditional obligation enjoined by the Dharmaśāstras. The wealthy section of the people undertook to construct pavilions on the roads which were often fairly big, comprising several chambers, a well and a trough for cattle to drink water, a clump of trees, or even a big garden and a tank. All these benefactions were gifted by inhabitants of villages and towns in a spirit of selfless service and for spiritual satisfaction.

With regard to the business magnates, the names of the most famous among them who possessed vast riches and carried on trade both inland and foreign on an extensive scale are well-known. There was, besides a much larger class of businessmen of different financial levels about whom we have ample information from contemporary sources, including some biographical works. These and the wealthy *banjāras* served to maintain an unbroken stream of supplies to the different parts of the country as also to the seaport markets for export. This link between the inland centres of production of goods such as textiles, indigo, metal-ware, ivory products, silks and many others, and the export markets kept them continually fed with all sorts of commodities. It served as a perennial pipeline bringing in such large quantities of foreign specie that some countries felt alarmed at the heavy drain of their gold and were forced to take severe measures in order to stop the import of Indian goods. Foreign trade thus constituted one major source of the ever increasing wealth of the country. If we add to this the immense accumulations of the mineral and industrial products of which we have glowing accounts by foreign as well as indigenous writers, then one need not wonder about the universal belief that India possessed inexhaustible wealth. Regarding the opulence and prosperity of South India, we learn from Marco Polo who visited India in A.D. 1294 and observed that the rich people of Malabār were born traders. He has described a very practical system of commercial education given by the Vaiśyas of the South to their youth and admires

their honesty and truthfulness. Marco Polo's detailed description of the commercial community of South India shows that, in the 13th century, India still maintained its ancient reputation as one of the chief marts of Asia. He further testified to the vast accumulations of wealth in the royal treasuries and spoke of the famous diamond-mines of Golconda.

With regard to the industries and manufactures, Marco Polo said that the finest muslins and costly fabrics were made in the 'Teluga' country, which looked like the tissue of spider's web. There was no king or queen in the world who would not love to wear such apparel. The largest sheep in the world were to be found here and the people had all the necessaries of life in great abundance. Marco Polo goes on to give an account of the great trade of the Malabār coast in spices, indigo, etc., for which merchants came from the east and the west. The rise to eminence of the Coḷa power early in the 11th century, their great navy by means of which they made extensive conquests and augmented their overseas trade, as also the splendour of their capitals and the richness of their temples are too well-known to need repetition. In later centuries too, the prosperity and affluence of their upper classes continued to prevail. A poet of the 13th century recounts the visit of king Kumārapāla Solāṅki to the mansion of a multi-millionaire and mentions with amazement the huge stores of gold and valuables in his host's palace. The immense riches possessed by the courtesans of these times was also a matter of frequent comment by the contemporary writers.

Of the subsequent centuries, we have more ample and vivid accounts left by a number of travellers and official envoys. These foreigners were struck by the enormous riches of the kings in the south, especially Vijayanagar, as also by the large number of flourishing towns and cities, and the general prosperity of the common people. In the 14th century, Ibn Baṭūṭa travelled all over the north as well as south. He mentiond in his writings, the products and trade of northern India, as also the foreign commerce, shipbuilding industry and wealth of the coastal regions in the South. In the 13th century, the volume of trade controlled by the merchants of Multān and other frontier towns can be estimated from their monopoly of the entire import of horses from outside. 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī had to take drastic steps to prevent them from exploiting the government when he decided to recruit a vast army for which thousands of good horses were needed. At the same time, we learn of the incalculable treasures in gold, silver and jewellery which the Khaljī Sulṭāns and their generals, Kāfūr and Khusraw, brought from the southern capitals and courts. As we proceed to later times, we notice that, with the establishment of stable conditions during the reign of the Sūrīs and then under Akbar, industries, manufactures and trade grew rapidly as a result of the facilities and amenities on the roads and the security of movement provided by the state.

In the eastern parts, the 11th and 12th centuries were a period of peace, plenty and happiness. Land tax was only 1¼ pice per plough per month. Incidentally, such a low rate of land tax shows that the necessities of life were extremely cheap and abundant. Nikitin, a Russian traveller of the 15th century, was struck by the amazingly low prices of commodities and noted that people could have a moderately comfortable life on a pittance. There is ample evidence of fine and luxurious domestic furnishings. On the other hand, oppressive taxation inflicted sufferings on the people. Our knowledge of these social conditions is often based on the writings of contemporary poets and it may be that the picture is coloured. Yet, it is probable that the poorer sections of society did have to lead a life of hardship. Nikitin also refers to the miseries of the poor people and on the way of disposal of prisoners of war from Vijayanagar by the Muslim kings.

Manufactures, handicrafts and natural products were in such abundance that large quantities of them were exported. Bengal was famous for its ship-building industry and, even if we make allowance for the hyperbole of the poets, it is fairly certain that large ships were built by wealthy merchants. A multi-millionaire merchant named Cānda, lord of Champak, was the owner of a fleet of vessels and he himself made long-distance voyages for trade with far-away countries.

During the three centuries of the rule of the Sulṭāns of Delhi, people who lived far from the capital were comparatively immune from oppression. However, they had to bear the burden of heavier taxation with hardly any constructive help from the government. The position changed during the rule of the Sūris and then of the Mughals. Effective measures were adopted by Sher Shāh to give the people every facility to live and work in safety. His public works encouraged trade and improved the general lot of the common men. In fact, his concern for the peasantry was so intense that anyone who did the least damage to their farms even during war-time had to suffer severe punishment.

About the economic conditions under the Mughals, we have a wealth of detailed data from the large number of European visitors as also from indigenous sources. In view of the limitation of space, we shall refer only to certain prominent features of the country's economy. The Mughals were traditionally a land-bound people and never realized the importance of sea power. That was why they failed to build up a navy or sea-borne trade even though there was the example of the Western powers who were in the thick of competition for the mastery of the seas. The great Indian monarchs, with all their prowess, had to depend on the mercy of the foreigners even for the safety of their pilgrims going to Arabia. This greatly handicapped the traditional overseas commerce. Even so, the business houses carried on a very profitable trade, having established relations with the European companies which had set up

factories at Indian seaports. We learn from the Italian traveller Manucci that Surat was the largest port in India to which ships came from all the countries of Europe, West Asia and China. Whenever a loaded vessel arrived, the Hindu traders went aboard, and enquired whether the Captain would sell the entire cargo of the ship. They made payment either in cash or furnished goods in exchange. Other foreign visitors described the large number of cargo ships which came to Surat, Cambay and other coastal towns. They also referred to the various handicrafts, such as ivory bracelets for women. Great merchant princes like Vīrjī Vorā of Surat (17th century), Śāntidāsa Jawāharī of Ahmedābād, Ḥājī Sa'īd Beg (middle of 17th century), Manohardāsa (A.D. 1630), Malay Chetty of the East Coast and a host of others were famous as financiers, exporters and importers. Many of them had ships of their own and often lent large sums of money to the Mug̱hal princes.

The emperors helped the growth of industry by maintaining numerous factories for the manufacture of various articles, such as armaments, court equipment, silks, carpets, etc. For Akbar's wardrobe, as we learn from Abū'l Faḍl, one thousand full suits were prepared every season. Of precious metals, jewellery and other costly articles, there was a glut with the higher classes as also in the markets of cities like Āgra, Fatehpur Sīkri, Delhi, Jaunpur, Ahmedābād, Burhānpur, Lahore and Murshidābād. Ralph Fitch visited Āgra and Fatehpur Sīkri in A.D. 1585 and found them to be larger than London and very populous. The entire distance of twelve miles between them was a sort of contiguous market, full of victuals. Terry gives a similar description of Lahore, and Monserrate regarded Burhānpur to be 'very great, rich and full of people'. Reaching Sonārgaon (Dacca) in A.D. 1586, Fitch noted 'the best and finest cloth made in all India'. During the reigns of S̱hāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, Delhi grew in importance and became the chief city and emporium of trade and crafts. De Laet, who visited India during the times of Jahāngīr and S̱hāh Jahān, says that "ships from Mocha bring back hardly anything but gold and silver. Precious metals are also imported from other countries and never allowed to be exported." Bernier was impressed with the extreme fertility of Bengal and by its production of "innumerable articles of export, such as cotton, silk, indigo." He also saw the manufacture of fine carpets, brocades, embroideries, gold and silver cloths. He comments: 'It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up......in Hindustan or even a part of gold from America found its way to India'. From Bernier, we also learn that India consumed a large quantity of dry fruits. Thus, due to her geographical position, and also as the supplier of luxuries to the civilized world, India became a great repository of gold and silver. This process had started as early as the 1st century A.D. Even Pliny lamented the drain of Roman gold into India. In this context,

when it is remembered that due to the extraordinary cheapness of commodities, *cowrie* (sea-shell) was used as a coin worth about 1/80 of a *paisā*, the prevalent view that the masses of the common people led a life of misery may appear to be ridiculous.

We may also take note of private companies owned by rich families of traders specialising in the transport and insurance of goods between distant parts of the country, both by land and water. An idea of the amount of commerce and exchange of goods between the different regions can be formed from the description of river ports which were choked up with thousands of cargo boats, many of them carrying several thousand maunds of goods. There were equally safe means of land transport, according to the kind of commodity to be carried. The seaports which studded India's extensive seaboard were a substantial source of revenue to the state. Besides the court and official hierarchy, there was a prosperous class of technicians, artisans and skilled workers belonging to numerous vocations. Famous architects, artisans, smiths, ivory workers, jewellers, perfumers and armourers were paid liberally, some of them getting munificient rewards in addition to regular salaries. The tours of the emperors for war or for some other reason were akin to moving cities consisting, among other items, of scores of bazars specialising in the supply of numerous commodities varying from armaments and clothes to diverse types of foods.

The most serious handicap from which the country's trade and commerce suffered was the amazing neglect of the Mughals towards the attainment of sea-power. The inevitable consequence was a serious set-back to India's international trade against her western rivals who commanded the sea routes and enjoyed the added advantage of utilising progressively the technical and scientific advancement of the west. The great business magnates mentioned above, who once controlled and dominated that trade, could not withstand the hard competition and the bulk of commerce ultimately passed into the hands of the English. Later in the 18th and the following centuries, the English made use of their political power to destroy India's industries and exports in order to develop their own economy. It is undeniable that, not long after Akbar, there was a gradual decline in administrative efficiency, and an increase in the tendency to exploit the resources of the tax-payer in order to use them mainly on wasteful undertakings. This process culminated in Aurangzeb's policy of sacrificing the basic obligations of the government to an irreconcilable mixture of self-centred ambition and religious parochialism. The utter neglect of the commercial life of the nation struck a blow at the economic life and growth of the country.

It is also clear that, all through this period, there existed a very strong middle class, both upper and lower, represented by businessmen, leading village dignitaries artisans, manufacturers, technicians and others. In

the face of such overwhelming evidence, the view held by Moreland that the middle classes were few in number is baseless. It is beside the point that under some rulers the middle classes, like all others led a precarious existence. Incidentally, it is also clear that India in this period was not mainly agricultural, as is generally supposed. On the contrary, she could favourably compare with any other country in both the quality and quantity of her industrial products.

Role of the State. This brings us to the question of the impact of state policies on the general lot of the people. In the Hindu states, the incidence of land revenue was very mild and cases exceeding the prescribed limits were rare, even if, in times of emergency, some additional levies were imposed to meet the extra demands on the government. It is also undeniable that with the exception of some big works like tanks, reservoirs, embankments and temples, all necessary amenities and services had to be provided by the people for themselves. They were left free to look after their affairs through local bodies. That led to the phenomenal rise of the authority of village and caste councils (*pañcāyats*). It also led to the assumption of political power by trade guilds and corporations. The practice of providing irrigation works, roads, wells, tanks, reservoirs and other amenities for their common benefit became in course of time a religious duty enjoined by the Dharmaśāstras.

In the pre-Turkish period, the royalty and the other higher echelons of society lived a life of plenty and even luxury. We have scanty information about the economic position or the standard of life of the common people, the farmers, the skilled and unskilled labourers and domestic workers. However, there is reason to presume that, since the time of the great Guptas and Harṣa, the condition of the peasantry and the country people in general had not undergone any appreciable change. Therefore, even though a large section of the rural and urban working classes could not have enjoyed what may be described as affluence, they were never in want of the necessities of life and had ample resources to feed and clothe themselves. It would be pertinent here to point out that some modern writers have upheld the ridiculous view, based on the superficial observation of foreign travellers, that in many parts of the country—in south India, for instance—most people went about half naked and unshod because of poverty or lack of civilization. They forget that dress is mainly and primarily dictated by climatic conditions and considerations of utility and convenience. For the people of the sultry regions of the south or east, that was the sensible and healthy way of living. Even the royalty and other affluent classes wore scanty raiment in summer. It may be conceded that a large number of the poorer people could not possibly afford an abundance of clothing but their essential needs were always satisfied. In different regions, the people had clothes to suit the varying

local climates. The clothes of the poor were generally made from coarse home-spun and locally woven cloth, but they were good enough to shelter the users against the inclemencies of the weather.

The general standard of wages can be gauged from those of the temple staff. The emoluments of the lowest staff were enough to keep them well fed and well-clad. The first positive evidence of the cheapness of commodities of daily consumption comes from 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī's time. Here is a summary of the controlled rates fixed by the Khaljī Sultān: wheat 7½ *jitals* per maund, other cereals and pulses 3 to 5 *jitals* per maund, white sugar 1½ *jitals* per seer, brown sugar (*gur* etc.) ⅓ *jital* per seer, butter 1 *jital* per 2½ seers, oil (*til*) 1 *jital* per 3 seers and salt 2 *jitals* per maund. The seer of that time was equivalent to 24 *tolas* but maund was equal to 40 seers; therefore, two maunds were equal to 24 British seers or about 22 kgs. *Jital* was 1/50 of a silver *tańkā* of one *tolā*. Thus, if the *tańkā* be taken as equal to one rupee the *jital* would be 2 *paise*. But the comparative rates of silver, copper and gold at that time and now, and also the intrinsic value of coins and many other factors, render the problem of comparing the 13th-century rates with the present too complicated. It may be held that the normal rates of commodities before and after the control would have been about 25 per cent more, i.e., wheat might be selling at 10 *jitals* per maund of 12 seers. Another specific mention of the extreme cheapness of commodities pertains to the time of Lodī rulers. 'Abdullah, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, tells us that in the reign of Sikandar Lodī if a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi to Āgra, one *bahlolī* would, with the greatest ease, suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse and escort. This may be an exaggeration. However, with regard to the unusual cheapness of those times, all contemporary writers are unanimous in their views. We have clear evidence of this cheapness from an unquestionable source. Banārasī, a poet-cum-jeweller of Avadh, of the 16th century, describing his experience of a long stay in Āgra, says that for feeding himself on *kacorīs* (fried loaves) morning and evening regularly for about eight months he had to spend only fourteen rupees, i.e., one rupee and twelve annas per month, or about one anna per day. This is corroborated by the extremely low prices at the time of Akbar. A few items may be cited, by way of illustration—wheat 12 *dāms* per maund of 27½ seers of 80 *tolās* each, wheat flour (fine or coarse) varying between 15 to 22 *dāms* per maund. Rice ranged between 20 to 110 *dāms* per maund, white sugar 128 *dāms* per maund, brown sugar 56 *dāms* per maund, *ghee* 105 *dāms* per maund and salt 16 *dāms* per maund.

It should be noted that these prices were on the whole appreciably lower than those of the Khaljī period, and it is rather interesting that *ghee* was cheaper than white sugar. No wonder that *ghee* was consumed in large quantities even by people with limited means.

The 17th century saw a substantial rise in the price level. With the prices given in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (A.D. 1590) as the base (100), we find that gold had risen to 178 in A.D. 1666, copper to 250 in A.D. 1667, wheat to 285 at Āgra in A.D. 1670 (a year of abundant harvests) and Bayāna indigo to 325 in A.D. 1667. In other words, we observe in India an extension of the price revolution which had already taken place in Europe during the preceding century.

Some figures of the wages prevalent at that time may as well be taken for consideration:

Gilkārs (Workers in lime), 5 to 7 *dāms* per day; Carpenters, 2 to 7 *dāms* per day; Bricklayers, 3 to 3½ *dāms* per day.
Ordinary labourer, 2 *dāms* per day; Matchlockmen, 6 rupees (240 *dāms*) per month or 8 *dāms* per day.
Archers, 2½ rupees (100 *dāms*) per month or nearly 3½ *dāms* per day.

Standard of Life.—The few instances adduced above bring out clearly the fact that living was so cheap that the small emoluments of the poorest labourer, were sufficient in normal times to afford him a comfortable life. Low prices were prevalent over the entire orient at that time. Manrique saw that a condel of rice (roughly 20 maunds) cost Rs. 3 or at the most Rs. 4. Coryat spent only two pence a day on his journey from Aleppo to Kandahār. Terry remarks that all provisions were so plentiful throughout India that everyone could eat in abundance. All the travellers, from Marco Polo and Chau Ju-Kua in the 13th century to Barbosa and many others in the 16th century, noted the affluence of Indian cities, towns and seaports, and the great luxury in which the upper strata of society comprising the ruling class, the nobility, merchants, bankers, jewellers, *jāgīrdārs* and many others lived. The descriptions of the dress and ornaments and perfumes used by the people of Gujarāt, Malabār and Vijayanagar as given by Nuniz, Linschoten, Pyrard, Terry, Della Valle and other foreign visitors carry incontestable evidence of the prosperity as also of the culture of the Indian people in that age.

This is not to suggest that luxuries were available to the common man. The ordinary middle class comprising the priests, *quādīs* and *mullās*, physicians, and other learned people, traders and tillers of the soil, artisans represented by smiths, potters, carpenters, dyers, confectioners, sculptors, cotton and silk weavers, ivory workers and many others, lived quite comfortably. These classes were generally disposed to be thrifty and, therefore, financially sound.

Some foreigners have commented on the miserable life of the poorer classes, but this misery was social rather than economic. It was due not so much to poverty as to the humiliation and scorn to which they were subjected by the parasitic priestly class and their blind followers, among the Hindus. It may also be noted that the high class Muslim converts were also not free from the snobbery of their noble birth and social

status. Another major factor which aggravated the misery of the poor people from the beginning of the 16th century was the savage indulgence of the Portuguese in slave trade which they made their chief business. Pyrard and Linschoten have given harrowing accounts of the slave trade at Goa saying, 'they drive slaves as we do horses here'. Slaves were very cheap to buy. Some Portuguese kept scores of male and female slaves and made a living for themselves through their labour and nefarious activities. Many of these slaves had been kidnapped as children while others were prisoners of war.

Food. With regard to the eating habits and tastes of the people, one must take note (as in the matter of clothing) of the climatic conditions and the products of different regions. Abū'l Faḍl, who found it impossible to describe the numerous dishes and preparations, set down the recipes for only thirty select dishes of rice, flour and meat. The famous *Bāqar-khānī nān* (bread) and a large number of salt and sweet preparations of Delhi and Āgra are well-known. Terry, in his description of the banquet given to Sir Thomas Roe by Āṣaf Khān, mentions seventy dishes for the guests. There are a number of works such as the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara III (A.D. 1126-1138), and *Nuskha-i-Shāhjahānī*, which give detailed recipes of hundreds of kinds of dishes along with the methods of their preparation. A word must be said about *khichrī*, which is regarded by many people as a diet for the poor. There were scores of varieties of this popular preparation and it was one of the richest delicacies for the well-to-do. While *khichrī* was a popular dish in western and northern India, it was appreciated in the South too in a slightly different form. Manrique mentions a more luxurious kind of *khichrī*, called Gujarāti *khichrī*, which was seasoned with various spices and was served at feasts in Bengal. *Ghee* and yellow sugar were available to men of the most ordinary means. Wheat, barley, gram and maize were commonly eaten in north-western India and millets were the favourite of Rājasthān, Gujarāt and Mālwa. Mukundrāma, a poet of 16th century, tells us about 'confectioners who manufacture sugar and confectionaries of all sorts and some of them go about the towns' selling their preparations to the children.

Houses. We need not tarry over the great mansions of the kings and nobles and of the wealthy businessmen in cities and towns. The houses of the middle classes in the cities were constructed mostly of burnt brick. Mud walls, reinforced by a liberal mixture of long grass and jute, were common in the villages all over northern India. The roofs were flat and the wooden rafters and planks were covered with a padding of grass mixed with earth taken from the bed of old pools and tanks because of its special adhesive property. This earth, as it dried, became stone-hard and provided good protection against rain. Bengal and the eastern regions as also the east and west coasts were subject to heavy rain.

In these regions a thatched gable roof of long grass with a high ridge at the centre was devised to drain off rain water before it could be absorbed into the roof.

The twin institution of the 'temple' and 'village council' (*pañcāyat*) shielded the people and enabled them to carry on their normal business of life, without caring for what went on at the top. The main reason of the extraordinary growth of the village councils and the temples as institutions of all-round social service was the indifference and neglect shown by the medieval Hindu rulers in respect of their obligations towards their subjects. The people were left to their own resources for their wider economic and cultural needs. The temple and the village council became the universal instrument for providing society with all that it needed for a happy, healthy and productive life. The village council, together with the various parallel organisations, served to promote the economic welfare of the rural people by giving them protection against exploitation by the government. The temples maintained a good number of employees, patronised scholars and served as seminaries of higher knowledge and the fine arts. They also served as bankers and farmers, daily feeding thousands of people, besides carrying on a variety of religious, educational and cultural activities. Under Muslim rule, many mosques also served as seminaries and were generally maintained by the state. This assumption of vast functions and powers by the village council (*pañcāyats*) and the temple was not an unmixed blessing. It was only an expedient forged by the genius of the Indian people to fill up the socio-political vacuum resulting from the medieval rulers' neglect of their duties and obligations. These institutions performed their appointed task admirably, but they were the custodians of an essentially static culture.

In such circumstances, the economy of the country fell into set patterns and dead formularies. While great excellence was attained in certain closed areas and spheres of social husbandry, no new or unorthodox chords were struck, no unbeaten tracks broken, no new inventions or advancement made in any branch of technology. Society became static, simply existing in the image of its past, acquiring no new devices or techniques to face the challenge of the fast-advancing progressive nations of the west.

CHAPTER III

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND LITERATURE (A.D. 1206-1761)

1. Social Institutions and Social Life.

The Turkish conquerors of Hindustān differed from the indigenous population in religion, manners and customs, but their advent did not bring about any revolutionary change in the social life of the country. The institutional basis of social order and economic organization remained substantially unaltered. The caste system and the self-sufficient village economy continued to function undisturbed. But the introduction of new elements modified Indian culture, and the transfer of political power had considerable influence on society and culture. In course of time and by the living together of the two, foreigners and Indians, was evolved a 'Hindustānī' way of life in most parts of Northern India. One can obtain a glimpse of this slow and imperceptible evolution in the writings of Alberūnī (11th century), Ibn Baṭūṭa (14th century) and Bābur (16th century), the accounts of the foreign travellers from Islamic countries during the period, and contemporary literature in Persian and Indian languages.

The majority of India's vast population lived in the villages with agriculture as their main occupation. As subjects of the Sulṭān, they were required to pay a part of their produce as land revenue to the state through different types of intermediaries. Some Sulṭāns like 'Alāu'd-dīn Khalji and Muḥammad bin Tughluq levied high rates which entailed suffering to the agriculturists, but otherwise the peasants could satisfy their modest wants from the fruits of their labour. The incidence of the population on the vast land was low; food was plentiful and cheap. So long as the peasants had land to till, they had nothing to worry about. If oppressed, they fled and set up another village in the unoccupied territory and bagan a new life. Throughout the period under review, life in the villages remained largely isolated and unprogressive, and extremely simple and stereotyped.

In spite of his hard life, the man behind the plough was not unhappy. If occasional famines made his life miserable, the timely arrival of rains removed his anxieties. Cut off from the sophisticated city life, he lived happily under the self-sufficient village economy. The village artisans and servants, the priest and the money-lender satisfied all his requirements. The joint family system afforded him protection; the village *pañcāyat* gave his minor grievances a just redress. If there was little to spare, there

was sufficient to live by and the numerous festive occasions, which encouraged community dances, *kathās* and dinners, must have filled his heart with joy.

The village with its caste *pañcāyats* and headman was an autonomous unit of the state which carried out its routine activities unmindful of what happened to the central government.

The Turkish rulers had a preference for the city life. They were essentially an urban people. The cities were inhabited by a mixed population of Hindus and Muslims. The kings and the provincial governors and nobles held their court there, and set the standards of cultural life and social behaviour.

The Turks from Central Asia and other foreigners like the Persians and the Arabs formed the ruling class. In matters of appointment high lineage was given a premium. Balban never gave any post to a low-born Muslim or a Hindu. Since there was no clear-cut distinction between civil and military services, the nobles and officers were graded into *Khāns*, *Maliks*, *Amīrs*, *Sipah-sālārs* and *Sar-khails* according to their military status. They formed the props of the state. But since their tenure of office depended upon the will of the Sulṭān, they were prone to be sycophants and intriguers. After death, their property reverted to the state. Consequently, there was no desire to serve; they lived a life of luxury, even of extravagance. The other well-to-do classes took a cue from them, and they vied with them in having large seraglios, employing a train of slaves and living as luxuriously as their purse allowed.

The educated and literary section among the Muslims comprised the '*ulamā*' who held judicial, ecclesiastical and educational posts. Some of them were teachers in private and government institutions. Not only all the historians of the period, but almost all the literary men belonged to this group. They were consulted by the Sulṭān and the nobles on important points of law and even matters of state policy. Their learning, their importance as custodians of religion and their jealous regard for social position made them no doubt influential among the people. But the conceit, hypocrisy and bigotry of the majority of the '*ulamā's*, to which contemporary chroniclers bear ample witness, reduced considerably their popularity with the kings. Strong rulers like 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad Tughluq hardly paid attention to them in matters of state policy. On the other hand, a peculiar sanctity was attached in Muslim society to the Syeds and *Ṣūfīs* or saints.

The lower classes of the Muslim society comprised mainly the converts from Hinduism, and it was difficult to distinguish them from the Hindu masses. Conversion effected little change in the social environment or economic standard of such Muslims. They continued to work as artisans, shopkeepers and clerks. Many worked in the royal *kārkhānas* and many more as slaves in the royal palace and the households of the nobles and

the rich. The ruling classes treated them as inferiors, and denied them office under government and equality in social matters.

The Hindus, in spite of the fact that they were the conquered people, did not occupy socially any inferior status. They continued to follow the ancient customs and institutions. The Brāhmaṇas looked after the temples, directed religious ceremonies, worked as teachers, administered Hindu personal laws and served the Hindu society in various other ways. The state did not interfere in their activities. They were even exempt from the payment of *jizyah* except in the reign of Firūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluq and Aurangzeb. The Kṣatriyas had lost a large part of their dominion specially in the North, but most of the independent Rājās, *ra'īs* and *zamīndārs* belonged to this caste. They were a proud and warlike class. They rode on horses, carried arms and dressed in white. They were reluctant in paying government dues and fought against the Sulṭāns for safeguarding their interests, position and prestige. The Vaiśyas were quite well off. They were engaged in banking, commerce, transport and crafts. Their industrial and commercial activities provided for the needs and pleasures of the rich and the powerful. All kinds of articles were manufactured in the royal *kārk͟hānas* and in private establishments. Cloth and silk were brought from as far off places as Multān, Bengal and Devagiri, and Sindhī merchants made good profits. Trading and banking were the monopoly of the Vaiśyas and they had a brisk business. Their importance in the social and political life of the country can be gauged from the fact that they advanced loans to Firūz Tug͟hluq when he went out on campaigns. The Śūdras and the lower classes continued to suffer from disabilities as before. Islām did not attach any stigma to untouchability and conversion offered opportunity of emancipation.

The position of women was far from enviable. A society in which female infanticide, child-marriage, *pardah, jauhar, satī*, and slavery existed was not a happy one for women. Amīr K͟husraw laments the birth of a daughter, and S͟haik͟h Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' declares that there would be *Qiyāmat* (Day of Resurrection) if women were given freedom. Uneducated and shut up in their homes women excelled their menfolk in conservatism, superstition and belief in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. But there were exceptions too; women like Raḍiya and Rūpamatī were highly accomplished. Though mostly they were not educated in the modern sense of the term, they were well trained in household work. Motherhood was universally respected, and the devotion of the Indian woman to her husband, children and home was proverbial.

All foreign and Indian writers testify to the general prosperity of the country, although they also refer to the acute differences prevailing in the standards of living of the rich and the poor. The common poeople on the whole were hardworking and of sober habits. Except among the rich, wine-drinking was not common. The chief drink of the people

was plain water and *sharbat*. *Pān*-chewing was quiet common. Many Brāhmaṇas and Hindus in general were vegetarians. Professions went by caste, and the caste *pañcāyats* regulated their internal affairs. Though education was neither compulsory nor universal, there were many government and private schools and colleges. There were no printed text-books, and learning entailed extreme taxing of memory. Consequently, those few who took to studies worked hard. Though higher education was confined to the few, the standard was high. Education of a lower grade was widely prevalent.

Many measures, from time to time, were undertaken by the state for the well-being of the people. 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī resorted to price-control and rationing. Firūz Tughluq opened a hospital at Delhi, and established schools and colleges at various places. He also started a Department of Charities for the poor and provided dowry for the daughters of the poor. He constructed five canals to provide irrigational facilities. By and large, in the period under review, the people were contented.

Among the professions, that of arms was considered very attractive by all sections of the Muslims and many sections of the Hindus. Outdoor sports and exercises consisted of big-game shooting, horse-racing, dog-racing, archery, pigeon-flying, cock-fighting and similar amusements. Chess, *chausar*, *pachīsī*, and many other games with stakes were played indoors. Professional acrobats, jugglers and mountebanks moved from place to place entertaining people with their performances. There were numerous festive occasions like *Rāma-līlā*, *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*, *Dussehrā*, *Diwālī* and *Holī* in which folk-dances, music and mirth went on for days together. The Muslims celebrated *'Īd*, *Bārāh-wafāt* and *Shab-i-Barāt* with equal enthusiasm. As in all ages so in the middle ages of India too there were vices and virtues. If there was duelling and debauchery, there was also respect for the elders, loyality to the master, and abundant hospitality.

A pleasing feature of the social and cultural life in the early Middle Ages was the attempt to bring the Hindus and Muslims together, and to evolve a common way of living. Complete fusion between the caste-conscious Hindus and the ruling-class Muslims was not a practical proposition, for many things separated them. But there were many others that brought them together, and the two contradictory forces continued to operate throughout the period. On the one hand, the Turkish families could not forget that they had come as conquerors and were rulers and masters, a feeling shared by others holding high ranks. The rigours of Islāmic law also were responsible for keeping the people apart. On the contrary, there were also forces which urged the Hindus and the Muslims to come together. Both sections of the people enjoyed and participated in the festivals of each other. A large number of Hindus used to attend the celebrations of Muslim festivals. Muslim saints and Hindu *yogīs* also helped to bring the people closer together. The very fact that the

Hindus and the Muslims had to live together made them rub off their angularities. The Muslims learnt to live as Indians, regarding India as their home, adopting much in their dress, food, manners and customs, superstitions, social divisions, etc. They used the Indian languages for mutual intercourse and evolved a new language—Urdu—as a common medium of expression.

But apart from some fanatical *'ulamā'* advocating intolerance, and the orthodox Hindus maintaining their exclusiveness, there were socio-religious reformers like Rāmānanda, Kābir, Nānak and many others who taught the people unity of all religions, equality of all men and brotherhood of Hindus and Muslims. Thus when early in the 16th century Bābur came to India he did not find here any thing exclusively 'Hindu' or 'Muslim'. He found that in India everything was 'in the Hindustānī way'.

Social life in any given period is shaped by the administrative set-up, economic developments and contemporary religious trends. From this point of view the Mughal period witnessed varied changes, all converging upon an emergence of Indian values and a general enrichment of life.

In the field of administration, this spirit is manifested in the new sense of responsibility evinced by the rulers towards the governed, both Hindu and Muslim. It becomes evident in the time of Sher Shāh and increasingly significant in the time of Akbar and his immediate successors. The active desire of the Mughals to promote and safeguard the happiness of the people is to be seen in the duties and responsibilities attached to different offices described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and in the *Dastūr-ul-amal* (rules of conduct) proclaimed by Jahāngīr. Shāh Jahān's strict enforcement of justice against corrupt and oppressive officers irrespective of their rank, and Aurangzeb's instructions to his sons and officers indicate their solicitude for people's welfare. The ideal they set before themselves is clear, although its realization depended upon the strength of the Mughal arms in the different parts of the far-flung empire and a number of other factors.

One aspect of the new outlook is to be seen in the trust and confidence reposed in the Hindus. State services ceased to be the monopoly of the Muslims, and they were thrown open to all who had the necessary talent and ability. The liberal and secular policy of the government acted as a catalyst, and strengthened the prevailing trend towards harmony and synthesis between the two great religions and cultures. Further, the integration of the greater part of India into a single unit subject to a uniform system of administration, and the consequent elimination of barriers, opened out fresh vistas for a reorientation of religion, art and literature.

Social Structure. As regards social structure and life, there were

important changes in the complexion of the Muslim community, which had a profound effect both in political matters and in cultural life. In the preceding centuries, the Turks and Afghāns, and some Persians, Arabs and Abyssinians, constituted the foreign element among the Muslims of India. With the rise of the Chaghtāis, new tribes entered the country from Central Asia. Later many Īrānians—soldiers, merchants and literary men—came. Some of them occupied high positions in the empire. For instance, I'timādu'd-daulah, Āṣaf Khān, Ja'far Khān and Mīr Jumla were of pure Persian blood. So were Asad Khān, Dhū'l faqār Khān, Burhānu'l Mulk, Saadat Khān, and many other leading Mughal officers.

India of the Mughals was indeed a heaven for Persian poets and physicians. Mīr Fatḥullah Shīrāzī, 'Urfī, Naẓīrī, Ḥakīm Ḥumām, Jalālu'd-dīn Ṭabāṭabā, Munshī Muḥammad Kāẓim, and others enriched the cultural life of the country in various fields. In fact, for the upper strata of society, the Persian mode of life was the measure of refinement. The Persians did not confine themselves to Delhi or the Mughal court; they went to every part of India, and added to the lustre of provincial life.

Although community of faith made the Muslims more homogeneous than the Hindus, social divisions were no less pronounced among them inhibiting free intercourse and inter-marriage. In the case of the immigrants and their descendants, old-time differences and prejudices persisted. Among the converts, there was a perceptible difficulty in getting out of the old caste structure and caste mentality despite change in faith. The Rājpūt converts retained their caste nomenclature and family surnames, and refrained from marrying into other Muslim families. Converts from the higher Hindu castes and the descendants of the immigrant tribes enjoyed a higher social status, which they sought to maintain. Tribes like the Meos stuck to their former way of life despite conversion. Further, sectarian differences stood in the way of homogeneity. There was a sharp cleavage between the Sunnīs and the Shīahs but inter-marriage was not uncommon. Humāyūn's wife was a Shīah, and so were Nūr-jahān, Jahāngīr's favourite queen, and Mumtāz Maḥal, wife of Shāh Jahān. Among the Sunnīs, there was further sub-division on the basis of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence, viz., *Ḥanafī*, *Ḥambalī*, *Shāfi'ī* and *Mālikī*. Besides, there were attachments to particular religious leaders and their orders. The tribal differences prevented the growth of communal solidarity, and the caste mentality affected Muslim society which recognized divisions of Syed, Paṭhān and Shaikh, besides those of foreign and indigenous Muslims.

As regards the Hindus, their social structure remained mainly unaffected, and their pattern of life followed largely the same old traditional lines. Even in the earlier period, more important than the system of four

classes, was the rise of a plethora of castes and sub-castes with further sub-divisions, based on professional, regional and other differences. There is no doubt that the changes in politico-economic life had their impact on caste groupings—many old castes vanished and new ones arose or came into prominence, both in the North and the South. For instance, while the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were theoretically bound to their traditional calling, there was no rigidity about it in practice. Among the innumerable sub-castes in Northern India, the Kāyasthas came into great prominence as government servants. The Khattrīs hailing from the Punjab were astute financiers and successful administrators, and their influence spread over the whole of Northern India. The Nāgars of Gujarāt migrated to different parts of North India and exercised much political and social influence in Āgra and Mālwa. In South India, the Brāhmaṇas retained their social leadership, since they continued to be the custodians of Hindu religion and pioneers of reform movements. The Konkan and Citpāvana Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāshtra produced great administrators. Among the other communities, particular mention may be made of the Ceṭṭiars, who held a monopoly of trade. They retained some of the old contacts with South-East Asia where a number of Indian colonies had been established in the earlier period.

Customs and Manners. As regards customs and manners, medieval India, no doubt, witnessed many changes as life could not be static. One broad fact that strikes the eye, however, is the similarity between the customs and habits of the Hindus and Muslims despite the religious disparity. In many important matters connected with the ceremonies of birth, marriage and death, their ceremonial was, broadly speaking, similar. This was no doubt due to the fact that the majority of the Muslims were Hindu converts, who were deeply attached to their old habits of life. This apart, there must have been many cases of conscious or unconscious adoption of each other's customs because of their attractiveness or their social value. For instance, the Mughal sovereigns were very particular on celebrating their birthdays every year, both according to the lunar and the solar calendars. They did not hesitate to join their Hindu subjects in celebrating the *Dussehrā*, the *Diwālī* and the *Holī*, and the Hindus joined the Muslims in celebrating the *Muḥarram*. Akbar's fascination for illuminations perhaps came from the Hindus. To him light had as much religious as social appeal. Royal residences were illumined on all festive occasions—birthdays of the sovereign, birth or marriage of a prince or a princess, etc.

Social Relations. This was essentially an era of growing harmony. As noticed elsewhere, among the Hindus, the *Bhakti* movement, which spread all over the country, did not merely recognize the spiritual equality of all persons despite differences of caste and sect; it also greatly reduced the rigidity of the caste system in practice and contributed towards greater

social harmony. This quest for the essence in Hinduism, which the movement signified, led also to a search for the universal in religion, and the influence of Islām is particularly marked in the outpourings of the Nirguṇa school of the mystics of northern India. Among the Muslims, this spirit is reflected in the rise of the *Ṣūfī* schools and their development of rites and practices which were deeply influenced by the Upaniṣads and the Yoga philosophy. This quest for harmony was not limited to the realm of religion; it found strong expression, more in the North than in the South, in language, literature, art and architecture, general customs and habits, etc. As regards relations in the ordinary business of life, the Muslims had ceased to regard themselves as 'foreigners' and were treated by the Hindus as natives of the soil with common interests. When the Mughals invaded, though the opposition was ineffective, both the Hindus and Muslims resisted, though not on the basis of a joint military alliance. The rise of Hemū and the part that Ṭoḍara Mal played under Sher Shāh are indicative of the close relationship. The coming of the Mughals marked a fresh influx of the foreign element, but the wisdom and the breadth of vision of the emperors, especially Akbar, gave strong impetus to the prevailing trend towards assimilation.

Games and Pastimes. The Mughals were especially fond of hunting, and often went round their dominion as much for pleasure as for transacting public business. Hunt for tigers, leopards and elephants was particularly popular, and the Rājpūts were fond of boar-hunting. There were various modes of deer-hunting, particularly hunting wild deer with the help of domesticated deer. Occasionally, buffalo and boar hunts were also organized. Falcons and hawks were trained for hunting birds in the air.

Bābur was very fond of witnessing wrestling bouts and he gave prizes to successful champions. In the subsequent period, Īrānī and Tūrānī wrestlers came to India and enjoyed royal patronage. Wrestling was a favourite pastime throughout the country.

It was the exclusive privilege of the royalty to hold combats with elephants. Akbar at the early age of 14 had acquired the difficult art of controlling wild elephants. The combat between Surata-sundara and Sudhākara on May 28, A.D. 1633 was a memorable event referred to by contemporary historians. Aurangzeb, then only 14, faced the raging beast Sudhākara. Elephants of good breed and massive proportions were always coveted by the Mughal emperors, and Golconda was noted for big elephants.

Among other outdoor recreations, mention may be made of *chaugān* (polo) which was confined to the royalty and the nobility. *Ishqbāzī* or pigeon-flying was as much popular with the royalty as with the other classes. Horsemanship was carefully cultivated, both for exercise and sport, and knowledge of it was essential for army service. Another form

of outdoor recreation and exercise was *shamsherbāzī* (swordsmanship) which required skill and agility of hands and limbs.

Of the indoor pastimes, mention may be made of chess, *chausar*, *ganjīfa* and *chandal-mandal*. Chess and *ganjīfa* appear to have come from outside.

Entertainments and Festivities. Music and dancing provided entertainment to the masses and classes alike. With the exception of Aurangzeb, every Mughal sovereign was fond of music. To the royal court flocked for patronage Hindu, Īrānī, Tūrānī and Kashmīrī musicians, both men and women. The names of Miyān Tānsen, Bābā Rāmadāsa and Ustād Muḥammad Amīn have found a place in contemporary history. Their performances formed a necessary part of the royal feasts and festivities. In South India, the 'Ādil Shāhīs and the Rājās of Thanjāvūr were noted for their patronage of music. The dulcimer. *vīṇā, nāi, qānūn, rabāb, ghīchak, karnā, tambūrā, sar-mandal, mṛdanga, daff* and drum were the well-known musical instruments of the time.

The profession of dancing was not deemed respectable; and yet dance parties were a great and almost irresistible social attraction. There were both male and female dancers among the Hindus and Muslims alike. In rural areas, folk-dancing was very common, both men and women participating in it. *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*, a form of dance-drama, was popular over the whole of Northern India.

Reference may also be made to festivals and occasions of public rejoicing, which had a social, apart from religious, significance. The solar and lunar birthdays of the sovereign and the weighing ceremony were great events when there was widespread rejoicing and alms-giving. Akbar introduced the *Mīnā-Bāzār*, which in its original form was a great social function, although confined to the ladies of the nobility.

Besides these, there were festivals such as the *Dussehrā, Diwālī, Holī, Vasanta, Nawrūz* and *Muḥarram*, in which both the Hindus and Muslims freely participated. It may be particularly mentioned that in India, during the month of *Ramaḍān*, fasting and prayer were left to the ultra-pious and the religious. As for the others, instead of fasting, there was feasting, and instead of the night-long vigil, large sums of money were spent on fireworks, reminding one of the Guy Fawke's Day in England. There were many other festivals and fairs, often regional and sectarian, which provided occasion for people to meet and rejoice, e.g., *Mahāmāgham* and *Pongal* of Tamilnād. Particular reference may be made to the increasing popularity of worship at the tombs of well-known saints, such as Shaikh Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī, Bābā Farīd, Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' and Shaikh Ghauth of Gwalior.

2. Religious Movements and Philosophy

(i) Hindu Religious Movements and Philosophy.

Islām provided a major challenge to Hinduism in this period. Continual defeats on the field of battle, loss of political power, and the domination of an alien religion in this country accentuated frustration. The Hindus became self-critical and turned their attention to inner life. Eventually the Hindu characteristic of toleration of differences in faith, beliefs and observances asserted itself and new modes of living together in harmony were tried. The age of *Bhakti*, or devotion and self-surrender to God, was ushered in. It gave birth to many mystic saints who devoted their lives in the search of God.

The *Bhakti* cult cut across distinctions of high and low birth, the learned and the unlettered, and opened the gateway of spiritual realization to one and all. The mystics and saints of the age, both in the North and the South, were unconventional and anti-ritualistic and ignored the age-old restrictions of caste and creed, or attached little importance to them. A large number of the mystics belonged to the traditional Saguṇa school which believed that God has many forms and attributes, that He manifests Himself in incarnations such as Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa, and that His spirit is to be found in the idols and images worshipped at home and in temples But the others trod a new path and formed the Nirguṇa school, which believed in a God without form or attributes, but nevertheless merciful and responsive to human prayers. Its basic approach was by no means alien to Hindu Vedāntic philosophy, but there is no doubt that Islāmic thought gave it a new form and strength.

Saints of North India. The *Bhakti* movement may be said to have originated in the South in the teachings of the Tamilian mystic-saints of the 7th–9th centuries A.D. It was systematized by Rāmānuja in the 12th century A.D. and propagated throughout India. It was spread in the North by Rāmānanda, who was greatly influenced by the teachings of Rāmānuja. He gave his teachings through Hindī, the language of the common people. He ignored the traditional barriers of caste and creed and had among his disciples-Raidāsa the cobbler, Kabīr the weaver, Dhannā the Jāt farmer, Senā the barber, and Pīpā the Rājpūt.

Kabīr (A.D. 1398–1518) was the most important of the disciples of Rāmānanda, and perhaps the most outstanding mystic of the times. He was a foundling brought up by a Muslim weaver at Vārānasi. He lived the life of a householder, earning his living by weaving. His songs are noted for their literary excellence, besides conveying a great spiritual and moral message to the world. There is in them a denunciation of worldliness, the life of sense-pleasures, sectarianism, formal religious practices and unrighteous conduct. He exhorted people to live a simple spiritual

and moral life. The God he worshipped was formless one; he called Him by many names, both Rāma and Rahīm. He sharply condemned caste and religious distinctions and taught the brotherhood of man. He appealed to the conscience, the inner voice of man, and not to scriptures, Hindu or Muslim. He believed that the ultimate goal of the human soul was unity with God. He had both Hindus and Muslims as his followers, and when he died both claimed him as their own for performing the last rites. One of his leading followers Dharaṇidāsa, who had forsaken all his worldly fortune to lead a spiritual life, formed the Dharmadāsī branch of the Kabīr Pantha in the Chhatīsgarh region of Madhya Pradesh.

Raidāsa, a contemporary of Kabīr and a fellow-disciple of Rāmānanda, was a cobbler of Vārānasi. He was a householder like Kabīr, a mystic of the Nirguṇa school, and his fame spread far and wide. Rānī Jhālī of Chitor became his disciple. He composed songs brimming with love and devotion, and unlike Kabīr never criticized or made fun of others' beliefs. Some of them are included in the *Guru Granth Sāhib*, the sacred text of the Sikhs. After him, his followers formed the Raidāsa Panth.

Another great exponent of the Nirguṇa school was Dādū Dayāla (A.D. 1544–1603). A native of Ahmadābād (Gujarāt) and of uncertain parentage and social status, he was spiritually inclined from his boyhood. He left home in search of God when he was only twelve. Later, he settled down at Nārāinā, earning his livelihood by carding cotton. He practised the teachings of Kabīr, discarded the limitations of caste and creed, and exhorted his followers not to distinguish between Hindus and Muslims.

Other great mystics, Hindus and Muslims, imbued with the teachings of Kabīr, Dādū and others, arose in the years that followed. Sundaradāsa (A.D. 1596–1689) was a great disciple of Dādū, having joined him at the tender age of 6 or 7. He was a Vaiśya, who hailed from Deosā near Jaipur but spent most of his days at Vārānasi. Dādū had also a number of Muslim mystics who spread his message far and wide. Rajjab of Sanganer (A.D. 1567–1683) was so devoted to his master that on the latter's passing away, he closed his eyes, never to open again. His songs are in Rājasthānī mixed with Sanskrit, and number over five thousand. Bakhan from Nārāinā, a low-caste Muslim singer, used to entertain Dādū with his songs. Wājid was a Paṭhān. It is said that he was very fond of hunting when he was young. But once, while aiming an arrow at a she-deer, he was so moved to pity that he renounced the world, took to spiritual life and followed Dādū.

A century later came Jagajivanadāsa of Bāra Banki district (Uttar Pradesh), the founder of the Satnāmī sect, and his disciple, Dulan. Caraṇadāsa (*b.* 1703) of Mewāt (Rājputānā) was a *Nirguṇa-upāsaka* (worshipper of the formless God) and practised Yoga, but he was a great devotee of Śrī Kṛṣṇa of Vrindāvan. In his compositions, we

have a fine blend of Nirguṇa and Saguṇa ideas. Other mystics of the Nirguṇa school who may be mentioned are Shaikh Farid, whom Guru Nānak visited at Pākpattan; Bābā Malūkadāsa (A.D. 1574–1682) of Allahābād; Bābā Dharaṇīdāsa (*b.* A.D. 1656), the author of *Satya Prakāśa* and *Prema Prakāśa*; Yārī Ṣāḥib (*b.* A.D. 1668) of Delhi and his disciple Bullā Ṣāḥib; Daryā Ṣāḥib (*b.c.* A.D. 1674) of Bihār; and Garībadāsa 1717-1778) of the Punjāb.

Guru Nānak (A.D. 1469–1539), the founder of Sikhism, was a mystic of the Nirguṇa school, but his followers branched off from Hinduism and founded a separate religious system. Nānak was born at Talwandi, modern Nankana, now in Pākistān. He married and had two sons, but he had a longing for spiritual life from his boyhood. He became a wandering preacher of a casteless, universal, ethical, anti-ritualistic, monotheistic and highly spiritual religion, which reflected the ideas of Kabīr a good deal. His disciples called themselves Sikhs (derived from Sanskrit *śiṣya*, disciple, or Pali *sikkhā*, instruction) and formed the new Pantha. Nine Gurus followed in succession to Nānak and gave the sect a stability and distinctness which other sects failed to achieve. Guru Aṅgad (A.D. 1539–1552), the immediate successor of Nānak, collected the latter's oral teachings and put them down in a new script, the Gurmukhī. Guru Arjun (A.D. 1581–1606), the fifth Guru, constructed the Harimandir at Amritsar. He had the *vāṇīs* (words) of the previous Sikh Gurus and other saints like Kabir, Nāmadeva and Raidāsa brought together to form the *Guru Granth Sāhib*, the Bible of the Sikhs. Guru Teg Bahādur (A.D. 1664–1675), the ninth Guru, died a martyr at the hands of Aurangzeb. But his persecution only made the Sikhs tough, and Guru Govind Singh the last of the Gurus, organized them into a military sect. Before his death (1708), he named *Granth Ṣāḥib* as the everlasting Guru of the Sikhs.

As regards the Saguṇa school of the Hindu mystics in North India, Tulasīdāsa, Sūradāsa, Mīrā Bāī and Caitanya were the most important. Tulasīdāsa (A.D. 1532–1623) was a Brāhmaṇa born in Rājāpur village in Bānda district. He had received a systematic education in the Vedas and the Śāstras. While still young he became a Sadhu and went to Ayodhya, the home of Rāma, where he composed the famous *Rāmacaritamānasa* in Hindī. It expounds the different aspects of the Hindu *Dharma* in the form of a narrative of Rāma's deeds He also wrote *Vinayapatrikā* and several other works.

Sūradāsa (A.D. 1483–1563) was a disciple of the famous religious teacher Vallabhācārya. Living in the land of Vraja, he sang the glories of Kṛṣṇa's childhood and youth in his *Sūrasāgara*. He was indeed the poet *par excellence* of love, human and divine.

Born in a princely family of Rājputānā and wedded to a prince of Chitor Mīrā Bāī (A.D. 1498–1546) became a widow soon after her marriage. She

was deeply religious and devoted to Kṛṣṇa even in her teens, and blossomed into a great saint and poetess, whose songs are as popular as those of Tulasīdāsa or Sūradāsa. Her form of worship was to regard Kṛṣṇa as her lover and real husband, and pour out her pent-up love and devotion to God as Kṛṣṇa.

The popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal today is mostly due to Śrī Caitanya or Gaurāṅga (A.D. 1486–1533), who was both a great mystic and philosopher. Born in Navadvīpa, he had acquired the reputation of being a scholar and successful teacher by the time he was twenty-two. Coming under the influence of the Vaiṣṇava saint Īśvara Purī, his whole life was transformed. He experienced in himself the mystic love of Rādhā and the *Gopīs* towards Kṛṣṇa, and spread the message that *rāga-mārga* or the path of spontaneous love was best for salvation.

Mention may also be made of Śaṅkaradeva (A.D. 1449–1569) who spread the *Bhakti* cult in Assam. He was a contemporary of Caitanya. Another name worthy of mention is that of Nābhājī a contemporary of Tulasīdāsa and the author of the *Bhaktamāla*, a biographical collection of saints.

Besides the Vaiṣṇava mystics and saints of the Saguṇa school, there were other saints also who were devotees of Śiva or Śakti and followed Tāntric practices. In Bengal, Kṛṣṇānanda, Brahmānandagiri and Pūrṇānanda in the 16th century A.D., and Rāmaprasāda Kavirañjana in the 18th century, are well-known. The Śākta saints, Sarvānanda, Gosāiṅ Bhaṭṭācārya, Ardhakālī and Vāma Kṣepa are household words in Bengal even to day.

Saints of Maharashtra. The *Bhakti* movement in Mahārāshtra ran parallel to that in the North, and its centre was Pandharpur with its famous temple of Vitthal or Viṭhobā. The leaders of the movement were Jñānadeva (Jñāneśvara), Nāmadeva, Ekanātha and Tukārāma of the Vārakarī group. There was also Rāmadāsa, who was a Dhārakarī or one who sought to harmonize life dedicated to God with the activities of the world.

Jñānadeva (*c.*A.D. 1275–1296), whose father Viṭṭhal Pant was a disciple of Rāmānanda, was the progenitor of the movement in Mahārāshtra. He was a great intellectual and spiritual genius. When still a boy of 15 years, he wrote *Jñāneśvarī*, a famous commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and later *Amṛtānubhava*. His *abhaṅgas* or lyrical poems give expression to his deepest mystical experiences.

Nāmadeva (A.D. 1270–1350) belonged to the *Chīpī* (cloth-painter) caste. While young, he was a robber and murderer, but the sight of the bewailing wives of his victims made him take to religion. He was a disciple of Visobā Khecar, and a *Nirguṇa-upāsaka*. He was noted for his saintliness, and is referred to by Kabīr. Some of his *abhaṅgas* are included in the *Guru Granth Sāhib*.

Ekanātha (*b.* A.D. 1548) was the grandson of the well-known Mahārāshtrian saint Bhānudāsa, who received his initiation at the age of 12. He was opposed to caste distinctions and evinced the greatest sympathy for men of low castes. He composed many *abhaṅgas* and was reputed for his *bhajans* and *kīrtans*. He wrote a voluminous commentary on the verses of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

Tukārāma (*b.*A.D.1608), a farmer's son, had a shrew for his wife, and domestic unhappiness is said to have led him to religious life. He was a great devotee of Viṭṭhal.

Rāmadāsa was born in A.D. 1608. After years of wandering in search of spiritual light and attaining *siddhi* (realization), he settled down at Chafal in Sātāra district on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. Unlike his predecessors, he sought to combine spiritual and practical life, and evinced much interest in politics. He established *āśramas* all over Mahārāshtra. It was from him that Śivājī received the inspiration to overthrow Muslim authority and found a kingdom. Apart from his *abhaṅgas*, he was the author of *Dāsabodha*, a didactic work which gave advice on all aspects of life.

Saints of South India. In South India, the *Bhakti* movement originated in Tamilnad sometime after the 7th century A.D. with the Ālvārs (Vaiṣṇava saints) and the Adiyārs (Śaiva saints). Rāmānuja (*b.* A.D. 1018) gave a sound philosophic basis to the *Bhakti* cult of the Vaiṣṇavas. Many saint-philosophers followed who combined erudite scholarship with abiding faith in the *Prapattimārga* (path of self-surrender to God), and of them may be mentioned Piḷḷai Lokācārya (*b.* A.D. 1213), Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni (*b.* A.D. 1370). and Vedānta Deśika (*b.* A.D.1268). The Śaivite tradition also proceeded in an unbroken line. Āgamic *Śaivism* received its first systematic exposition among the Tamils in *Śiva-Jñānabodham* of the great saint Meykaṇḍār, a Veḷḷāḷa by birth, of the 13th century. Umāpati Śivācārya (*c.*A.D. 1290-1320) was a prolific writer and eight out of the fourteen authoritative philosophical treatises on Śaivism are attributed to him. Next came, in the 15th century A.D., Aruṇagirinātha whose hymns in *Tiruppugaḷ* are very popular. Tayumanavar, who flourished in the 17th century, was a Veḷḷāḷa by birth and his lyrics are marked "by intense religious feeling, beauty of language, and sweetness of rhythm."

In Karnāṭaka, the fountain-head of the *Bhakti* movement was Madhavācārya, (*c.*A.D. 1199–1278), the founder of the Dvaita school of philosophy. A number of philosophers, saints and mystics followed as in the other regions, but medieval Karnāṭaka is particularly noted for its Haridāsas (servants of Hari), wandering minstrels who spread the message of God through songs, often composed by themselves. Pandharpur in Mahārāshtra and Udipi in South Kanara were the two great centres of the movement and Kṛṣṇa was the favourite deity. The most outstanding of the Haridāsas

in the 15th–16th centuries were Śrīpādarāja, the founder of the movement, Purandaradāsa, the father of the Karnāṭaka system of music, and Kanakadāsa, a shepherd by birth but a person of great spiritual attainment. The songs of all these three were free from sectarianism and had a universal appeal. Vyāsarāya, the foremost of the philosophers and dialecticians of his age, was also a great mystic and composer of songs noted for their philosophic import. Mention may also be made of Vādirāja, Vijayadāsa and Jagannāthadāsa, who came in later years.

An equally important religious movement of Karnāṭaka was that launched by Basava, the Prime Minister of Kalacuri king Bijjala (A.D. 1156-1168), who ruled at Kalāyṇa. He based his doctrines on the 28 Śaiva Āgamas and developed the Ṣaṭ-sthala system of philosophy. Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyats, as his followers are known, believe that Śiva is the Supreme God and all should worship only Him. Every Liṅgāyat, both man and woman, has to wear a *liṅga* on his person as a symbol of devotion to Śiva. Basava was strongly opposed to the caste system. The movement he launched was able to achieve more or less complete social and religious equality among the sectarians who form a very large proportion of the population of Karnāṭaka and are found in large numbers in Āndhra Pradesh. Among the great saints of the sect may be mentioned Allama Prabhu and Akkamahādevī. Mention may also be made of Mallikārjuna. Paṇḍitārādhya, a contemporary of Basava and the founder of the Ārādhya-Śaiva sect, populor in the Telugu country. Unlike Basava, he accepted the authority of the Vedas and the system of caste. The Liṅgāyat movement is noted for its *Vacanakāras*, just as the Vaiṣṇava movement for its Haridāsas. Basava was himself noted for his *vacanas* (aphoristic sayings of great moral and religious import). The greatest of the *Vacanakāras* was Sarvajña, who came at the close of the Vijayanagar history.

The major religious movements ushered in by the great mystics and saints contributed new metaphysical and religious ideas. New *Ācāryas* arose who interpreted the *Prasthānatraya* (the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Vedānta Sūtras*) in the light of the devotional utterances of the southern Ālvārs, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* and the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas, all of which are devotional in their nature. The *Ācāryas*, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Śrīkanṭha, Nimbārka, Vallabha, Caitanya and others followed the spirit of the age and talked in terms of devotion and self-surrender.

Visistadvaita of Ramanujacarya. Rāmānuja was the founder of Viśiṣṭādvaita Siddhānta. His commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* called the *Śrībhāṣya* and the *Gītābhāṣya*, are among his best known works. Of his followers, in later years, the most outstanding were Vedānta Deśika and Piḷḷai Lokācārya, the founders of the two sub-schools, Vaḍagalai (Northern) and Tengalai (Southern). The former was the author of the well-known *Satadūṣaṇī*, a polemic against the Advaita Siddhānta of Śaṅkara.

Viśiṣṭādvaita means modified monism. The ultimate reality according to it is *Brahman* (God) who is immanent in matter and individual souls, and controls them from within. All the three—God, soul and matter—are real, but God is the inner substance, while matter and souls are his attributes. They are absolutely dependent on God, although they are eternal, relatively free and responsible for their actions. God is not *nirviśeṣa* (without quality), but is a being endowed with all the good and desirable qualities and free from evil ones. Although God is the material and efficient cause of the world, He does not Himself undergo any change. It is His body, the *Acit*, that is transformed into the world under His own control and guidance. He is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world, and for this He manifests Himself in five different forms, viz. *Para*, *Vyūha*, *Vibhava*, *Antaryāmin* and *Pratimā*.

The individual souls are innumerable, real and eternal entities of atomic size, forming the body of the Lord. They exist as means for His ends. They have neither been created nor can they be destroyed. Knowledge is their very essential nature, but it is obscured by their evil *karmas* (actions), which are associated with them from eternity without beginning. The soul is real knower, agent of action, and enjoyer of the fruits thereof. In the state of liberation, the soul becomes omniscient, and freed from the 'Law of *Karma*', enjoys everlasting bliss, in the presence of God. It does not become God, but something similar to Him. In *Mokṣa* the souls do not get absorbed in God nor do they lose their identity. The cycle of birth and death or the inexorable 'Law of *Karma*' may be terminated simply by performing one's obligatory *karmas* in an absolutely disinterested and unselfish way and simply to please God. The means of attaining *Mokṣa* or entry into the Lord's abode is *jñāna* (knowledge) which means love, remembrance, and constant thought of God and complete surrender to Him and His will.

Besides God and souls, Reality comprises *Acit* or unconscious substance of three kinds, *Śuddha Sattva*, *Prakṛti* and *Kāla* (time). *Prakṛti* is the material cause of the world, *Śuddha Sattva* provides the body of the Lord. The creative process and all the objects in creation are real, not illusory as Śaṅkara propounded.

Sivadvaita of Srikanthacarya. Śrīkaṇṭhācārya flourished a little later than Rāmānujācārya. He attached equal importance to the Upaniṣads and the Śaiva Āgamas, and in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras* he propounded the view that Śiva endowed with Śakti is the ultimate *Brahman*, who pervades the universe and exists beyond it. The *jīva* (soul) who is called *paśu* is monadic, self-conscious and morally free. Its consciousness is, at present, limited on account of the impurities called *āṇava*, *māyā*, and *kāmya*. By the grace of God, who is called *Pati* (Lord), it can attain infinite consciousness, and thus obtain *mukti* (freedom). The *jīvas* are infinite in number.

Dvaita of Madhvacarya. Madhvācārya (A.D. 1199–1278), who hailed from Kalyāṇapura near Udipi in South Kanara district, was the founder of the dualism. In his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and other works he opposed the monism and illusionism of Śaṅkara, and tried to establish pluralism and realism on the basis of the *Prasthānatraya*. He recognized five eternal distinctions: (a) between God and individual souls, (b) between God and matter, (c) between the individual souls and matter, (d) between one individual soul and another, and (e) between one material object and another. According to him, the world is not an illusion or false appearance, but a reality full of real distinctions. God, who is called Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, Hari and Vāsudeva can be known only by the testimony of the scriptures. He is the creator, preserver and destroyer. God, matter and soul are all unique in their nature and are irreducible to each other. Matter and souls are ontological realities dependent on God, who is absolutely independent. Knowledge, devotion and action are all necessary for effecting one's release. Even in the state of liberation souls remain different from each other and from God, although similar to Him in some respects. Some souls are eternally damned. In the middle ages Madhva was one of the most influential leaders of Indian thought, and his followers are today found in all parts of India.

Dvaitadvaita of Nimbarkacarya. Nimbārka was a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, who came after Rāmānuja. In his *Vedāntapārijātasaurabha*, a commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*, he advocated dualistic monism (*Dvaitādvaitavāda*). According to this view, *Brahman* really transformed Himself into the world and the souls, which are real and distinct and different from God (*Brahman*), but cannot exist without His support. The souls are atomic in size and many in number. *Brahman* is identified with Kṛṣṇa, who manifests Himself for the sake of His devotees and for controlling and guiding the world in the form of *vyūhas* and incarnations (*avatāras*). Rādhā is His power or Śakti. Individual souls are in bondage on account of their ignorance about God and their relation with Him. Ignorance vanishes only by the grace of God obtained through devotion.

Suddhadvaita Vedanta of Vallabhacarya. Vallabha (A.D. 1479–1531), a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, founded another Vaiṣṇava school of Vedānta, called Śuddhādvaita (pure non-dualism). He wrote commentaries on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. His philosophy is known as Puṣṭimārga (the path of grace), and his school by the name Rudrasampradāya. Although Vallabha hailed from the South, his influence was great in the North and is still felt in Gujarāt and Rājasthān. Vallabha identified *Brahman* with Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He is one, omnipotent and omniscient, and the cause of all that there is in the universe. He is characterized by *sat* (being), *cit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (bliss). By a process of progressive concealment of these characteristics He manifests Himself in the form of individual souls and matter. The world and the individuals are not

unreal appearances; they are real manifestations of God. *Māyā* (illusion) is a real power of God through which he engages in His *līlā* (the sport of creation). Although He is the material and efficient cause of the world, He does not undergo any change or transformation in Himself. The creation is only an emanation (*avikṛta pariṇāma*). The world and the souls spring from Him as sparks from fire and as rays of light from shining objects. The souls are *aṇu* (atomic) in size. There is no *avidyā* (ignorance) in *Brahman*. He is *śuddha* (pure) in Himself. God, world and souls are identical in essence but different in manifestation. The world and souls are *aṁśa* (parts) of God. The souls suffer from bondage on account of their ignorance and consequent separation from God. The only means of salvation is *sneha* (deep-rooted and all-surpassing love) of God, which is not attained by the efforts of the individual alone.

Acintyabhedabhedavada of Caitanya. Śrī Caitanya Mahāprabhu (A.D. 1486–1533) wrote no philosophical treatise. His philosophical views are contained in his biography, *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, written in Bengali by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. God, according to Caitanya, is Kṛṣṇa. He is infinite love and bliss. He is full of infinite power and consciousness. Rādhā is the power of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. There is no difference between Him and Rādhā. He is an abode of contrary qualities. Although infinite, He incarnates in the form of finite mortals and is subject to love. He is all-pervading, yet He lives in the highest heaven which is beyond the sphere of *Prakṛti*. He is immanent as well as transcendent. He is inconceivable both with regard to His being and powers. He is the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer of the world. He possesses a supernatural body, mind and sense-organs. All that is there in the world is a manifestation of some power of God. Some of His powers are *cit, māyā, avidyā, ānanda* and *sat*. God is the Lord of *māyā* while the *jīva* is subject to it. The world is not an appearance. It is real and a manifestation of his power of creativity. *Bhakti* or devotion is the only means of liberation.

His tenets were expounded by his disciples. Rūpa Gosvāmī wrote *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* and *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*. Śrī Jīva Gosvāmī wrote *Śatsandarbha* and a commentary on it. Another great follower of Caitanya, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana, wrote a commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, which is called *Govinda Bhāṣya*.

(ii) Muslim Religious Movements and Philosophy

The middle ages witnessed the rise and development of a very large number of Muslim religious movements, mystic organizations, religious cults and attitudes. Broadly they belong to three schools: (i) the conservative school which believed in strict adherence to Muslim law and

tradition; (ii) the liberal school which emphasized the spirit rather than the letter of the law, interpreted religion as 'love of God' and 'service of humanity', and adopted a catholic attitude towards all social and religious problems; and (*iii*) the intermediate school which sought to evolve a *via media* between those two extreme and conflicting attitudes. There were besides individuals in every *silsilah* (religious order) who emphasized different aspects of belief and practice and adopted different attitudes towards problems of faith.

Chishti Silsilah. Some Muslim mystics came to India long before the establishment of Muslim political power, but organized *silsilahs* appeared only with the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. The Chishtī *silsilah*, which claims the largest number of followers today, was introduced in India by Shaikh Mu'īnu'd-dīn Sijzī (*d.* A.D. 1236). He reached India before the battle of Tarain and settled at Ajmer which, besides being the citadel of Cauhān power, was a great religious centre of the Hindus. His simple, pious and dedicated life had tremendous impact on those who happened to come in contact with him. He had two eminent disciples—Shaikh Quṭbu'd-dīn Bakhtyār Kākī (*d.* A.D. 1235) and Shaikh Ḥamīdu'd-dīn Sūfī of Nāgaur (*d.* A.D.1274). Shaikh Ḥamīdu'd-dīn lived like a simple peasant and cultivated a *bīgha* of land. He was a vegetarian. With his innate catholicity of view and cosmopolitanism he refrained from calling any Hindu a *kāfir*. He refused Iltutmish's offer of a grant of some villages to him. Bakhtyār Kākī, the other disciple of Shaikh Mu'īnu'd-dīn, came from Aush, a centre of the Ḥallājī mystics, and was thoroughly imbued with their pantheistic philosophy.

Shaikh Farīdu'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan (*d.* A.D. 1265), the principal Khalīfah of Kākī, popularized the *silsilah* in Northern India. To convey his message he spoke in the local dialects, and recommended the use of Panjabī for religious purposes. The three eminent disciples of Shaikh Farīd founded sub-*silsilahs* : (i) Shaikh Jamālu'd-dīn Hānowī was the founder of the Jamāliyah order, which did not last long; (ii) Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' of the Niẓāmiyah order; and (iii) Shaikh 'Alāu'd-dīn Ṣābir from Kalyar of the Ṣābirī order. Under Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' (*d.* A.D. 1325), the Niẓāmiyah branch assumed an all-India status and a network of Chishtī *khānqāhs* (monasteries), *jamā'at khānahs* (assembly halls), *zāwiyahs* (convents) and *takiahs* (hermitages) appeared in India from Delhi to Devagiri and from Multān to Lakhnautī. The heads of the Chishtī order had independent lives and sought no favours from the rulers. Shaikh Naṣīru'd-dīn Chiragh (*d.* A.D. 1357) of Delhi put up a spirited resistance when Muḥammad bin Tughluq interfered with the life of the mystics.

The Ṣābirī branch came into prominence under Shaikh Aḥmad Abdu'l Ḥaqq (*d.* A.D. 1433) and under saints like Shāh Muḥibbullah of Allahābād (*d.* A.D. 1648). Shāh Abū'l Ma'ālī (*d.* 1700) and Shāh

'Abdu'l Hâdī of Amroha (*d.* 1776), it came to play an important role in the religious life of the Indian Muslims.

Through the efforts of the disciples of Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' the Chishtī *silsilah* spread in the various parts of India. Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn, popularly known as Akhī Sirāj (*d.* A.D. 1357), introduced it in Bengal, and his distinguished successors Shaikh 'Alā'ul Ḥaqq (*d.* A.D. 1398), Shaikh Nūr Quṭb-i-'Ālam (*d.* A.D. 1410) and Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (*d.* A.D. 1405) greatly influenced the religious life of Bengal, Bihār and Eastern Uttar Pradesh. The rise of the Chishtī school in Bengal synchronized with the birth of the *Bhakti* movement. A comparative study of the two would show many points of similarity between them. It was under Chishtī influence that Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh of Bengal started his famous Satya-pīr movement, and the rulers of Bengal had many basic texts of the Hindu religion translated into Bengalī. The way in which Shāh Muḥammad Ṣaghīr, Zainu'd-dīn, Shaikh Kabīr, and others wove Irānian traditions into Indian legends is also a result of the impact.

The Chishtī *silsilah* was introduced in the Deccan by Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb (*d. c.* A.D. 1340), Shaikh Muntakhab and Khwajah Ḥasan, and received great impetus under Syed Muḥammad Gesū-darāz of Gulbarga (*d.* A.D. 1422). In Mālwa it was organized by Shaikh Wajihu'd-dīn Yūsuf (*d. c.* A.D. 1328), Shaikh Kamālu'd-dīn and Maulānā Mughīthu'd-dīn, and in Gujarāt by Shaikh Ḥusāmu'd-dīn Multānī (*d. c.* A.D. 1354), Shaikh Barkullah and Syed Ḥasan. The arrival of these saints in the different parts of India synchronized with the rise of the provincial kingdoms and, in return for their help, they received big *jāgīrs* and endowments. The tradition of the *khānqāhs* receiving large assignments from the rulers begins in this period.

Most of the Chishtī saints belonged to the liberal school of thought. They laid much emphasis upon service to mankind. When asked about the highest form of devotion to God (*ṭā'at*), Shaikh Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī replied that it was nothing but 'redressing the misery of those in distress; fulfilling the needs of the helpless; and feeding the hungry'. He exhorted his disciples to 'develop river-like generosity, sun-like affection and earth-like hospitality'.

The Chishtī mystics were believers in pantheistic monism *waḥdat-ul-wajūd*, unity of being, which had its earliest exposition in the Upaniṣads of the Hindus. In adopting this, they established an ideological relationship with the main source of Hindu religious thought. As a working idea in social life, it meant equality of all men, the essential unity of all religions, and freedom from all religious prejudices.

Outside India, the greatest exponent of this thought had been Shaikh Muḥīu'd-dīn Ibn-a'l-'Arabī (*d.* A.D. 1240). The first commentary on his principal work *Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam* was written by the famous saint of Kashmīr, Mīr Syed 'Alī Hamadānī (*d.* A.D. 1384), and then others followed. By

the 16th century Ibn 'Arabī's works were current in India from Kashmīr to Deccan. Shāh Muḥibbullah of Allahābād was regarded as the second Ibn 'Arabī. Not content with elucidating his ideas in the context of mystic thought, Shaikh Alī Mahāimī (*d.* A.D. 1432) and Shāh Muḥibbullah wrote commentaries on the *Qurān*, in which they upheld his line of thought.

The Ṣūfīs adopted several spiritual practices of the Hindus, e.g., shaving the head of a new entrant to the mystic fold, the *zanbīl* (bowl) for collecting food, offering water to visitors, audition parties, etc. *Chilla-i-ma'kūs* (inverted forty-day ritual), which Shaikh Farīdu'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar is reported to have performed, was taken from the Ūrdhamukhī Sādhus Further, the practice of controlling breath (*ḥabs-i-dam*,), was taken from the Hindu *yogis*.

The Chishtī attitude towards Hinduism is epitomized by Āmīr Khusraw in the following verses:

Nīst Hindū archi ki dīndār chū man
Hast bast jāy ba qarār chū man

(Though Hindu is not like me in religion, he believes in the same thing as I do).

Ay kī zi but ṭa'na ba Hindū barī
Ham az way āmūz parastishgarī

(O you who sneer at the idolatry of the Hindu, learn also from him how worship is done.).

In his *Nuh Sipihr*, Khusraw refers to the historical heritage of India in a deeply patriotic strain and looks back at the history and culture of this country as a part of his own tradition. The Chishtīs did not subscribe to formal conversions. "Teach people the method to remember God (*dhikr*); don't be after formal conversion", was the advice that Shāh Kalīmullah of Delhi (*d.* 1729) gave to his Khalifahs. The Chishtīs were opposed to any discrimination between the Hindus and Muslims in matters of government and advocated a common polity. Shāh Muḥibbullah of Allahābād once told Dārā Shukoh that any discrimination between a Hindu and Muslim was opposed to the real spirit of Islam, and cited Qurānic verses in his support.

Suhrawardī Silsilah. The other mystic order which had reached India almost at the same time as the Chishtī *silsilah* was the Suhrawardī order founded by Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn 'Umar Suhrawardī (*d.* A.D. 1234). The credit of organizing it on a sound basis goes to Shaikh Bahāud-dīn Dhakariyā (*d.* A.D. 1262), who set up a magnificent *khānqāh* at Multān and attracted large number of disciples from Sind and other neighbouring areas. Under his grandson, Shaikh Ruknu'd-dīn Abū'l Fatḥ. (*d.* A.D. 1335), it reached its highest watermark. One of the eminent disciples of Shaikh Bahāu'd-dīn Dhakariyā settled at Uch and developed the *silsilah* there. The most outstanding saint of the Uch branch was Syed Jalālu'd-dīn Bukhārī, popularly known as Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān (*d.* A.D. 1384). He

had close personal contact with Firūz Shāh Tughluq and had even influenced his revenue policy.

The main centres of the Suhrawardīs were Uch and Multān. The attitude of the saints of this order towards various problems of religion and politics differed in certain important respects from that of the Chishtīs. They had big *jāgīrs* and had close contacts with the state, and some of them adopted a rigid and uncompromising attitude on many matters of religious and social significance. For instance, as recorded by Ḍiyāu'd-dīn Baranī, Syed Nūru'd-dīn Mubārak Ghaznavī advised Iltutmish to follow a policy of discrimination and persecution against the Hindus. There were, however, some Suhrawardī saints who were very broadminded and catholic, and as such were held in deep respect by the Hindus. The devotion of the Hindus of Bengal to Shaikh Jalālu'd-dīn Tabrīzī may be assessed from *Śekha Śubhodaya*, a Sanskrit treatise which consolidated all the legends about the saint current amongst the Hindus.

Firdawsi Silsilah. Another *silsilah* which reached India very early was the Firdawsī order. It was first established in Delhi by Shaikh Badru'd-dīn of Samarqand, a disciple of Shaikh Saifu'd-dīn Bākharzī, but later on it moved to Bihār and became the most influential mystic order there. Its most distinguished saint was Shaikh Sharafu'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī (*d.* A.D. 1371), who believed in pantheistic monism.

Shattari Silsilah. Three important religious movements developed in India during the 15th and 16th centuries—the Shattārī *silsilah*' the Mahdawī movement and the Raushniyah sect. They reflected the spirit of the *Bhakti* movement, which had gained great strength among the Hindus. The Shattārī order was introduced in India by Shāh 'Abdullah Shattārī (*d.* A.D. 1485), who lies buried at Mandu. He advocated a life of spiritual intoxication (*sukr*) and with a band of devoted disciples, clad in military dress, propagated his ideas in Mālwa, Jaunpur and Bengal. His two eminent disciples—Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alā Qādin of Bengal and Shaikh Ḥāfiẓ of Jaunpur—applied their energies to the expansion of the *silsilah*. The Jaunpur branch attracted men like Shaikh Buddhan and Rizqullah Mushtāqī, the author of *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī*; the Bengal branch produced saints like Shaikh Abū'l Fatḥ Hidāyatullah Sarmast, Shaikh Ẓahūr Ḥājī, Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth and others. It was, however, under Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth of Gwalior (*d.* A.D. 1563) that the Shattarī order developed to its full stature. Among his disciples were the famous musician Tānsen and the distinguished scholar of Aḥmadābād Syed, Wājidu'd-dīn 'Alawī, whose seminary was one of the most renowned centres of learning in India.

The Shattārī saints sought to synthesize Hindu and Muslim mystical thoughts and practices. Some of them learnt Sanskrit and became familiar with the Hindu religious thought. Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alā spent some time with the *yogīs* at Vaiśālī. Syed Muḥammad Ghauth of Gwalior

lived for a number of years with the Hindu mystics in the lonely recesses of Vindhyāchala and learnt many Tāntric practices. Through his *Jawāhir-i-Khamsah* and *Aurād-i-Ghauthiyah* he introduced many Hindu mystic practices and litanies into the Muslim mystic discipline, and his translation of *Amṛtakuṇḍa* into Persian created a parallel Hindu and Muslim mystic terminology. He considered *Om* to be identical with *Rab* of the Muslims. His *Baḥr-ul-Ḥayāt* was in a way a precursor of Dārā Shukoh's *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*. Further, its impact was deeper; it was put into practice in Shattārī hospices unlike Dārā's philosophic disquisitions which made little or no impact on contemporary mystic thought.

Mahdawi Movement. The Mahdawī movement was initiated by Syed Muḥammad Mahdī of Jaunpur (*d.* A.D. 1505), who claimed to be the promised *Mahdī*, the deliverer to set all things right. Moved by the moral decay and spiritual degeneration that came in the wake of the fall of the Sharqī kingdom of Jaunpur, Syed Muḥammad concentrated his energies on the regeneration of the people. He kindled genuine religious spirit and set up *dā'irahs* (centres for spiritual practice). Though started with a view to softening controversies between the different sects, the movement became exclusive in its outlook, so much so that its followers recommended the imposition of *jizyah* even on those Muslims who did not agree with them. The Mahdawīs had to face opposition from the '*ulamā*' as well as from the rulers.

Raushaniyah Movement. The Raushaniyah movement owed its origin to Miyān Bāyazīd Anṣārī (*d.* A.D. 1581), a native of Jullundur. He emphasized interiorization of religious rites and inspired his followers with the ideal of ascetic self-denial. His successors frequently came into conflict with the Mughal emperors as their activities often disturbed peace in the Kābul-Indus region. While differing from one another in many respects, the Shattārī, the Raushaniyah and the Mahdawi movements had one thing in common: they laid greater emphasis on the spirit of religion than its form and drew inspiration from the philosophy of *waḥdat-ul-wūjud*.

Qadiri Silsilah. A very important mystic order, that of the Qādirī, was introduced in India very early but came into prominence much later. Shāh Ni'āmatūllah Qādirī (*d.* A.D. 1430) was probably the first notable saint of this order to enter India, but it was Syed Makhdūm Muḥammad Gīlānī (*d.* A.D. 1517) who organized it on an effective basis. The views and attitudes of its members during its long and chequered history greatly varied. If Shaikh Dā'ūd, Shāh Abū'l Ma'ālī and others were inclined towards orthodoxy and the exoteric aspect of religion, Miyān Mīr, Mullā Shāh Badakhshī, and others leaned towards its liberal and esoteric aspects. A third group of the Qādirī saints like Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq Muḥaddith of Delhi followed the middle path and tried to effect a balance between the formal and spiritual aspects of religion.

Naqshbandi Silsilah. During the later years of Akbar's reign, the Naqshbandī *silsilah* was introduced in India by Khwājah Bāqī Bi'llah (*d.* A.D. 1603), who came from Kābul and settled at Delhi. This was the most cherished spiritual order of the Turks, particularly the descendants of Tīmūr and Bābur. It attained a position of great importance in India under the leadership of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, (*d.* A.D. 1624). According to Jahāngir, he sent his *Khalifahs* to every town and city of the country. He was opposed to the pantheistic philosophy (*waḥdat-ul-wujūd*) on which the entire structure of Muslim mystic thought in India had been built up. He propounded his own theory of *waḥdat-ul-shudūd* (unity of the phenomenal world). He condemned the life of *sukr* as the negation of the true spirit of Islām. Besides, he did not believe in the Chishtī attitude of keeping aloof from politics. He compared the king to the soul and the people to the physical frame. "If the soul is pure, the body is pure; if the soul is impure, the body is impure", he used to say. He was opposed to the religious experiments of Akbar, as he feared that in this process Islām might lose its individuality. "The Muslims should follow their religion, and the Hindus theirs" was what he stood for. In emphasizing the distinctive features of Islām and Hinduism, he sometimes showed much bitterness, but this was largely conditioned by his opposition to Akbar's policies. Whatever the intrinsic merits of his thoughts, his approach towards Hinduism and pantheism was incompatible with the spirit of Indo-Muslim mysticism. The subsequent history of the Naqshbandī *silsilah* shows attempts at revision and moderation

Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī's opposition to the pantheistic doctrine of *waḥdat-ul-wujūd* led to a bitter conflict of ideologies, and this was noticed even by Bernier who came to India in the middle of the 17th century. Miyān Mīr of Lahore and his disciple Mullā Shāh, Sarmad of Delhi and Shāh Muḥibbullah of Allahābād were the chief exponents of the philosophy of *waḥdat-ul-wujūd*. Dārā Shukoh, who translated the Upaniṣads into Persian under the title *Sirr-i-Akbar* and wrote his famous *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* to illustrate the basic unity of the Muslim and Hindu religious thought, was a devout pantheist.

Khwājah Ma'sūm (*d.* A.D. 1668) and Khwājah Saifu'd-dīn (*d.* A.D. 1582) and some other descendants of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, who represented the orthodox line of thought, however, captivated the imagination of Aurangzeb, and his hand fell heavily upon all those who believed and propagated the ideology of *waḥdat-ul-wujūd*. Mullā Shāh was harassed, Sarmad was executed and Shāh Muḥibbullah's *Risāla-i-Taswiyah*, which contained an exposition of pantheistic philosophy, was burnt. The mental climate created by the *Sirr-i-Akbar* and the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* was sought to be changed by the compilation of *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*.

In the midst of this controversy a third school of thought appeared which sought to steer a middle course. The most renowned representative

of this school was Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq Muḥaddith of Delhi (*d.* A.D. 1642). In *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* he sought to reconcile the conflicting attitudes of jurists and mystics. He wrote a *risālah* criticising the extreme views of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī. With regard to Ibn 'Arabī, he propagated the views of his teacher Shaikh 'Abdu'l Wahāb Muttaqī, who held that his ideas contained both 'honey' and 'poison'. Khwājah Mīr Dard in his extensive writings in prose and verse supported the mediating view of 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq.

In the 18th century a similar attempt was made by Shāh Walīullah of Delhi (*d.* 1763). In a thought-provoking booklet he pointed out that the difference between Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī and Ibn 'Arabī was like that between a simile and a metaphor. He acknowledged the necessity of following the external rites, but laid equal emphasis on the spirit of religion. In his famous *Ḥujjat-ullah-al-Bālighah* he removed many of the prevalent doubts and misunderstandings about pantheistic monism. Though the theory of *waḥdat-ul-wujūd* could not regain the ascendancy it enjoyed before, his efforts had the effect of mitigating and softening the exclusiveness of the Sirhindī school. Besides reconciling the two schools of thought Shāh Walīullah fully realized the need for reconstructing religious thought according to the circumstances of the times. He pointed out that the codification of laws should be related to the social, religious and legal practices of people in the different regions. To acquaint the Muslims with higher religious values he translated the *Qurān* into Persian, and his two illustrious sons translated it into Hindī so that it could be within reach of all the Indian people.

The difficulty in reconciling higher religious thoughts with the rigidity and exclusiveness of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī's ideas was realized by Mirẓā Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān (*d.* 1781), another spiritual descendant of 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq. He extricated Naqshbandī *silsilah* from the position it had assumed under the impact of the passing moods of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī. He did not agree that Hinduism was polytheistic; he defended the Hindu belief in the transmigration of soul and considered the Vedas to be an important link in the long series of 'revealed books', and firmly rebutted the orthodox point of view about the Hindus and their religious institutions. It is difficult to find a more cogent and logical refutation of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī's views concerning Hinduism than that given in the 14th letter of Mirẓā Maẓhar in his *Kalimāt-i-Ṭayyibāt*.

3. Education

(*i*) *Muslim Education*

The traditions of Muslim education as they had developed under the

'Abbasids of Baghdad were the nucleus of the Muslim educational system in India. They were transplanted in India by the literati and scholars of Muslim lands after the Mongols had overrun them. Within a century of its foundation, the Sultanate of Delhi came to occupy an unrivalled place in the sphere of Muslim education. During the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī (A.D. 1296-1316), scholars of Bukhara, Samarqand, Irāq and Khwarazm looked to India for guidance and inspiration in academic matters. Amīr Khusraw regarded Indian learning superior to that of such centres as Ray, Isfahan and Rum. According to Ḍiā-u'd-dīn Baranī, the scholars of this country attained the stature of Ghazālī and Rāzī. According to an Arab traveller of the 14th century Delhi alone had one thousand *madrasahs*.

Basic Features. The basic feature of Muslim educational system was that it was traditional in spirit and theological in content. Its main purpose was to stabilize a body of beliefs. The curriculum was broadly divided into two categories; the *manqūlāt* and the *ma'qūlāt*, the former dealing with traditional and the latter with rational sciences. Exegesis (*Tafsīr*), Traditions (*Aḥādīth*), Law (*Fiqh*), History and Literature came under the category of traditional sciences; Logic (*Manṭiq*), Philosophy (*Ḥikmat*), Medicine (*Ṭibb*), Mathematics (*Riyāḍī*) and Astronomy (*Hai'at*) were treated as rational sciences. In the early stages the study of the traditional sciences was emphasized, but gradually the rational sciences began to receive greater attention. But this emphasis on *ma' qūlāt* did not lead development of the experimental and inductive methods, which alone could pave the way for scientific and technological advancement.

Types of Institutions. The institutions which provided elementary education were known as *maktabs*, while those of higher learning were called *madrasahs*. While the *maktabs* were generally run by public donations, rulers or nobles maintained the higher centres of learning. One comes across the follwing types of institutions during this period: (a) those established and maintained by the rulers or the nobles; (b) those established by individual scholars with the help of public donations and state assistance; (c) those run by individual scholars exclusively without any outside help; (d) those attached to mosques and financed from mosque funds; (e) those attached to tombs and financed from their endowments; and (f) those attached to the hospices (*khānqāhs*) of *Ṣūfī* saints. The Mu'izzī, the Nāṣirī and the Firūzī *madrasahs* of Delhi, the *madrasah* of Bībī Rājī of Jaunpur, the *madrasah* of Maḥmūd Gāwān in Bīdar, and the *madrasah* of Abū'l Faḍl at Fatehpur Sikri were some of the most renowned centres of higher learning established by the rulers and nobles. Among the institutions established by individuals, the *madrasah* of Sādiq Khān in Gujarāt, Maham Aṇagā, and Mirzā 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān in Delhi, Shihābu'd-dīn Daulatābādī at Jaunpur and Qutbu'd dīn Sihālwī at Lucknow deserve particular mention. Muṭahhar has given

a vivid account of Firūz Shāh's *madrasah* at Delhi. It was a double-storyed building standing on the bank of the *Hauḍ-i-Khās* surrounded by a beautiful garden. Besides numerous lecture-halls, there were spacious hostels for the teachers and the students, guest-houses for casual visitors and a big congregational mosque. The government met all the expenses of the students, including boarding and lodging.

Mode of Instruction. The *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* gives the following list of 14 subjects which were taught in the *madrasahs* established by Firūz Shāh Tughluq: (1) *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence); (2) *Qir'at* (Method of recitation, punctuation and vocalization of the text of the *Qurān*): (3) *Uṣūl-i-Kalām* (Principles of Scholastic Theology); (4) *Uṣūl-i-Fiqh* (Principles of Jurisprudence); (5) *Tafsīr* (Exegesis); (6) *Aḥādīth* (Traditions of the Prophet); (7) *Ma'ānī-wa-Bayān* (Rhetorics); (8) *Nahw-wa-Sarf* (Syntax and Etymology); (9) *'Ilm-i-Naẓar* (Science of observation); (10) *'Ilm-i-Riyāḍī* (Mathematics), (11) *'Ilm-i-Ṭab'ī* (Natural Sciences); (12) *'Ilm-i-Ilāhī* (Metaphysics); (13) *Ilm-i-Ṭibb* (Medicine); and (14) *Taḥrīr-wa-Khaṭ* (Calligraphy).

From the time of Iltutmish (A.D. 1211–1236) to the days of Sikandar Lodī (A.D. 1489–1517) traditional subjects (*manqūlāt*) occupied a more important place than the rationalistic subjects (*ma'qūlāt*). A change, however, took place when Shaikh 'Abdullah and his brother Shaikh 'Azīzullah of Multān came to Delhi at the invitation of Sikandar Lodī. They introduced the study of philosophy and logic in the curriculum of the day, and thus reduced the religious bias of the existing system. The Hindus now took to learning the Persian language, and a Hindu scholar, Brāhmaṇa by name, instructed Muslims. The next significant step in the direction of making the Muslim system of education more rationalistic was taken by Humāyūn whose *madrasah* in Delhi laid greater emphasis on the study of mathematics, astronomy and geography. Significant though these steps were, they did not bring about any fundamental change in the content and character of the Muslim education in India.

Akbar attempted to reorientate the educational system by introducing subjects like logic, arithmetic, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, accountancy, public administration and agriculture into the curriculum. Fatḥullah Shīrāzī displayed keen interest in mechanical and technical education and under his inspiration Akbar built a workshop near his palace and personally supervised its work. This attempt at placing the educational system on a more secular and scientific basis does not seem to have found much favour. A few state-managed institutions changed their syllabi under Akbar's influence, but the general pattern of Muslim education remained unaltered. Probably the orthodox revival, which set in after Akbar, checked the growth and development of the educational system on the lines indicated by him. The syllabus prepared by Maulānā Niẓāmu'd-dīn in the middle of the 18th century popularly known as *Dars-i-Niẓāmī*, merely consolidated the medieval system of education. It is true

that some nobles like Dānishmand Khān did display interest in the western methods of enquiry, investigation, observation and experiment, but their efforts remained purely personal and did not have any impact on the general system of Muslim education.

Instruction in Muslim *madrasahs* of the middle ages was based on memorization, discussion and writing out the lessons taught. Seminars were considered an integral part of education and students of the higher classes had to master the art of casuistry.

(ii) Hindu Education

In ancient India, the educational institutions of the Hindus were broadly of two categories. The first category comprised the higher centres of learning financed by kings and nobles or temples and *maṭhas*. Secondly, there were the village schools maintained by the customary contributions of the villagers at harvest time. The small *tols* and *catuṣpāthis*, called by different names in the different parts of the country, continued undisturbed until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the British system of administration with its centralizing tendencies destroyed the self-sufficient village economy and the system of *pañcāyats*. We have an interesting description of a village school in South India by the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle in A.D. 1623, where fine sand spread on the floor was used for writing by children and instruction was given by rote,. There is evidence that the standard of literacy was high in different parts of India. As regards the training in arts and crafts, knowledge and skill passed mostly from father to son, or was imparted by the master craftsman of the caste group or craft guild.

Unlike the village schools, loss of political power by the Hindus and the predominant position attained by Islamic religion and culture had an adverse effect on the traditional system of higher education. However, in Rājasthān, Gujarāt and southern India, the Hindus retained something of their political authority. The kings of Vijayanagar, the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Nāyakas of Madurai, the Rājās of Travancore, the Rājpūt princes and other rulers patronized scholars and promoted education. It must also be mentioned that a number of Muslim rulers encouraged Hindu scholars and educational institutions.

As regards the important centres of learning during the period, Vārānasi retained its pride of place, attracting students and scholars from all over India. The Dharmādhikārī, Śeṣa, Bhaṭṭa and Maunī families of Mahārāshtra and Karnāṭaka settled down here permanently in the beginning of the 16th century A.D. Nadia in Bengal and the three important educational centres at Navadvīpa, Sāntipura and Gopālpara were next in importance only to Vārānasi. It was here that the Nadia School of

Nyāya was founded by Vasūdeva Sārvabhauma (A.D. 1450–1525). Mithilā, the ancient seat of learning, continued to flourish and the Smṛti School originating here attained great eminence. Tirhut was famous for Theology, Philosophy and Politics; Multān for Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics; and Sirhind for Medicine. In Rājasthān and Gujarāt, the old system of education maintained a vigorous existence. From the *bhanḍāras* (libraries) of the Jaina monasteries of the region we have inherited large hoards of Prākṛt manuscripts, many of them with delightful miniature paintings. In Tamilnad, Madurai was perhaps the most important educational centre of the times, and Robert De Nobili noted in A.D. 1610 that over ten thousand students thronged the city. Kancipuram in Chingleput district was another famous centre of learning. The inscriptions of the temple at Suchindram in Kanniyākumāri district present a graphic picture of the educational system that flourished there. We have references to other centres of less importance—Adayapalam, Vetūr, Viriñchipuram and Veppūr in North Arcot district, and the grammar school dedicated to Pāṇinī at Tiruvorriyūr in Chingleput district. We have evidence of the progress of learning under the Rājās of Kerala, and special mention should be made of the *Kalaris* or military schools that flourished there.

Besides the schools run on the traditional pattern, we have the beginnings of schools organized by the Christian missionaries. There are references to schools run by Jesuit Fathers at Madurai, Punnei Kayal and Chandragiri in the Vijayanagar period. Again, from the time of Sikandar Lodī Hindus started learning Persian in Islamic schools, and as years rolled by, this trend gathered momentum since knowledge of Persian was the necessary passport to public employment at higher levels in many parts of the country.

4. Literary Activities

(i) *Modern Indo-Aryan Languages*

Among the modern Indo-Aryan languages eight are more important—Panjābī, Hindī, Urdū, Bengālī, Assamese, Oṛiyā, Marāṭhī, and Gujarātī. Each one of them emerged from a corresponding middle Indo-Aryan Prākṛt in its Apabhraṁśa phase, and rapidly developed into a literary language. This evolution took place in a period of transition which saw the decline of the Hindu kingdoms of the North and the advent of the Muslim invaders from the North-west. The period was marked by cultural changes. The upper caste domination diminished, the primacy of Sanskrit abated, and waves of religious and social reform, which for propagation made use of popular idioms and the speech of the common people, flooded the country The confrontation of Hindu and Muslim

cultures led to interesting results and a mixed culture, more marked in the North than the South, grew up. The story of the literary output is briefly told below.

Panjabi Literature. The first phase in the development of the Panjābī literature—the Nātha-Jogī period—is said to have extended from A.D. 900 to 1200., but this is not quite certain. The second period, the early medieval, covers the next three centuries, and this was predominantly an age of religious mysticism on the one hand and of heroic ballads and folk literature on the other. Islamic influence combined with the indigenous elements of Advaita philosophy and the emotional warmth of Ṣūfism mingled with the devotional fervour of the *Bhakti* movement, created the enchanted atmosphere of mysticism and a new school of poetry sprang up. In Punjab, Mas'ūd Farīdu'd-dīn (A.D. 1173–1265), a mystic-poet of high order, was the pioneer. A number of poets, both Hindu and Muslim, followed him and the Punjab rang with the music of their devotional songs irradiated by Nirguṇa philosophy. Towards the end of the 15th century, Guru Nānak lent a special charm to these songs by the sweetness and limpidity of his utterances. If he lacked the sternness of Kabīr's voice and the passion of the Muslim mystics, he made up by the chastity of sentiment. His poetry is rich both in quality and quantity, and there is variety in his style and poetic diction. He was followed by Guru Arjun, who compiled the *Ādi-Granth* in A.D. 1604. His monumental work is the *Sukhamaṇi*, one of the longest and the greatest of medieval mystic poems. His contemporary was Bhāī Gurdāsa (A.D. 1551–1629). As a true disciple, he concentrated on explaining and illustrating the teachings of the great Gurus. The last and not the least in the line was the tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh. He was a versatile genius and surpassed all the Panjābī poets of his age in volume and variety. He had drunk deep at the fountain of Sanskrit lore and the literature of all schools of philosophy and religions.

There were also writers of poetical romances, who excelled the saint-poets in the richness of emotional content as also in literary ingenuity. They adopted popular love stories of a legendary character, Indian as well as Persian, more often than not dyed deep in mysticism and having an allegorical form. There is a golden chain of such romances in Panjābī, which is not equalled in any other language in variety and luxuriance. The prince of these poets was Wāri<u>th</u> <u>Sh</u>āh whose *Hīr* is a classic.

Panjābī prose made good progress during this period and a series of valuable books were written in a distinct prose-style, and a number of religious and philosophical works were translated from Sanskrit between A.D. 1600 and 1800

Hindi Literature. The origin of the Hindi language is placed by scholars between 7th and 10th centuries A.D. But it was only by A.D. 1206 that Hindī literature had well-nigh crossed its infancy and some of the major

works of the early period, including the nucleus of the famous *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*, had been written. Rājasthān being the main centre of literary activity in the early period, the literature of the time (*Ādi Kāla*) was by and large either bardic or religious, and was written either in one of the prevalent forms of Rājasthāni Hindī, *viz.*, Ḍiṅgal or Piṅgal or in the Apabhraṁśa which came very close to old Hindī. Two major poets of the *Ādi Kāla*, who flourished in this period were Narapati Nālha and Amīr Khusraw. Narapati Nālha's classic poem, *Bīsalade Rāso*, was written sometime in the latter half of the 12th century A.D. Its language is akin to Rājasthānī Ḍiṅgal and the main sentiment is woman's pining love for her lover who deserts her in anger. Khusraw was the premier poet of Persian in this age. He composed in Hindī also, but his Hindī verses seem to aim more at entertainment, and their authenticity is also not certain.

From A.D. 1318 begins the second era of Hindī literature—the *Bhakti Kāla* or the Age of Devotion, which goes upto A.D. 1643. This was undoubtedly the richest period in literary history. The *Bhakti* movement has been divided broadly into the Nirguṇa and the Saguṇa schools. Whereas the former worshipped an Absolute God free from human attributes, the latter's ideal was a God who was richly endowed with human virtues, and, even with a human form. The Nirguṇa poets were divided into two groups, the saint-poets and the *Ṣūfī* mystics. The saint-poets were comparatively more rigid and, therefore, possibly less poetical. Their leader was Kabīr (*d.* A.D. 1518), a genius of the highest order. His poetry had two distinct planes, mystical and social. On the mystic plane he is ardent and mellifluous and an author of some of the sweetest lyrics. On the social plane he is outspoken. He severely strikes against all social and religious sham within Hinduism as well as Islam. He was followed by Dharmadāsa, Guru Nānak, Dādū and Sundardāsa, who were all great poets and leaders of religious thought. The *Ṣūfī* mystics sang in softer and richer strains. Most of them wrote poetical romances after the Persian style. Their stories are common love tales of the Hindu and Muslim life, which convey a spiritual meaning in allegorical forms. Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* (A.D. 1540) is a superb classic and compares favourably with the best in any Indian language. In the long series of these mystical romances Kutuban's *Mṛgāvatī* (A.D. 1501) and Mañjhan's *Madhumālatī* preceded and Uthmān's *Citrāvalī* (A.D. 1613) and Nūr Muḥammad's *Indrāvatī* followed the *Padmāvat*.

The spiritual symbols of the Saguṇa poets were more concrete and colourful, and their poetry was accordingly richer in human quality. A number of strains were mingled here. Yet the notes of devotion to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were the most conspicuous and the whole country rang with them. The Rāmaites were headed by Tulasīdāsa (A.D. 1532-1623). His *Rāmacaritamānasa* is an epitome of medieval Hindu culture and has been,

for centuries, a spiritual gospel for the people of northern India, a book of social ethics, and last but not the least, a perennial source of aesthetic joy. Of Kṛṣṇaites Vidyāpati had sung of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Maithilī Hindī, but his tone was not religious beyond doubt. The real Kṛṣṇa *Kāvya* begins with Sūradāsa (A.D. 1483-1563) whose *Sūra-Sāgara* is verily an ocean of devotional lyrics. In the delineation of the subtler emotions of the human heart, few Indian poets before or after can stand comparison with him. He had an able band of colleagues, the most notable of whom was Nandadāsa. The other major poets of the Kṛṣṇa cult were Hita Harivaṁśa, the founder of the Rādhāvallabha *sampradāya*, Mīrā Bāī and Rasakhāna. The literary output of the Kṛṣṇaites was very much richer in quantity and quality.

While Vrindāvan resounded with the songs of these devotees of Kṛṣṇa, a group of poets at the court of the Mughal emperors wrote secular poetry dealing with the struggles of human life. Their leader was 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, the great poet-statesman, who wrote didactic poetry of a high order.

The next two centuries upto 1850 is covered by *Rīti Kāla*, the third prominent period in the history of Hindī literature. In this period, poetry became essentially secular, although something of the spiritual symbolism lingered. The main theme was carnal love and the medium was a highly polished poetic diction with prolific ornamentation. The poets of the age belonged to an elite class and were, by profession, academicians who not only practised but also theorized on poetry. Keśavadāsa (*d.* A.D. 1617), who was a junior contemporary of Tulasīdāsa, was the founder of this school. Among those who followed him, Cintāmaṇi (*b.* A.D. 1609), Mati Rāma, (A.D. 1617-1716), Bihārī (A.D. 1603-1663) and Deva (*d.* 1767) deserve special mention. Of these, Mati Rāma and Deva excel in the richness of lyrical element, whereas Bihārī is one of the finest literary craftsmen in Hindī. Quite strangely Bhūṣaṇa also belonged to this group, although his theme was heroic and he sang with ardour of the heroic struggles of Śivājī against the Mughals. The *Rīti Kāla* continued for sometime after 1850, although the best had been produced by this date.

Urdu Literature. Urdū emerged as an independent language only towards the end of the 14th century A.D. Its base was Khaḍī-Bolī, which has been styled by some of the earlier writers as *Zubān-i-Dihlawī* or *Hindustānī*. It assumed a new character by absorbing words and idioms and also the literary forms and themes of Persian, which had itself imbibed Arabic and Turkish elements. It was thus a mixed language and served as a fit medium of intercourse between the people of India and the Muslims who came from Islamic countries and made India their home. Strange though it may appear, the cradle of Urdū literature was the South where it had gone with the soldiers of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad Tughluq, and flourished in the quieter environment of the kingdoms of

Bijāpur and Golconda. In its own homeland, Delhi and its neighbourhood, reigned Persian, the court language of the Mughals.

The earliest available work in Dakhnī Urdū is *Mir'āj-ul-Āshiqīn*, a mystical prose treatise written by saint Gesū-Darāz in the beginning of the 15th century A.D. A few more works are also traceable, but their language is much too archaic. On the break-up of the Bahmanī kingdom, Urdū received adequate patronage at the courts of the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers of Bijāpur and the Qutb Shāhī rulers of Golconda in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. Among the writers of Bijāpur the two mystics, Shāh Mīranjī Shamsu'l 'Ushshāq (*d.* A.D. 1496) and his son Burhānu'd-dīn Jānam (*d.* A.D. 1582) deserve special mention—the former wrote two fine poems *Khush Nāmah* and *Khush Naghz* and the latter *Irshād Nāmah* and *Waṣiyat-ul-hādī*. One may question their literary merit, but their linguistic significance is beyond doubt. The literary activity in Golconda was distinctly richer. The rulers were not only patrons but also literary craftsmen of a high order. Muḥammad Qulī (A.D. 1580–1612) was a great poet, and he brought Urdū poetry out of the obscure groves of the mystics into the open sunshine of normal life. The other important writers of Golconda were Mullā Wajahī and Ghawāṣī. Wajahī occupies an important position among the authors of poetical romances and masters of prose. Ghawāṣī is the author of two famous *mathnawīs*, *Saif-ul-mulūk* and *Ṭūṭī Nāmah*.

Deccan was conquered by the Mughals but Urdū flourished under the patronage of the court. Of the early poets, Walī played a remarkable role in giving the final shape to Urdū by substituting the idiom of Delhi for that of Dakhnī and hence, he is called the Father of *Rekhta*. Urdū literature came to the North from the Deccan in a developed form, and soon became popular. Ḥātim founded the Delhi school of poets who sought to purify the language by excluding the unfamiliar words and expressions of the Dakhnī. Gradually, an elegant literary language emerged in the works of Mirzā Jān-i-Jānān Maẓhar of Delhi (A.D. 1699–1781), Mīr Taqī of Āgra (1720–1808), Muḥammad Rafī' Saudā (1713–1780) and Mīr Ḥassan (1736–1786). Saudā tried successfully all forms of verses—he excelled both in *ghazal* and *qaṣīdah*, but he was a master of satire! None could depict better the world of the decadent Mughals with such brilliant fury. Mīr was a lyricist *par excellence*. No Urdū poet has ever touched the deeper chords of human heart with a more delicate hand. His contemporary and namesake Mīr Ḥasan was the greatest *mathnawī*-writer in Urdū. Mīr Dard was essentially a mystic. He sang songs of the divine love with great fervour in short metres. This was, in a way, the golden age of Urdū poetry when classical standards in *ghazal*, *qaṣīdāh* and *mathnawī* were set.

Oriya Literature. Although the origin of Oṛiyā can be traced to the 8th or 9th century A.D., the first specimens of any literary merit are found

only in the 13th century A.D. in the form of short lyrics and satirical poems. In the 14th century A.D., Oṛiyā literature assumed a proper shape and a definite character in the compositions of the great poet Sarala-dāsa, who wrote the Oṛiya *Mahābhārata*. He was an unlettered farmer with an extraordinary genius. His inspired work bears a distinct regional character, and has continued to be regarded to this day as a national epic by the Oṛiyās. About a century later, we come across the literary works of the five associates (*Pañca Sakhā*). Of them Balarāmadāsa and Jagannāthadāsa are the most notable, and they rendered the classical works of Sanskrit into the language of the people.

Thereafter begins the medieval period in Oṛiyā literature when the *Bhakti* movements of Śrī Caitanya cast a spell over the land. Oṛiyā literature became deeply dyed in the erotic colours of his cult and lost its robust character. The bulk of the literature of this period is sensuous, though there are unmistakable efforts to spiritualize the theme. Its style is voluptuously lyrical and highly ornate.

Normally two trends are visible in this period : (i) court poetry with emphasis on ornament and intellectual fancy, and (ii) Vaiṣṇava poetry which laid strong emphasis upon love. Quite often the two were mixed up: the court poets adopted Vaiṣṇava themes and the Vaiṣṇavas indulged in the literary sports of the court poets. The top poet in the first group was Upendra Bhañja (A.D. 1670–1720). Judged purely from the point of view of literary craftsmanship, he was a magician with words. He has written entire epics in which all the lines start with the same letter, and in a number of his cantos the three main seasons are described in the same stanza with the help of *śleṣa* figure of speech. The leaders of the Vaiṣṇava group were Dīnakṛṣṇadāsa, Abhimanyu Sāmanta Siṁhārā and Kavisūrya Baladeva. Kavisūrya Baladeva's *Campū* is a unique specimen of musical drama in Oṛiyā, with a series of clever dramatic situations, rich sportive humour and a string of sweet songs.

Outside the common rut of poetry, we find a contemporary work, the *Samara Taraṅga* of Vrajnātha Badajenā, which stands apart in its heroic lustre. It describes the desperate and ultimately successful struggle of the Oṛiyās against the Marāṭhā invaders, giving vivid pen-pictures of military exploits of the two forces in a spirited and vigorous style.

Towards the end of the 18th century A.D., Oṛiyā muse had begun to feel sick of the artificialities and indulgences of court poetry and religious eroticism, and symptoms of a healthy reaction were becoming visible.

Bengali Literature. The beginning of Bengālī literature is generally traced to the songs (*caryāpadas*) composed between the 10th and 12th century A.D. These are folk-songs inspired by the philosophy of the Sahaja cult, which was then very popular in Bengal. By the middle of the 13th century Bengal was conquered by the Muslims. During the turmoil Sanskritic culture lost its importance and folk themes and forms came

to be adopted as media of literary expression. Thus began the middle age in Bengālī literature with its three main trends: (i) Vaiṣṇava poetry, (ii) translations and adaptations from classical Sanskrit, and (iii) Maṅgala *Kāvya*.

Vaiṣṇavism was a country-wide movement and it swept over Bengal like a tornado. The first great poet of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal was Caṇḍīdāsa (15th century A.D.). He belonged to the school of Jayadeva and Vidyāpati, and inspired the great Caitanya Mahāprabhu by the spiritual fervour of his devotional lyrics. Vidyāpati, the famous poet of Mithilā, known as Abhinava Jayadeva, was probably his contemporary. Although his own language was Maithilī, he cast such a spell over Caitanya that his poems were more or less absorbed into Bengālī, and with the mixture of medieval Bengālī and Maithilī a new poetic diction was evolved in Bengal, namely, the Braja-bolī.

The later Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal was directly influenced by Caitanya and his cult. Of the Vaiṣṇava poets who received direct inspiration from Caitanya in this own time, Murārigupta, Narahari Sarkār, Vāsudeva Ghoṣa and Ramānanda Basu, and of those who followed in later years, Jñānadāsa, Govindadāsa, Locanadāsa, Balarāmadāsa and Śekhara wrote excellent poetry, rich both in quality and quantity. Their theme was essentially erotic, but they breathed into it a unique spiritual fervour. Among the poets some were Muslims. Another type of Vaiṣṇava literature which developed from the 16th century onwards was biographical and it pre-eminently centred round the personality of Caitanya. The major works under this category are about half a dozen, the most important of them being the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (*c.* A.D. 1581).

The second major trend which prevailed from the 14th to the end of the 18th century concerns translations or adaptations of Sanskrit classics, especially the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivāsa Ojhā Mukhaṭī (15th century A.D.) is a free rendering in verse of the story of Rāma, based primarily on Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* but also drawing freely from other sources. Similarly the *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya* (*c.* A.D. 1475) of Mālādhar Basu Guṇarāja Khān is not a translation but an adaptation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Among the renderings of the *Mahābhārata* the most popular was Kaśīrāma's *Mahābhārata*, which vied with the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivāsa in influencing the cultural life of Bengal in the medieval period.

Distinct from these two flowed a third stream, the Maṅgala *Kāvya*. This form of poetry is peculiar to Bengal and its roots are deeply planted in the life of the masses. These narratives, generally of sizeable volume, centred round the struggle of gods or goddesses trying to prove their supremacy against their rivals. They are sectarian in spirit, yet the human touch is palpably felt in the plight of the people who benefit or

suffer from the boons and the curses of the deities. Among the poets of Maṅgala *Kāvya*, Mānika Datta and Mukundarāma of the later 15th and 16th centuries A.D. are prominent.

As in most other literatures of India, the 18th century is a period of decadence in Bengālī literature. The poetry of this period lacked freshness and vigour—it was weak, erotic, imitative in content, ornate and pseudo-classical in style. A series of poetical romances based on semi-historical Hindu life, but deeply coloured by Persian influence, were composed to suit the decaying literary and cultural taste of the so-called elite. In this group of poets the best was Bhārata Candra Rāya (*d.* 1760) and next came Rāmaprasāda Sen (*d.* 1775); and both of them rendered the romantic story of Vidyā and Sundar in colourful language.

Assamese Literature. The first poet of Assamese is Hema Sarasvatī, who composed *Prahlādacaritra* and *Hara-Gaurī Saṁvāda* during the later part of the 13th century A.D. His contemporary was Harihara Vipra, whose poetic narratives, *Babruvāhanar Yuddha* and *Lava Kuśar Yuddha*, describe two well-known episodes from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They were followed in the 14th century A.D. by Mādhava Kandalī and Kaviratna Sarasvatī, who rendered dramatic incidents from the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* into Assamese.

About this time the cultural centre of the land seems to have moved eastward to the court of Mahāmāṇikya, the king of Cāchār, who patronized the chief poet of the time Mādhava Kandalī, who rendered the *Rāmāyaṇa* into the language of the people, giving it local colour and making it not the voice of God but a popular story. The whole of Assam was now under the sway of the Vaiṣṇava movement and the leaders were Śaṅkaradeva (A.D. 1449–1569) and Mādhavadeva (A.D. 1489–1596). The Bible of the Vaiṣṇavas in Assam is the *Kīrtana-ghoṣa*, an anthology of devotional songs. These were written mostly by Śaṅkaradeva, but other poets like Mādhavadeva, Śaṅkara's disciple, also contributed to it. Mādhavadeva's famous work is the *Rājasūya*, depicting the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of the Pāṇḍavas wherein he established the superiority of Kṛṣṇa over all other kings. The *Bara-gītas* of Mādhavadeva are characterized by a rich variety of notes, the most predominant being that of Kṛṣṇa's sportive childhood.

This was in a sense the golden age of Assamese literature. Besides poetry, other branches of literature like drama and prose also developed. The eminent saint-poet Śaṅkaradeva was also a playwright, an actor and a musician of repute besides being a philosopher. He composed a number of one-act plays in Braja-boli, leavened Assamese prose, interspersed with songs. They are known in Assam and outside as *Aṅkīyā Nāṭs*.

Assamese prose was given a definite shape by Bhaṭṭadeva (A.D. 1558–1638) who translated the *Bhāgavata* and the *Gītā* in prose. His style was academic, laden with Sanskrit vocabulary and idiom. Another

monumental work was the biography of Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva, called the *Kathā-Guru-Carita*, compiled in the latter half of the 17th century. A peculiar form of biography in verse had sprung up about a century earlier in the *Carita-puthis* or biography books. It centred round the Vaiṣṇava saints and portrayed their life and religious activities.

The second phase in the development of Assamese literature covers the period from A.D. 1600 to 1800. Literature in this age flourished mostly under the patronage of the Ahom kings. Many Sanskrit works on medicine, astronomy, arithmetic, grammar, architecture, etc. were translated. A novel but highly developed form of prose literature is found in the *Buranjis*, the chronicles of the Ahom Court. They contain periodical reports, judicial and revenue records, diplomatic correspondence, statements of political significance, etc. and are remarkable for their veracity. Some religious works were also composed or translated from Sanskrit by the court poets. Kavirāja Cakravartī, who was in the court of king Rudra Siṁha (A.D. 1696–1714), translated a part of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, Gopāla Candra Dwija rendered the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavatā Purāṇa* and the *Harivaṁśā* and Bhaṭṭadeva the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. There is, however, no doubt that the religious fervour of the earlier century was on the wane and romanticism of a secular nature was gaining ground. This is seen in the poetical romances like *Mṛgāvatī Carita, Mādhava Sulocanā* and *Śakuntalā Kāvya*, a poetical adaptation of Kālidāsa's lyrical drama.

Gujarati Literature. The first literary work distinctly in Gujarātī, the *Bharateśvarabāhubali rāsa* of Śālibhadra, was composed in A.D. 1185. The first phase in the development of Gujarātī literature, which comes down to A.D. 1456, is characterized by two main literary forms, viz., the *Prabhandha* or the narrative poem and the *Muktaka* or the shorter poem. In the first category we come across heroic romances like the *Raṇamallachandā* (*c*. A.D. 1390) of Śrīdhara and the *Kānhaḍa-de-Prabandha* of Padmanābha (*c*. A.D. 1456), poetical romances like the *Sadayavatsa Kathā* (*c*. A.D. 1410) of Bhīma, *Rāsas* or long poems like the *Revantagiri rāsa* of Vijayasena and *Kusumaśrī rāsa* (*c*. A.D. 1652) of Gaṅgavijaya. Of these the *Raṇamallachanda* of Śrīdhara is a panegyric of the heroic deeds of Raṇamalla of Idar. *Kānhaḍa-de-Prabandha* narrates in heroic verse Gujarāt's heroic stand against the Muslim invaders and the fall of Somnāth. In these poems romantic fiction is interspersed with historical fact. The poetical romances are in contrast pure fiction based on popular legends, mostly of the neighbouring regions, with exaggerated descriptions of love and adventure. The *Rāsas* in spite of their mythical character are more true to contemporary life.

Among the shorter poems, the predominant forms are the *Phāgu, Bārāmāsī* and the *Chapo*. The *Phāgu* is a short lyrical poem with *viraha*

or separation as its main theme and marked by luxuriant descriptions or seasonal sports and dances. The tragic love of Rajala for Neminātha, the most popular theme, has been treated with artful variety by Rājaśekhara, Jayaśekhara and Soma Sundara in their *Phāgus* in the later half of the 14th century. Prose also was not neglected; we have in the 15th century a beautiful specimen of ornate poetical prose after the style of Bāṇa in the *Pṛthvīcandra Caritra* (A.D. 1422) of Māṇikyacandra.

From about 16th century begins the second phase in the history of Gujarātī literature, which lasts for full two centuries. As in the other major Indian languages, this was the golden age of Gujarātī. The major strain in the literature of this period is religious and mystical. Purāṇic Hinduism had taken the place of Jainaism and the powerful current of the Vaiṣṇava *Bhakti* movement held the whole life of Gujarāt under its spell. The major poets of the period are Narasiṁha Mehtā (*c.* A.D. 1500–1580), Bhālaṇa (*c.* A.D.1426–1500) and Ākho (*c.* A.D.1615–1674). Narasiṁha Mehtā exercised great influence on later poets. On account of the richness of his imagination and the variety of his creative activity, he is considered the father of Gujarātī poetry, although he is not the first of its poets. Bhālaṇa was more of a classical poet in the technical sense of the term. His poetry is rich in content and expression, and he is the first artist in Gujarātī verse. Ākho, on the other hand, banked more on his innate genius and keen spiritual and social insight. Like the mystic-poets of other languages, he was no scholar but sang with fervour to bring about spiritual and social reform. His expression is simple and homely, and his wit has a peculiar naivete.

Decadence set in the life and literature of India after the end of the 17th century A.D., and Gujarāt was no exception. There was, however, variety; we have various forms of literature—devotional, didactic, quasi-metaphysical and secular. In the second half of the 17th century A.D., Premānanda Bhaṭṭa reigns supreme; he may be described as the greatest poet of Gujarāt of all times. About fifty-seven works are ascribed to him and they cover an enormous variety of literary themes and forms. In the *ākhyana* form of poetry he had hardly any equal.

Marathi Literature. Marāṭhī literature emerged in the latter half of the 13th century, and during the next three hundred years it was mainly religious and philosophical in spirit and its medium of exposition was verse. The most prominent poet of the times was Mukundarāja who wrote his *Vivek-sindhu* with a view to showing his patron Jaitrapāla 'the sea of knowledge'. He belonged to the Nātha cult, founded by the famous mystic Gorakhanātha, and wrote primarily for the masses in chaste popular language. Then came the saint-poets of the Mahānubhāva cult who made a marked contribution to Marāṭhī poetry and prose. They were to a great extent the builders of early Marāṭhī literature. The poetical works of the Mahānubhāva writers consist of seven long poems,

four of which are based on the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa. They are characterized by devotional fervour and some of them rise to great philosophical heights without being academic. The prose literature of the Mahānubhāvas is mainly biographical or philosophical, with a strong ethnical and didactic bias. Their most sacred books are the *Līlā Caritra* (c.A.D. 1273) and *Govinda Prabhu Caritra*, which are biographies of the founder-saint Cakradhara and his preceptor Govinda Prabhu, and the *Siddhānta Sūtra Pāṭha* which contain sermons regarding day-to-day life. The Mahānubhāvas had revolted against the social tyranny of the orthodox Brāhmaṇa class and declared open the portals of *mokṣa* (salvation) to everybody who qualified himself by devotion and penance.

The thread of *Bhakti* was taken up by the great Jñānadeva, whose *Bhāvārtha Dīpikā*, popularly known as the *Jñāneśvarī*, and the *Amṛtānubhava* have been the sacred books of the Mahārāshtrians for the past seven centuries. From the literary point of view, Jñānadeva represents the finest flowering of the literary and philosophical genius of Marāṭhī. Jñānadeva was followed by Ekanātha, who was deeply influenced by his philosophical outlook. His attitude was more joyful and he spoke of the Bhāgavata Dharma as 'the palace of happiness'.

The Marāṭhī literature of the 17th century A.D. is characterized by two main trends—one religious and the other secular. The landmarks in the religious poetry of the period are the *Khrista-Purāṇa* of Father Thomas Stephens (A.D. 1549–1619), who wrote in the vein of Jñāneśvara, the poetic narratives of Mukteśvara who echoed the events of his age through the episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and the incomparable *Abhaṅga* of Tukārāma which made a direct appeal to the people through the intensity of their lyrical quality. The poetry of Rāmadāsa, the great saint-preceptor of Śivājī, is more sturdy in character; it combines with devotional and religious fervour the spirit of liberation and national reconstruction. The last poet of the age was Vāmana Paṇḍita (A.D. 1615-1678). His approach was academic and literary and consequently he wrote in an ornate Sanskritized style. His commentary on the *Gītā* was a sort of challenge to Jñānadeva and he advocated the path of knowledge as against the path of devotion propounded in the *Jñāneśvarī*. The secular poetry of this period found expression in the *Povāḍās* and the *Lāvaṇīs* of the Śenvis. The *Povāḍās* were a kind of ballad 'brisk in movement and vivid in diction, eminently suited to describe the lightning warfare and selfless valour of the Marāṭhās.' The *Lāvaṇīs* were romantic in character with a deep colouring of the erotic sentiment.

(ii) Sanskrit

During the period under review. literature in Sanskrit continued

to be produced in the several branches—*belles-lettres*, sciences and arts, religion and philosophy.

Mahakavya. The earliest work of this category is *Jayantavijaya* composed in A.D. 1221 in 19 cantos by Abhayadeva. Amaracandra's *Bālabhārata* narrates the story of the *Mahābhārata* and his poetry is of a high order. *Yādavābhyudaya*, a long poem in 24 cantos, written by Vedānta Deśika in the 14th century A.D., deals with the life of Kṛṣṇa and the history of the Yadu race. Agastya also wrote a *Bālabhārata* in 20 cantos, the verses of which are highly musical. *Udārarāghava* of Śākalyamalla deals with the story of Rāma.

In the 15th century Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa produced two poems, *Nalābhyudaya* in 8 cantos and *Raghunāthacarita* in 30 cantos. *Narakāsuravijaya*, *Rāmābhyudaya* and *Haricaritakāvya* are the other *Mahākāvyas* written in this century.

In the next century we find Padmasundara's *Rāyamallābhyudaya* describing the lives of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras. Nīlakaṇṭha composed *Śivalīlārṇava* in 22 cantos. He belongs to the 17th century A.D. Fresh ground in the *Mahākāvya* pattern was broken by Cakra Kavi, one of Nīlakaṇṭha's contemporaries, with his writings on the marriages of Rukmaṇi, Janakī, Gauri and Draupadī. His *Janakīpariṇaya* is in 8 cantos. *Naṭeśavijaya* of Venkaṭakṛṣṇa describes the defeat of Kālī by Śiva at Ciḍambaram. Other poems worth mentioning are *Patañjalicarita*, *Viṣṇuvilāsa* and *Rāghavīya*. The last two were written by Rāmapaṇivāda about the middle of the 18th century A.D.

During this period we also find some *Mahākāvyas* dealing with the stories of two or more heroes by using *śleṣa*, a figure of speech in which two or more meanings are attached to the same word or set of words. Their model was *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* of Kavirāja (12th century A.D.). In this category we have *Yādavarāghavīya* (17th century A.D.) and *Rāghavayādavīya*, both dealing with Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. The latter is a work on prosody. *Rasikarañjana* (A.D. 1524) of Rāmacandra is a collection of verses, all having double meanings—*śṛṅgāra* and *vairāgya*. *Rāghava-yādava pāṇḍavīya* of Ciḍambara deals with three heroes. And lastly we have *Saptasandhāna Mahākāvya* (A.D. 1671) by Meghavijayagaṇi, each verse of which applies to seven persons.

Historical Kavyas. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, presenting a hisory of Kashmīr kings, was followed in this period by a *dvitīya* or second *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Jonarāja, who carried the story from Jayasiṁha to Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidin, and by a *tṛtīya* or third *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Śrīvara, who took the history down to A.D. 1486. The story of Kashmīr till its annexation by Akbar is continued in a later work, *Rājāvalipatākā* of Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka. We have in addition some works dealing with other royal dynasties such as *Gaṅgavaṁśānucarita* (15th century) and *Rājakālanirṇaya* dealing with the Kaliṅga and Vijayanagar kings res-

pectively. A number of works on individual kings of both North and South India are available. Of these, *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* and *Hammīramahākāvya* are well known. A number of poems are on Muslim rulers, e.g., *Rājavinoda* on Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ahmadābād. *Akbar Nāmah* has a Sanskrit translation and there is also a work on Jahāngīr. Besides, we have works on several religious and political leaders, e.g., *Todaramalakāvya* on Toḍar Mal, *Śivācarita* on Śivājī, *Śambhucarita* by Bhānu Bhaṭṭa and *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Vidyāraṇya.

Devotional Poetry. The period is rich in devotional poetry, poems in praise of the favourite deities—Śiva, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Nārāyaṇa, etc. This was natural with the growth of the cult of *Bhakti*. Vedānta Deśika is credited with the composition of *Pādukāsahasra*, a poem of 1,000 verses, in praise of Rāma's sandals, in one night only. Most men of letters and religious leaders tried their hand on this category of poetry. There are hundreds of such poems (*stotras*), and of these Jagannātha Paṇḍit's *Gaṅgālaharī* is the most prominent.

Didactic Poetry. *Śatakas* (collection of hundred verses) on the model of the earlier work of Bhartṛhari were composed by a number of writers. Of these, mention may be made of Jagannātha's *Bhāminīvilāsa* and Dyā Dviveda's *Nītimañjarī*.

Sandesakavya. Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* served as a model for a number of poems where some bird, a cuckoo, a goose, or a parrot, or even an insect such as a bee, serves as a messenger to the beloved person or deity. Of these, the *Haṁsasandeśa* deals with the union of the individual soul with Śiva through Yoga.

Anthology. This literary form of collecting chosen verses on different topics from various authors originated shortly before A.D. 1000. Of the several valuable works of this category, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (A.D. 1205) of Śrīdharadāsa in 2368 verses, *Sūktimuktāvali* (A.D. 1257) of Jalhaṇa, *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* (A.D. 1363) by Śārṅgadhara of 4,689 verses in 163 sections, and the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Kashmirian Śrīvara deserve special notice. Sundaradeva's *Sūktisundara* contains verses of several poets of the 16th and 17th centuries in praise of rulers, some of them Muslims. Hari Kavi's *Subhāṣitahārāvali* (late 17th century A.D.) has verses from the literature of the whole country, from the north to the south. Rūpa Gosvāmi's *Padyāvalī* contains 386 verses devoted to Kṛṣṇa from over 125 authors.

Drama. The dramas produced in this period follow the beaten track and closely adhere to the rules of dramaturgy. *Pārijātamañjarī* (A.D. 1213) is a *naṭikā* available only in fragments. *Pradyumnābhyudaya* and *Unmattarāghava* are other dramatic works worth mentioning. Narasiṁha dramatized the story of Kādambarī in eight acts in *Kādambarīkalyāṇa*. *Murārivijaya*, *Muditamadālasā* and *Jānakīpariṇaya* are other works of importance, the last depicting a comedy of errors.

Allegorical drama following the model of *Prabodhacandrodaya* by Kṛṣṇamiśra (12th century A.D.) also flourished in this period. The *Saṅkalpasūryodaya* is a reply to Kṛṣṇamiśra by Vedānta Deśika. Gokulanātha (16th century A.D.) in his *Amṛtodaya* treats the story of the *Jīvātman* from creation to annihilation. *Saubhāgyamahodaya* represents all the *alaṅkāras* (figures of speech) as courtiers in the court of Vakhatsinghji of Bhavnagar. One would find in *Vidvanmodataraṅgiṇī* an interesting humorous play where followers of various faiths come together and represent the doctrines of their faiths in dialogues. It was written by Rāmadeva (Cirañjīva) of Bengal in about 1731.

Of the shadow plays (*Chāyānaṭaka*, a behind the curtain representation and narration) may be mentioned Subhaṭaś *Dūtāṅgada* (middle 13th century A.D.) and Vyāsa Śrīrāmadeva's three dramas *Rāmābhyudaya*, *Pāṇḍavābhudaya* and *Subhadrāpariṇaya* (15th century A.D.).

Prose Romances and Campu. Although a few works were written in prose on the model of Bāṇa's works, there was no work of outstanding merit. One of the earliest prose work of this period is the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* by Vidyācakravartī. The *Kṛṣṇacarita* of Agastya was written in early 14th century. The *Vemabhūpālacarita* of the 15th century is a poor copy of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*.

Of the *Campū-kāvya*, the *Bhāratacampū* of Anantabhaṭṭa and the *Bhāgavatacampū* by Cidambara (16th century A.D.) have been considered good literary pieces. Mention should also be made of the *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* of the poetess Tirumalāmbā. *Campū* was specially popular in the South.

Tales. The period is fairly rich in the production of didactic tales, particularly among Jaina works. The *Kathāmahodadhi* (A.D. 1448) of Somacandra is a collection of 126 Jaina stories. Vidyāpati of the 14th century gives a number of stories in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* illustrating the criteria by which man should be judged. The *Kathākośa* has 27 tales in very simple prose. The *Kathākautuka* written in the reign of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470) gives the story of Yūsuf and Zuleikhā in verse.

The *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballālasena (16th century A.D.) is a very interesting collection of stories but with no historical sense as it puts Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Māgha, etc. in the court of Rājā Bhoja of Dhār. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga (A.D. 1306) gives legends of many kings including Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana. The *Prabandhakośa* (A.D. 1348) also deserves mention.

Deśavṛtta. As regards works of geographical value, Vidyāpati's *Bhūparikramā* details round-the-earth journey of Balarāma, describing 56 countries. The *Prasaṅgaratnāvalī* (A.D. 1466), *Deśāvalivivṛti* and *Sarvadeśavṛttāntasaṅgraha* of Maheśa Ṭhākur and *Pāṇḍava-digvijaya* of Rāmakavi are works of the same type.

Lexicons During the period under review, composition of lexicons of various types such as of homonyms continued, e.g., *Nanārthārṇava-saṃkṣepa* of Keśavasvāmī. Some bilingual dictionaries also appeared, e.g., *Pārasīprakāśa* and *Pārasīvinoda*

Grammars. While commentaries on the classical works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali were written in this period also, a new line of study of grammar in the shape of recasts of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* came up. The earliest was the *Rūpāmālā* of Vimalasarsvati. The *Prakriyā-kaumudī* of Rāmacandra (early 15th century A.D.) gained importance, but the most prominent work was the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (later 16th century A.D.) which has replaced the direct study of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The other grammatical systems prevalent during the period were the *Śākaṭāyana, Kātantra, Sārasvata, Hemacandra, Bopadeva* and *Saupadma*.

Poetics and Dramaturgy. Of the books in this field of study, *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha (14th century A.D.) is a compendium on rhetoric (including dramaturgy) and is one of the most popular works upto this day. The *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya Dīkṣita is another popular work produced in this period (later 16th century A.D.). The most important work on rhetoric was the *Rasagaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, a great master of Sanskrit language and an extraordinarily gifted poet, rhetorician and philosopher. He belonged to Andhra and was in the court of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb at Delhi. Another prominent writer both on rhetoric and dramaturgy was Rūpa Gosvāmī. He was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa and introduced *Bhakti* in this line of literature. Of his works *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* and *Nāṭakacandrikā* deserve to be mentioned.

Metrics. Of the large number of works written in this period, *Chando-mañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa deserves particular mention. There are also some independent works on *prastara* (amplification) showing mathematical calculations on metre.

Astronomy and Mathematics. There were no mathematicians of high rank, the works produced therefore being only some commentaries and hand-books for preparing almanacs. An impulse to the study was, however, given by Mahārājā Jai Singh of Jaipur, the builder of astronomical observatories.

Astrology. The period produced works of great importance on Astrology. The *Tājika* and the *Ramala* systems based on Muslim Astrology and Geomancy grew very popular. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja's *Jātakābharaṇa* which is frequently used in reading horoscopes, and the *Jātakasāra* of Nṛhari need special mention. The most important work in the *Tājika* system is *Tājikanīlakaṇṭhī* of Nīlakaṇṭha and in the *Ramala* system the *Ramalacintāmaṇi* as well as the *Ramalāmṛta*. *Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa* and *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* are two very popular works on the determination of auspicious moment.

Medicine. We find some commentaries on earlier works, such as

Mādhvakara's *Rugviniścaya*, a popular compendium on pathology and Bhāvamiśra's *Bhāvaprakāśa*. Other notable works were Vaṅgasena's *Cikitsāsāra*, Milhaṇa's *Cikitsāmṛata*, Tista's *Cikitsā-kalikā* and Lolimbarāja's *Vaidyajīvana*.

Music. Literature on music flourished abundantly during this period, for there were many kings who not only patronized the art but some of them even wrote books on it. There are works on vocal music dealing with *nāda* and *rāga*, on dance and dance costume, and on theatrical and musical instruments. Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala reduced North Indian music to order, and he was also a master of South Indian music.

Erotics. Kāmaśāstra (erotics) attracted much attention during this period. Besides the commentaries on the *Kāmasūtra*, there were numerous other works. The *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka and *Kāmasamūha* of Ananta are very important, and the latter deals with all aspects concerning love.

Translations of Scientific Literature. It is interesting to note that during the period of Mughal rule,a number of works on sciences and fine arts were translated from Arabic and Persian into Sanskrit. The instances are as follows:

Astronomy. Ḥakīm Fatḥullah Shīrāzī rendered *Zīz-i-Mirzāī*, a work on Astronomy, into Sanskrit. Among the other translations that of Ptolemy's *Almagast* (Arabic) into Sanskrit by Paṇḍita Jagannātha is worthy of note. A number of works on the applied Astronomy were written on the basis of the Arab science, and others on Astronomy show Arab influence.

Several astrological treatises in Sanskrit show the influence of Arabic science.

Mathematics. Euclid's geometry was rendered into Sanskrit by Nayana Sukha Upādhyāya, and Nāṣiru'd-din Ṭūsī's work on the use of circular instruments was done in Sanskrit.

Similarly, in Medicine, there was a good deal of translation. Some encyclopaedic works like Ibn Sīnā's *Dānish Nāmah-i-'Alā'ī* and Fakhru'd-dīn Rāḍī's *Jami'ul-'ulūm* were made available for scholars.

Religious and Philosophical Literature. While the period is remarkable for the production of commentaries and digests of many religious and philosophical works, there is not much originality in most of them. In the Purānic literature, the only work worth mentioning is the famous commentary, *Bhāgavatabhāvārtha-dīpikā* by Śrīdharasvāmī.

Kullūkabhaṭṭa wrote a very popular commentary on the *Manusmṛti*, Hemādri and Mādhavācārya of the South and Caṇḍeśvara and Vācaspatimiśra of Mithilā belong to this period and are well-known writers of commentaries and digests on Dharma Śāstras. In Bengal, Mitramiśra produced *Vīramitrodaya*, which is a vast digest and is considered to be of high authority.

Of the writers on *Mīmāṁsā*, Vijñānabhikṣu is the most prominent author. His commentaries on the Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems are valuable and attempt to bring Yoga nearer to the Upaniṣadic philosophy. The Navyanyāya school flourished during this period. Vardhamāna carried further the ideas of his father, Gaṅgeśa, who started the school. The popular text-books of Nyāya today such as the *Tarkabhāṣā* and *Tarkasaṅgraha* belong to this period.

The overall production of Vedāntic literature was appreciable as compared to other systems of philosophy. Śrī Harṣa, the reputed writer of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, wrote the great Vedāntic work *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* just before this period began. The *Tattvapradīpikā*, written in about A.D., 1225, gives a detailed analysis of some of the concepts of Śaṅkara Vedānta. A famous author of the 14th century is Mādhava, son of Sāyaṇa, also known as Vidyāraṇya, whose *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* is a critical review of all the systems of philosophy,. His *Pañcadaśī* also is very popular. In the 16th century A.D., Madhusūdana Sarasvatī wrote a large number of texts. The well-known text-books *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* and *Vedāntasāra* belong to this century. *Brahma-vidyābharaṇa* of Advaitānanda is a prose commentary on *Śāṅkara-bhāṣya*, while his disciple Sadānanda's *Vedāntasāra* explains in easy language the viewpoint of teachers of the Advaita Vedānta. Several very important commentaries on the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānujācārya and some very good commentaries on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* were written.

(iii) Prākṛt

The tradition of Prākṛt literature continued, although the period cannot claim the production of any outstanding work. In story literature, *Sirivālakahā* and *Rayaṇasehārīkahā* are two high-ranking works. In didactic poetry, *Uvaesarayaṇāyara* (A.D. 1319) and *Vaddhamāṇadesaṇā* are important. In *Carita* literature, *Kummāputtacariya* and *Sāntiṇāhacariya* deserve mention. In the 13th century A.D., Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka wrote a poem on the model of Bhaṭṭikāvya of Sanskrit, named *Siricindhakavva*, to illustrate rules of Prākṛt grammar. The *Kaṁsavaho* (middle 18th century A.D.) is an important *Khaṇḍakāvya*. The *Gāhāsahasrī* (17th century A.D.) is a collection of a thousand *gāthās* connected with all spheres of life. For Prākṛt drama, we have two works *Candralehā* and *Ānandasundarī* (18th century A.D.), written on the model of the *Karpūramañjarī*, the first known Prākṛt drama of the 10th century A.D.

Two very important Prākṛt grammars, *Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana* of Trivikrama and *Prākṛtasarvasva* of Mārkaṇḍeya need special mention. In metrics, *Prākṛtapaiṅgala* of unknown date and *Chandakoṣa* (14th century

A.D.) are important. In other branches of technical literature, writers in Prâkrt did not produce any work of importance.

(iv) Dravidian Languages

Tamil. After the decline of the Colas and the Pāṇḍyas, the glorious epoch of Tamil literature came to an end. While Sanskrit, Kannaḍa and Telugu made great progress, the standard of Tamil literature deteriorated though it received local patronage. Nonetheless, this period has made its own contribution to Tamil literature and it has given us a large number of philosophical works, commentaries, Purāṇas, and Prabandhas. The numerous authors belong mostly to the Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva sects, though some Jaina writers continued to write also.

Early in the first half of the 13th century, Meykaṇḍar formulated the tenets of Śaiva-siddhānta in his *Śiva-Jñāna-Bodam*, a short treatise of a dozen *sūtras*, perhaps translated from a Sanskrit original. His disciple Aruṇandi wrote the *Śivā-Jñāna-Śittiyār* which gives an authoritative explanation of the *Bodam*. These, together with the works of Umâpati Śivâcarya, are looked upon as the fountain-head of the dogmatics of the system.

Aruṇagirinātha, a devout Muruga devotee, composed in the fifteenth century the *Tiruppugal* consisting of over 1360 songs in various metres handled with the utmost skill and characterized by a unique lilt. The *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra was translated into Tamil by Mādai Tiruvengaḍanāthar. Also, in this period, the Vaiṣṇava scholars wrote elaborate commentaries on the *Nālāyiram* of their canon. Of these, Pillai Lokācārya, Vedānta Deśika and Maṇavāla Mahāmuni who flourished under the discerning patronage of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai deserve special notice. This was also the period during which great scholars like Ilampūranār, Perāśiriyar, Parimelalagar and Naccinārkkiniyar wrote their brilliant commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam*, the *Kural* and a few other *Śaṅgam* works. These commentaries are models of medieval prose noted alike for brevity and clarity. But for them, many ancient texts like the *Tolkāppiyam* would be mostly unintelligible today.

The *Tañjai Vāṇan Kovai* of Poyyāmoli of Vañji is in praise of Bāna general of the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Kulaśekhara (A.D. 1260–1308). Pugalendi's *Nalaveṇbā*, though short, is brilliant. The *Bhāratam* of Villiputtūrar (c. A.D. 1400), which is not a full translation of the original by any means, established the tradition of using Sanskrit words and expressions freely in Tamil verse.

Ativīrarâma Panḍya, who ruled from Tenkāśi, was a royal poet of no mean order and his *Naiḍadam* has special literary merit. Kumâragu-

ruparasvāmī, the reputed founder of the Śaiva *maṭha* at Vārāṇasi, was patronized by Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai; his works on Goddess Mīnākṣi and Muttukumārasvāmi are some of the best illustrations of the *pillaittamil* type of Prabandha. Śivaprakāśarsvāmi of the 17th century refuted the Christian doctrines in a short work which is no longer extant. He also translated into Tamil the *Prabhuliṅga-līlai* from the Kannaḍa original.

Vaidyanātha Deśikar (the author of the *Ilakkaṇavilakkam* which tried to supersede the *Nannūl*) and his disciples started a new literary school in the early 17th century. Kālamegham, Andakakkavi Vīrarāghava Mudaliyār and Paḍikkāsi Pulavar were a few exceptional men of letters whose stray and occasional poems have become bywords among the Tamils. Early in the 18th century the *Śirāppurāṇam*, a life of Prophet Muḥammad in verse, was written by Umaru Pulavar, who was patronized by Śīdakkādi, Etappa Nāyaka and 'Abdul Kāsim. Rājappa Kavirāyar's *Kuttāla-tala-purāṇam* is a masterpiece though his other work, the *Kurrala-k-kuravañci*, is more popular. The middle of the 18th century saw the publication of a great commentary on the *Śiva-Jñāna-Bodam*, known as the *Mapāḍiyam*, by Śivajñāna Munivar, a veteran poet and scholar. That was the period when Christian missionaries like Father Beschi introduced modern prose as a form of literature in Tamil language.

Kannada. Towards the beginning of the 13th century, two great Vīra-śaiva poets, Harīśvara and his nephew Rāghavāṅka, invented and popularized some of the Kannaḍa metres and composed their immortal works in them, employing the standard language of the time. Harīśvara was the first to write a magnificent work entirely in the *ragale* metre. He was also a good biographer. Later Rāghavāṅka carried the new spirit further by composing his famous *Hariścandra Kāvya* in the *ṣatpadī* metre. From his pen emanated also the *Somanātha Carite*. He was a born story-teller. Among other works of literary value produced during the period mention may be made of Bandhuvarma's *Harivaṁśābhyudaya* and *Jīva sambodhana*.

Under the patronage of the later Hoysalas, several literary works were produced. Among them special mention must be made of Rudra Bhaṭṭa's *Jagannātha-vijaya*, a *Campū* on the life of Kṛṣṇa and based on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; *Janna's Anantanātha Purāṇa* representing the story of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara; and *Yaśodharacarite*, an exquisite piece of tragedy. Āṇḍayya's *Madana Vijaya* or *Kabbigara Kāva* which is a work of special interest in pure Kannaḍa without the admixture of Sanskrit words, though *tadbhavas* are largely used. Mallikārjuna's *Sūkti-sūdhārṇava*, the first anthology in Kannaḍa, and Keśirāja's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* on grammar are two other standard works in Kannaḍa language.

Kannaḍa literature flourished greatly during the 14th-16th centuries under the patronage of the Vijayanagar kings and their feudatories.

Poets of all religious denominations made important contributions to it. Among the literary works produced by the Brāhmaṇas, Kannaḍa *Bhārata* of Kumāra Vyāsa stands out pre-eminent. It is unsurpassed in the art of characterization. Then followed the *Torave Rāmāyaṇa* of Narahari known as Kumāra Vālmīki. This is the first *Rāma-kathā* in Kannaḍa composed on the basis of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Cāṭu Viṭṭhalanātha translated the *Bhāgavata* and filled a great void. Lakṣmīśa composed some time in the 17th century the *Jaimini Bhārata* in *ṣaṭpadī* metre. He was every inch a great craftsman and earned the title of *Karṇāṭa-kavi-cūtavana-caitra* (the spring of the Karnāṭaka mango-grove).

During this period, there was a great output of literature by Vīraśaiva writers too. Bhīmakavi's *Basava Purāṇa* (c. A.D. 1369) depicting Basava's life and miracles was so popular that it was translated into other languages. Cāmarasa (c. A.D. 1425), a contemporary of Kumāra Vyāsa, enriched Kannaḍa literature with his *Prabhuliṅga-līlai*, a great biography of the Vīraśaiva mystic Allama Prabhu. The fluency and the peculiar sweetness of his style are delightful. Basava's life and miracles were also immortalized in about A.D. 1500 in the *Mala-Basava-rāja-carita* of Siṅgirāja. Mention must be made of the versatile poet Nijaguṇa Śivayogī also. He wrote several great works of which the *Vivekacintāmaṇi* is of an inestimable value. It is a cyclopaedia of 'Sanskrit terms and Vīra-śaiva lore'. *Kumāra Rāmana Kathe* of Nañjunda Kavi, composed in a pleasing folk metre, is an interesting narrative of the heroic deeds of prince Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kampila. The work acquires additional significance on account of the historical material embedded in it. Virūpākṣa Paṇḍita (A.D. 1584) is another notable poet of the period known for his *Cenna Basava Purāṇa*, an epic recounting the story of the Cenna Basava and other saints. Of the many other poets and *Vacanakāras* Lakkaṇṇa's *Śiva-tatva-cintāmaṇi* and Guru Basava's *Sapta Kāvya* deserve mention.

Among the Jaina poets of the period, Ratnākara Varṇi (A.D. 1557) deserves a special mention. His *Bhārateśvara Carita* is marked by simplicity, serenity, felicity and musical excellence. Abhinavavādi Vidyānanda did great service to Kannaḍa by compiling *Kāvyasāra* (A.D. 1533), an anthology of representative works composed before his time. Śalva (c A.D. 1550) produced an elaborate work on *rasa*, the *Rasa Ratnākara*. Among other Jaina works of the period are the *Bijjalarāya Carite* and *Rāmacandra Carite*.

The period is also noted for its output of Vaiṣṇava literature. In A.D. 1510., Timmaṇṇa Kavi translated later chapters of *Mahābhārata* and called it the *Kṛṣṇarāya Bhārata*. But the most outstanding contribution was that of the great Vaiṣṇava mystics, the Haridāsas, of whom Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa are the best known. They spread the *Bhakti* cult throughout Karnātaka through their soul-stirring compositions (*kīrtanas*), strung in a variety of literary forms. In the musings

of these mystics, especially Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa, we find a harmonious blending of religion, philosophy, literature and music. It may be noted that the Haridāsas belonged to all castes, high and low, and their *kīrtanas* are very popular and widely sung to this day.

Early in the 17th century, *Bhaṭṭākalaṅka Deva*, a Jaina, composed the *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*, an elaborate grammar of the Kannaḍa language written in Sanskrit. Reference may also be made here to Ṣaḍakṣaradeva (A.D. 1650) whose *Campū, Rājaśekhara Vilāsa*, extols the devotion to Śiva.

The other eminent poet of this period was the great Sarvajña, popularly eulogized as the people's poet. His aphoristic *tripadī* (three-lined) compositions serve as a source of wisdom and ethics.

Cikkadevarāya (A.D. 1672–1704), king of Mysore, was a patron of art and literature. He was himself the author of *Cikkadevarāya Binnrapa*, a devotional treatise written in old Kannaḍa prose. Cikkupādhyāya, Tirumalārya, Siṅgarārya, Mallikārjuna and Cidānanda Kavi flourished under him. Cikkupādhyāya was a voluminous writer. More than thirty of his major works have been noticed. He was practically the last of the *Campū* writers; his *Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Rukmāṅgada Carite, Divyasūri Carite*, etc., were all based on the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas. Tirumalārya, a minister of the king, composed a work on *alaṅkāras* (figures of speech) called *Apratimavīra Carite*. He also wrote a prose work, *Cikkadevarāya vaṁśāvali*, narrating the genealogy of his master. Siṅgarāya's *Mitravinda Govinda*, based on Harṣa's *Ratnāvali Nāṭikā*, is the first extant drama in Kannaḍa. Special mention may be made of Honnamma, perhaps the first outstanding poetess in Kannaḍa. Her *Hadibadeya Dharma* (Duty of a Devout Wife) is a compendium of ethics. Celuvāmbi, the queen of Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar, was another poetess of some merit.

Lastly, a word may be said about *Yakṣagāna*, a type of opera or musical drama, mostly using Puranic or quasi-historic themes. It arose for the first time during the 17th century, and was cultivated profusely thereafter. Śāntavīra Deśika and Parti Subba are some of the famous poets of this school of literature.

Telugu. The 13th century, an important period in the history of the Telugu literature, saw many translations of Sanskrit works being attempted by Telugu scholars and the emergence of works on Vīraśaiva doctrine. Nanne Coḍa's *Kumārasambhava*, a *Mahākāvya*, is an instance in point. The work contains a number of Tamil and Kannaḍa words. The influence of Vīraśaivism on Telugu literature could be traced to as late 16th century, when one Somanātha wrote a *Basava Purāṇa*. Tikkanna Somayāji (A.D. 1220–1300), an illustrious poet, translated the latter half of the *Mahābhārata* beginning from the *Virāṭa Parva*. He had previously written *Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇa*. Yet another poet who had a hand in the translation of the *Bhārata* was Yerrāpragaḍa (A.D. 1280–

1350). These two, along with Nannaya of 11th century, constitute the *kavitraya* in Telugu literature. Ketana, who translated the *Daśakumāra Carita* of Daṇḍin and the *Mitākṣarā*, was a contemporary of Tikkanna. Māran's *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* was the basis for Peddana's *Manu Carita*. This period witnessed the translation of Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* by Eluganti Peddana.

The latter part of the 14th and the early half of the 15th century saw the growth of Śaiva literature, mainly translations of Puranic stories in Sanskrit relating to Śiva. Śrīnātha (A.D. 1365–1440) was a voluminous writer. His *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadha* is a translation of the *Naiṣadhakāvya* into Telugu. His *Śivarātri Māhātmya* and *Kāśikhaṇḍa* prove his Śaiva leanings. He wrote a popular folk drama entitled *Krīḍābhirāmam*. Bammera Potana (A.D. 1400–1475), a *niyogī*, translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into Telugu. He is also the author of a minor work *Vīrabhadra Vijaya* written in praise of Śiva. Vemana wrote a *śataka* (centum) on morals. Vīrabhadra translated the *Jaimini Bhārata* and also Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. The 15th century A.D. witnessed the translation of Sanskrit works like the *Prabodhacandrodaya*, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and *Hariścandropākhyāna*.

The reign of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar may be considered to be the golden age of Telugu literature. The emperor was himself a great scholar and patron of poets. His *Āmuktamālyada* indicates his literary achievements. Allasāni Peddana, a great poet and a contemporary of the great Rāya, wrote the *Manu Carita* and was awarded the title of *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha*. Nandi Timmana's *Pārijātapaharaṇam* elaborates a particular theme, in Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life. Bhaṭṭamūrti's *Vasu Caritra* is a beautiful piece of poetry composed during the reign of Tirumala I. Dhūrjaṭi, another famous poet and contemporary of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, wrote the *Kālahasti Māhātmya*. Pingali Sūranna's *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīya* weaves two stories in the same poem by an adroit use of *śleṣa* or pun. Another of his famous works is the *Prabhāvatī Pradyumna* Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa is perhaps the most popularly known of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's poets because he was a poet as well as a jester. He wrote the *Pāṇḍuraṅga Māhātmya*. Śaṅkuśāla Nṛsiṁha Kavi was an equal of the great Peddana himself and was the author of *Kavikarṇa Rasāyana* which deals with the life of Māndhātā, a Purānic emperor. Molla, a poetess of the time, born of a low caste, was the author of the most popular version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

After the fall of Vijayanagar, standards in Telugu literary production fell. Except for minor works like folk dramas produced at the various capitals of the Nāyakas, there was no significant development in Telugu literature. The latter half of the 17th century began an era of minor poems and *śatakas*.

Malayālam. The earliest literary work in the Malayālam language

is one *Uṇṇunīlī-Sandeśam* assigned to the 14th century. Its authorship is not known. Even this early work started the tradition of free and uninhibited use of Sanskrit idioms and is held in high esteem by the Malayālis. The folk-songs *pāṭṭus* probably belonged to an older age but additions were made in them in later times. Some early Malayālam poetical works like the *Rāmacaritam* and *Rāmakathāp-pāṭṭu* bear witness to strong and undeniable Tamil influence in respect of words and metres. The 15th century was eminently an age of *Campūs* like the *Rāmāyaṇa-campū, Naiṣadha-campū* and the *Bhārata-campū*. Most of them were written by the Nambudri Brāhmaṇas of Malabār. This century also witnessed a trend towards purism in Malāyalam literature, an attempt to avoid excessive use of Sanskrit or Tamil idiom. Rāma Paṇikkar, who wrote *Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam* in pure Malayālam, was a pioneer in this class of literature.

Modern Malayālam begins with the greatest name in Malayālam literature, Rāmānuja Eluttaccan. His literary modes were anticipated to some extent by Cheruṣṣeri Nambudri, the author of the *Kṛṣṇagāthā*. Rāmānuja Ezhuttaccan was a prolific writer and handled mythological themes with great mastery. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam-Kiḷippāṭṭu, Harināmakīrtanam, Bhāgavatam Kiḷippāṭṭu* and *DevīMāhātmyam* are some of the works for which he is remembered. He was in particular master of the *Kiḷippāṭṭu* type of literature.

Kathākaḷi as a form of dance-drama became popular in Malabār in the late 15th century, and in the next century, many dance-dramas came to be written.

(v) Arabic

In the first few centuries after the rise of Islam, Arabic was the dominant language of the Islamic world, which extended from China to Spain. It was the language of religion and theology as well as of learning and scholarship It was only natural that with the establishment of Muslim power, increasing attention should be paid to the cultivation of the language in India. The Arabs conquered Sind in the 8th century and made it a flourishing colony of the Muslims, with Bhakkar, Tatta and Multān as important centres of learning.

Sind was a great centre of traditionists and literary men down to the 18th century A.D., but very few of their works have come down to us. Abū 'Aṭā Aflaḥ al-Sindī, the first poet, Abū Ḥafṣ Rabī bin Subayh (*d.* A.D. 716). and Abū Ma'shar Najih bin' Abdu'r Raḥmān (*d.* A.D. 786) were the prominent scholars of the 8th century. Among the later theologians and scholars may be mentioned the great saint Bahāu'd-dīn Dhakariyā Multānī (*d.* A.D. 1262), Abū Ḥanīfa al-Sindī, the *Qāḍī* of Bhakkar, Abū

Ṭayyab al-Sindī, Shaikh Ḥamīd bin 'Abdullah (*d* A.D. 1600), Abul Ḥasan bin 'Abdu'l Hādī (*d.* 1725), Muḥammad Ḥayāt al- Sindī (*d.* 1749) and Ḥājjī Hāshim (*d.* 1760). Some Arabic works of original merit were written in India under the patronage of the Ghaznavids (A.D. 962–1186). The great Irānian scholar Abū Raiḥān Alberūnī (*d.* A.D. 1048) came to India, studied Hindu culture and Sanskrit literature and wrote in A.D. 1030 his famous work on India, *Kitāb-ul-Hind* or *Indica*, which brought Indian philosophies and sciences to the knowledge of the Muslims. Among his other notable works are *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdī*, a treatise on astronomy, and *Jawāhir fil-Jawāhir*, a book on minerology, both dedicated to Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghaznī. It was this Sulṭān that had made Lahore the capital of the Ghaznavid dominion, east of the Indus, and it came to be known as Little Ghaznī. The first *muḥaddith* (traditionist) and *mufassir* (commentator) Muḥammad Ismā'īl (*d.* A.D. 1056) settled down at Lahore during his reign.

When Delhi became the capital of the Muslim rulers of India under the Sulṭāns of Delhi. (A.D. 1206–1290), it assumed great importance in the literary circles of the East. In the time of Iltutmish, several scholars sought refuge at Delhi after the sack of Bukhara by Chingīz Khān. Raḍīu'd-dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghāni (*d.* A.D. 1252), a prominent traditionist and philologist, was attached to his court as an ambassador of the Abbasid Caliph An-Nāṣir (*d.* 1220 A.D.). He was the author of a scientific dictionary, the *Lubāb-ul-Dhakhīrah*, and of a compendium of tradition, the *Mashariq-ul-Anwār*, which are still reckoned as standard works in Arabic. Unfortunately some of the other works of this period by authors like Shaikh Ḥamīdu'd-dīn Nāgaurī (*d.* A.D. 1274), and Shaikh Jamāl Hānswī (*d.* A.D. 1265) have not come down to us in full, but are still considered as the first-rate contributions of the time.

During the Khaljī period (A.D. 1290–1320), Shihābu'd-dīn Ṣadr-nashīn, a contemporary of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā', Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥaddith Dihlawī who came from Egypt to Multān, Ṣafīu'd-dīn Hindī (*d.* A.D. 1315) and Amīr Khusraw (*d.* A.D. 1325) contributed a great deal to Arabic literature. Some of these writings have been preserved for posterity. Ḍiyā'-u'd-dīn Baranī, the contemporary historian and author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, gives a glowing account of the literary patronage of the Khaljīs.

Muḥammad bin Tughluq who reigned from (A.D. 1325–1351), endeavoured to revive Arabic, but his efforts bore little fruit. His successor Fīrūz, however, had the good fortune of being the patron of scholars like Maulānā Khwājagī, the teacher of Shihābu'd-dīn Daulatābādī (*d.* A.D. 1445) and the author of *Al-Irshād* and *Sharḥ-i-Hindī* on Arabic syntax; Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-dīn- Dihlawī, the author of a commentary on *Hidāyah*; Ḥusāmu'd-dīn Dihlawī, the author of *Al-Baḥr-ul-Dhakhīrah*, Aḥmad Thānesarī, the composer of the *Qasīdat-ul-Dalīyah*; and Abdu'l Muqtadir, the

author of the *Qaṣīdat-ul-Lāmiyah* composed in reply to the famous masterpiece, the *Lāmi'at-ul-Ajam*. The great Arabic dictionary, the *Qāmūs* of Majdu'd-dīn Firūzābādī, reminds us of the patronage of this Sulṭān to Arabic lexicography.

The Lodīs (A.D. 1451–1526) made Āgra the capital of their empire and many authors were attracted to it. 'Abdullah Tulambī, the first Indian scholar of Islamic philosophy and Rafī'u'd-dīn Shīrāzī, a pupil of Muḥaqqiq Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī in philosophy and of the great traditionist Sakhāwī in *Ḥadīth*, came to Āgra and contributed much to Islamic studies. 'Abdu'l Fatḥ of Thānesar, one of the teachers of 'Abdu'l Qādir Badāūnī, and 'Abdu'l Faḍāi'l Sa'du'd-dīn of Delhi also wrote important books on theology.

Apart from the patronage of the ruling kings at the centre, the provincial dynasties of India also helped the cause of Arabic learning in their own territories and their contributions were of no mean importance. The governors of Bengal had their seats at Lakhnautī, Murshidābād and Buhār, a village in the district of Burdwān. These places became famous as centres of learning before the Mughal period.

The Sharqī kings of Jaunpur (A.D. 1394–1484) patronized scholars like Qāḍī Shihāb'ud-dīn Daualatābādī and Maulānā Ilahdād of Jaunpur. From Jaunpur hailed Syed Muḥammad Jaunpurī (*d* A.D. 1505), the founder of a sect of Islām called the Mahdawīyah, whose adherents are found even now in different parts of India. Later on, during the Mughal period, many scholars and writers arose from Jaunpur, viz., 'Abdu'l Awwal (*d*. A.D. 1560), Mullā Maḥmūd (*d*. A.D. 1651), the philosopher, 'Abdu'r Rashīd (d. A.D. 1672), and the great Mullā Aḥmad Jīwan (*d*. 1718), one of the teachers of Aurangzeb, who was the author of *Tafsīr-i-Aḥmadī* and *Nūr-ul-Anwār*. The *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgīrī*, compiled during the reign of Aurangzeb, is a signal contribution to Muslim canon law by Mullā Ḥamīd, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Jalālu'd-dīn and other Jaunpuri scholars.

Ahmadābād, the capital of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt (A.D. 1407–1572), was founded by Aḥmad Shāh I. It rose into prominence as a seat of learning. Nūru'd-dīn Shīrāzī, a pupil of Syed Sharīf 'Ali bin Muḥammad, and Wajīhu'd-dīn Muḥammad Mālikī, the *Māliku'l Muḥaddithīn*, gave great impetus to the study of *Ḥadīth* among the Muslims of Gujarāt. Ibnu'd-Dammanīnī (*d*. A.D. 1424) of Egypt came to India and composed some of his famous works under the patronage of the kings of Gujarāt. Other important contributors are 'Alī ibn Aḥmad Mahā'imī (*d*. A.D. 1432), the author of the well-known commentary on the *Qurān*, the *Tafsīr-ul-Raḥmān*; Muḥammad bin Tāhir Patanī (*d*.A.D. 1578), the author of *Baḥr-ul-Anwār*, an important dictionary of the *Ḥadīth*; Sirāju'd-dīn 'Umar Ulūgh khānī al-Makkī, commonly known as Ḥājjīu'd-dabīr, the writer of the standard history of Gujarāt, known as *Ẓafar-ul-Wālih, bi-Muẓaffar wa Ālih*,

Before the advent of the Mughals, the kingdoms of the Deccan also played a great part in the dissemination of Islamic learning and the growth of the Arabic literature. Among the great Deccani scholars may be mentioned the great saint Syed Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī Gesū-darāz, known as Khwājah Bandah Nawāz of Gulbarga, Ḥasan bin 'Alī Shādkām (*d.* A.D. 1636), Zainu'd-dīn al-Ma'barī, Ibn Ma'ṣūm, the author of *Tuḥfat-ul-Mujāhidīn*, and Mullā 'Abdu'n Nabī, the author of *Dastūr-ul-'Ulamā*.

During the Mughal period great impetus was given to Arabic literature. Of the writers of the time may be mentioned Faiḍī, the writer of a commentary on the *Qurān*, the *Swaṭi-'ul-Ilhām*. Prominent among the contributions are 'Al-Muttaqī 'Alī ibn Ḥuṣāmu'd-dīn al-Burhānpurī's (*d.* A.D. 1567) great compendium of the whole corpus of the *Ḥadīth*, *Kanz-ul-'Ummal;* 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq Dihlawī's (*d* A.D. 1642) *Ashir'at-ul-Lama'āt*, the famous commentary on the *Mishkāt;* Syed 'Abdu'l Awwal Jaunpurī's (*d.* A.D. 1560) *Faiḍ-ul-Bārī*, commentary on the *Saḥih-ul-Bukhārī;* Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ḥasan Sindī al-Kabīr's glosses on the six canonical works of tradition; Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, the Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī's (*d.* A.D. 1615) polemical critical works; Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpurī's *Shams-ul-Bazīgāh*, Qāḍī Muḥibullah Bihārī's *Sullam-ul-'ulūm*, a standard work on philosophy and its commentaries; Mirak 'Abdu'l Bāqī Thattawī's *Ashkāl-ul-Jadīdah* on mathematics; Farīdu'd-din Dihlawī's *Zīj-i-Shāh Jahānī* on astronomy; 'Abdu'l Ḥakīm Siālkotī's glosses and treatises on various literary and philosophical texts; Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn Sāḥilī's commentaries and glosses; Muḥammad 'Alī al-Thānawī's famous dictionary of technical terms, the *Kashaf-i-Iṣṭilāḥāt-ul-Funūn*, written in 1743; Shāh Walīullah Dihlawī's masterpiece on theology, the *Ḥujjat-ullah al-Balīghah;* Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Azīz and Shāh 'Abdu'l Qādir's commentaries and translations of the *Qurān;* Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī's *Ṣubḥat-ul-Marjān* and *Saba'-Sayyārah;* Maulānā Baḥru'l 'Ulūm and Faḍl-i-Ḥaqq Khairābādī's contributions; Zubaidī's *Tāj-ul-'Arūs*, a standard dictionary of the Arabic language, and Maulānā 'Abdu'l Ḥai of Lucknow's *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir*, a dictionary of the biography of Muslim authors, *Jannat-ul-Mashriq* and *Ma'ārif-ul-Awārif*.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that India had its own share in enriching Arabic literature. During the middle ages there were many active centres of Islamic studies and Arabic learning throughout the country. In the 14th century Khusraw regarded Delhi as superior to Baghdad in Arabic scholarship. On the whole, however, although India produced commentaries, super-commentaries, glosses and annotations of the works of the earlier authors and a number of competent works on philosophy, traditions, linguistics and philology, the quantum of original work in Arabic was small, and in poetry and creative literature the contribution was meagre.

(vi) Persian.

The beginnings of Persian literature in India go back to the Ghaznavids and the Ghūrids. The eminent poets of Indian origin at the time were Abul Farj Rūnī (alive in A.D. 1098), Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (*d.c.* A.D. 1131) and Shihābī-i-Muhmirā (*d.c.* A.D. 1295).

The cultivation of the language received great impetus under the patronage of Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak, Iltutmish and Ruknu'd-dīn. Among important historical works of the time may be mentioned the following: the *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Niẓāmī Nīshāpurī, the *ChachNāmah*, an early history of Sind, by 'Alī bin Ḥamīd bin Abi Bakr al-Kūfī (*d.* after A.D. 1216), the *Jāmi'-ul-Ḥikāyat*, a compendium of historical anecdotes, by Sadidu'd dīn Muḥammad 'Awfī Bukhārī (*d.* after A.D. 1230), and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by Minhāj-us-Sirāj. There were important works in other fields also. Bukhārī referred to above compiled the *Lubāb-ul-Albāb*, the first extant Persian anthology. Fakhr Mudabbir (*d.* after A.D. 1210) compiled the *Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb wa'l Shujā'at*, a manual dealing with the science of warfare. Abū Bakr al-Kāshānī translated and revised the *Kitāb-us-Saydana* (Book of Drugs) of Alberūnī about A.D. 1215.

The age of the Khaljīs was a glorious period. According to Baranī, the famous contemporary historian, "there lived at Delhi scholars of such eminence and calibre as were not to be found in Bukhara, Samarqand, Tabriz and Isfahan and in their intellectual accomplishments they equalled Rāzī and Ghazālī. Under every stone lay hidden a precious gem of literary excellence." In the midst of a host of literary artists, the two outstanding persons were Amīr Khusraw (A.D. 1253–1325) and Shaikh Najmu'd-dīn Ḥasan, popularly known as Ḥasan-i-Dihlawī (*d.* A.D. 1327). The former is the greatest figure in the world of Persian literature in India. He was a prolific and versatile writer of genius who is said to have composed about half a million verses and 99 works on different subjects. His five literary masterpieces or the *Khamsah*, composed as a rejoinder to the *Khamsah* of Niẓāmī, were *Muṭla'-ul-Anwār*, *Shīrīn Khusraw*, *Lailā Majnūn*, *Āyina-i-Sikandarī* and *Hasht Bihisht*. These were dedicated to his great patron 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī. His five *Dīwāns*, *Tuḥfat-us-Ṣighar*, *Wasṭ-ul-Ḥayāt*, *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*, *Baqīya-Naqīya* and *Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl*, written at various stages of his life, show the development of his lyrical talent at best and give him a place next to Sa'dī of Shīrāz, his great contemporary. Since Khusraw enjoyed the patronage of successive. rulers of Delhi, his writings have great historical value. His *Khazā'in ul-Futūḥ* describes 'Alāu'd-dīn's conquests. The *Tughluq-Nāmah* depicts the rise of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq. The *Qirān-us-Sa'dain* is the story of the meeting between Sulṭān Mu'izzu'd-dīn Kaiqubād of Delhi and his father Nāṣiru'd-dīn Bughrā of Bengal in A.D. 1288 His *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ* (A.D. 1291) gives an account of the four victories of Jalālu'd-dīn Khaljī's reign.

The *Duwal Rānī-wa Khiḍr Khān* or *'Ishqiyah* is a poetical narrative of the love adventure of Khiḍr Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Khāljī and Devala Rānī, daughter of Rāi Karan, the Rājā of Gujarāt. The *Nuh-Sipihr* contains a poetical description of Quṭbu'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī's reign, and gives a glowing account of things found in India.

Ḥasan-i-Dihlawī, the friend and contemporary of Khusraw, was also an eminent poet, and the quality of his *ghazals* won him the name of Sa'dī of India.

In the time of the Tughluqs, many famous historians and poets adorned the court of Muḥammad Tughluq. The historical works of Ḍiyā'u'd-dīn Baranī, (*b.* A.D. 1285), the poetical writings of Muṭahhar, the *mathnawī* of Abū 'Alī Qalandar (*d.* A.D. 1324), the *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq himself, and the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, are of importance. The transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatābād had the effect of extending the influence of Persian literature and culture to South India.

There was considerable activity under the Syeds and the Lodī kings also. Shaikh Jamālī Kambo (*d.* A.D. 1536), the greatest poet of the time, composed the *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn* and the *mathnawī Mihr-wa-Māh*. Syed Mu'īn-ul Ḥaqq wrote a genealogical account of the Syeds of Bhakkar. Ibrāhīm Qiwām Fārūqī compiled a lexicon known as *Farhang-i-Ibrāhīmī*. Philosophical studies were specially promoted by the arrival at Delhi of Shaikh 'Abdullah Tulambī and Shaikh 'Azīzullah from Multān. Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad Sirhindī and the great Ṣūfī 'Abdu'l Quddus Gangoh were other prominent *litterateurs*. 'Azīzu'd-dīn Khālid wrote a treatise on natural philosophy, the *Dalā'il-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, and 'Abdu'l 'Azīz Shams of Thānesar a treatise on music and dancing.

In South India, the influx of eminent poets, scholars, saints, artists and calligraphers from Persia turned Gulbarga into a virtual capital of a Persian prince. The founder of the Bahmanī kingdom, Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh, was a great patron of learning. 'Iṣāmī composed *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* in A.D. 1349 and dedicated it to him. Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī and 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad Shāh II Bahmanī were also great patrons, and the latter was himself a great poet. The reign of Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1463–1482) brings us to one of the greatest figures of the history of the Deccan, Khwājah Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān, his illustrious *Wazīr*, whose glorious achievements, literary productions and educational institutions remain as historic monuments of the period. Khwājah 'Ubaidullah Aḥrār (*d* A.D. 1491), the great saint of the Naqshbandī order, Sharafu'd-dīn-'Alī-Yazdī-(*d.* A.D. 1454), the author of the *Ẓafar-Nāmah*, Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī (*d.* A.D. 1502), who wrote the *Shawākil-Ḥūr*, and many other scholars flourished under his patronage. The *Wazīr* himself was a writer of no mean merit.

The 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijāpur (A.D. 1490–1686) and the Niẓām Shāhīs of

Ahmadnagar (1490–1633) have also left a great mark. Their courts were full of talented authors and poets like Malik Qummī (*d.* A.D. 1615), Nūru'd-dīn Ẓuhūrī (*d.* A.D. 1616), Sanjar-i-Kāshānī (*d.* A.D. 1612) and Ātashi. Ẓuhūrī is by far the most distinguished of the poets of this period and exerted considerable influence over later poets. Several historical works were also written under the patronage of these rulers: the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* by Syed 'Alī bin 'Azīzullah Ṭabāṭabā, the *Tadhkirat-ul-Mulūk* on the 'Ādil Shāhīs by Rafī'u'd-dīn Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī (*d.* after A.D. 1611), the *Futūḥāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī* (*c.* A.D. 1644) by Fuzūnī Astrābādī, the *Muḥammad Nāmah* on Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh (A.D. 1627–1657) by Mullā Ẓuhūrī, the *Tārīkh-i-Ilchī-i-Niẓāmī Shāh* by Khwar Shāh bin Qubādal Ḥusainī, and the *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* by Firishta Muḥammad Qāsim.

In the Quṭb Shāhī court at Golconda, Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min Astrābādī, (*d.* 1580 A.D.), the chief *Wazīr* of Muḥammad Qulī and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, was a great patron of Persian scholarship. He was himself a noted poet and one of his technical brochures deals with weights and measures and distances according to Muslim law. His protege Mirzā Muḥammad Amīn Shahristān styled Mīr Jumla and 'Allāmāh Ibn Khātūn were also well-known administrators, poets and scholars. Of the other poets and men of learning patronized by the Quṭb Shāhīs may be mentioned *Maliku'sh-shu'arā* Mullā Mu'īn Mirak Sabzwārī, Rukn-i-Masīḥ, Sirāju'd-dīn'Ārif, Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Iṣfahānī, Mīr Ḥasan 'Askarī and Muḥsin Hamadānī.

The foundation of the Mughal empire in India heralded the dawn of a new era in the history of Indo-Persian literature. The Mughal emperors were not only great patrons of art and literature, many of them were themselves *litterateurs* in their own rights.

Bābur wrote his own biography, *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, in Turkish which was later translated into Persian by 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān. In the time of Humāyūn and his successors, many scholars and poets were attracted to India, and they gave an impetus to the afflorescence of Persian literature. Humāyūn himself was a poet of merit, his brother Kāmrān was a poet and his sister Gulbadan Begam was a prose-writer who composed *Humāyūn Nāmah*. Muḥammad al-Miskīnī compiled his encyclopaedia of Islamic sciences called the *Jawāhir-ul-'ulūm-i-Humayūnī* in A.D. 1539 and Yūsufī Yūsuf bin Muḥammad Harāti wrote in A.D. 1533 the *Badā'i'-ul-inshā'* a treatise on the epistolography. Poets like Shāh Ṭāhir Dakhnī (*d.* A.D. 1545), Ḍamīrī Bilgirāmī (*d.* A.D. 1594) and Khwāiah Ḥusain Marvī (*d.* after 1572) adorned his court.

The age of Akbar (A.D. 1556–1605) was indeed a brilliant epoch in the history of Indo-Persian literature. Under him, Āgra could justly claim to be the literary metropolis of Central Asia. A host of poets from all parts of Persia flocked to his court, amongst whom Ghazālī Mashhadī (*d.* 1572) Jamālu'd-dīn (*d.* 1591), 'Urfī Shīrāzī, Thanāī Mashhadī, Zuhūrī Turshīzī

and Mullā Ḥusain Naẓīrī Nis͟hāpurī are the most prominent. Faiḍī (*d*. A.D. 1595), was the most eminent among the numerous poets mentioned by historians. In the field of history, the outstanding works are the *Akbar-Nāmah* and the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* of Abū'l Faḍl, the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Mullā Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Harawī, the *Nafā'is-ul-Ma'āt͟hir* of Mīr 'Alāu'd-daulah Qazwīnī and 'Abdul Ḥaqq Dihlawī's *D͟hikr-ul-Mulūk*.

The tempo of progress was maintained under Jahāngīr and S͟hāh Jahān. Abū Ṭālib Āmulī (*d*. A.D. 1626) was the *Maliku's͟h-s͟hu'arā* of Jahāngīr's court, and Abū Ṭālib Kalīm, (*d*. A.D. 1651) was the poet-laureate of S͟hāh Jahān. Besides Kalīm, the other great poets such as Qudsī Mas͟hhadī (*d*. A.D. 1645), Candrabhāna Brāhmaṇa (*d*. A.D. 1662) and Muḥammad 'Alī Sā'ib (*d*. A.D 1677) adorned S͟hāh Jahān's court. Of the historical writings of the two reigns may be mentioned *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* by the emperor Jahāngīr himself, *Iqbāl-Nāmah* of Mu'tamad K͟hān, Mullā Muḥammad Ma'sūm Bhakkarī's *Tārīk͟h-i-Sind*, Muḥammad Murād's *Siyar-ul-Bilād*, 'Alāu'd-dīn Iṣfahānī's *Tārīk͟h-i-Bangālah* Sikandar binMuḥammad Manjhū's *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, and Malik Ḥaidar's *Tārīk͟h-i-Kas͟hmīr*. S͟hāh Jahān's reign is described in a number of works, e.g. *Pāds͟hāh-Nāmahs* of 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd Lāhorī and Muḥammad Wārit͟h and *S͟hāh Jahān-Nāmah* of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbo.

As regards Aurangzeb, the emperor was himself a great scholar devoted to scholarly pursuits. His letters or the *Ruq'āt* reveal the depth of his learning and his command over the Persian language. Several other great works were produced under his aegis: 'Āqīl K͟hān Rāzī's *Ẓafar Nāmah-i-'Ālamgīrī*, Mirzā Muḥammad Kāẓim's *'Ālamgīr-Nāmah*, an official history of the first ten years of the reign, Muḥammad Sāqī Musta'idd K͟hān's *Ma'āt͟hir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, Muḥammad Rafī K͟hān's *Ḥamla-i-Ḥaidarī* composed on the lines of the *S͟hāh-Nāmah* of Firdawsī, Muḥammad Afḍal Sark͟hus͟h's biography of poets called the *Kalimātu's͟h-S͟hu'arā*, Muḥammad Wārit͟h's *Bāds͟hāh-Nāmah*, Ni'mat K͟hān 'Ālī's *Wāqāi-i-Hyderābād* a chronicle of the siege of Golconda in A.D. 1686 written in prose and verse and Bak͟htāwar K͟hān's *Mīr'āt-ul-'Ālam*. The *Tārīk͟h-i-S͟hāh S͟hujā'* by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm also belongs to this period.

Raī Bindrāban and Īsar Dās, wrote the *Futūḥāt-i-'Ālamgīrī* (A.D. 1690). Bhīmsena completed the *Dilkus͟hā*, an account of Aurangzeb's reign; Muns͟hi Sujān Rāi compiled his famous history, the *K͟hulaṣat-ut-Tawārīk͟h*; and Mirzā K͟hān Fak͟hru'd-dīn completed the *Tuḥfat-ul-Hind*, an encyclopaedic work dealing with Hindī literature in a variety of subjects.

Another very remarkable personality of the period is prince Dārā S͟hukoh, who has contributed a great deal to the mystical literature of India and has earned a wide reputation for the catholicity of his views and for his efforts at harmonizing Islamic and Hindu religious ideals. Of his works may be mentioned the *Safīnat-ul-Auliyā'*, a collection of the biographies of *Ṣūfī* saints, the *Sakīnat-ul-Auliyā'*, a biography of his two

preceptors Mullā Shāh Muḥammad Badakhshānī and Miyān Mīr or Mullā Jīw; the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* and *Majma'ul-Baḥrain*, containing his philosophical and religious ideas; and the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, containing a translation of fifty-two Upaniṣads.

A noteworthy attempt of the times was to create mutual understanding between the Hindus and Muslims. Reciprocity of learning and exchange of knowledge were advanced through translations from Sanskrit and Hindī into Arabic and Persian and *vice-versa*.

Among the important Sanskrit texts rendered into Persian, the following may be mentioned: *Atharva Veda, Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, Rāmāyaṇa*, Upaniṣads, *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha, Līlāvatī, Pañcatantra* and *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

Apart from religious and philosophical literature, story-books and scientific treatises were translated.

One or two special aspects of the literature may also be mentioned. Firstly, there is a vast literature in Persian left by the *Ṣūfī* saints, and it is of great value both from the religious and literary points of view. A brief account of it is to be found in the section on the religious movements among the Muslims. There are again innumerable anthologies and collections of biographical sketches of poets, and these give a clear picture of the literary climate of the different periods. Finally, the contribution of India to Persian lexicography is particularly significant, since this was a field neglected by the scholars outside India. Of the many works on the subject, mention may be made of the *Burhān-i-Qāti'*, *Chirāgh-i-Hidāyat*, *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*, *Farhang-i-Rashīdī*, *Ghiyāth-ul-Lughāt*, *Farhang-i-Anand Rāī*, *Muntah-ul-'Arab*, *Muṣṭalīḥātu'sh-shu'arā* and the *Muntakhab-ul-Lughāt*.

5. Science, Astronomy, Mathematics, Chemistry, Metallurgy and Medicine

The outlook of scientists during the medieval period is best expressed by an anecdote recorded by Sir William Jones:

"A native Musalman afterwards gave me a Persian paper, written by himself, in which he represents the *Sumbul of India* (Skipenard), the *Sweet Sumbul* and the *Jatamansi* are three different plants . . . and the physician, who produced the authority, brought, as a specimen of *Sumbul*, the very same drug, which my Paṇḍit, who is also a physician, brought as a specimen of *Jatamansi*. . . . ." This would show reliance on authority and lack of the spirit of enquiry and observation, and, because of it, there came to be a wall separating Sanskrit and Arabo-Persian traditions.

Since scientists were patronized by kings and chieftains, those branches which were of value to the latter developed to a greater extent, viz., Astro-

nomy, Astrology and Medicine; and Chemistry, Botany and Zoology as adjuncts to Medicine. Development of Zoology was also due to their interest in horses, falcons and hunting.

Data was gathered by observation and to some extent by credulity.

Astronomy. The main purposes for acquiring astronomical knowledge were working out a calendar, fixing the dates of seasons and festivals, navigation, calculation of time and casting of horoscopes.

The main observatories continued to be at Ujjain, Vārānasi, Mathura and Delhi. The first two were ancient centres. Firūz Tughluq had set up a few observation posts at Delhi. These were reorganized on right lines in the time of Humāyūn, and were developed by Rājā Sawāī Jai Singh II of Jaipur in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. An observatory was set up at Daulatābād by Firūz Shāh Bahmanī under Ḥakīm Ḥusain Gīlānī and Syed Muḥammad Kāẓimī. Shāh Jahān's desire to build an observatory for Mullā Maḥmūd at Jaunpur did not materialize.

A remarkable chain of observatories was, however, erected by Rājā Sawāī Jai Singh II of Jaipur. Those at Delhi and Jaipur were started in 1718 and completed in A.D. 1734. The observatories constructed at Ujjain, Mathura and Vārānasi no longer exist. These were masonry instruments erected in preference to small metallic ones for the sake of accuracy in measurements. On the basis of the observations carried out at these observatories, *Zīj-i-Jadīd-i-Muḥammad Shāhī* was compiled.

The chief instrument for observation was the astrolabe which reached its zenith in the 17th century; about 40 astrolabes of the period are extant. Lahore seems to have been the major centre for the industry where about 29 were made. Of the astrolabe makers, we have an account of one family, from the time of Humāyūn to Aurangzeb. Besides the astrolabe, various types of quadrants and armillary spheres were in use.

Numerous instruments were developed by Sawāī Jai Singh, and most of these were of masonry. The reason was: "But finding that brass instruments did not come up to the ideas which he had formed of accuracy, because of the smallness of their size, the want of divisions into minutes, the shaking and wearing of their axes, the displacement of the centres of the circles, and the shifting of the planes of the instruments, he concluded that the reason why the determinations of the ancients such as Hipparchus and Ptolemy proved inaccurate, . . . therefore he constructed . . . . instruments of his own invention . . . of stone and lime, of perfect stability, with attention to the rules of geometry, and the adjustment to the meridian, and to the latitude of the place, and with care in the measuring and fixing of them to remove the inaccuracies and overcome the other limitations."

Both lunar and solar calendars were in use; based on them were a number of calendars depending upon the language of the writer or the country of his origin.

Time was measured either by count of respiration projected to day or year or by the division of day and night in equal parts. Sun dials and clepsydra were also developed to measure time. The general divisions were:

60 *Til*	1 *Bipal*
60 *Bipal*	1 *Pal*
60 *Pal*	1 *Ghaḍī*
60 *Ghaḍī*	One day and night

i.e., each *ghaḍī* was roughly equal to modern 24 minutes. Roughly 7½ *ghaḍīs* were equal to one *pahara*. A day and a night comprised 8 *paharas*.

Earth was considered to be flat or a solid sphere; its rotation though discussed was refuted, and the geocentric theory was generally accepted. The phenomenon of seasons was explained on the basis of revolution of the sun, and in general, the Ptolemaic scheme was in vogue.

Most of the books of the time were commentaries on earlier works, mostly of Ṭūsī, Al-Kāshī and other astronomers, or translations from Sanskrit works. Of the Sanskrit works mention may be made of the Tables of Makaranda (A.D. 1478), *Tithyādipatra* or *Grahalāghava* of Gaṇeśa (A.D. 1528), and *Tājikanilakanṭhī* (*c* A.D. 1587) which gives the astronomy of Arabo-Persian School. Three astronomical tables were produced: *Zīj-i-Shāh Jahānī* (A.D. 1628) by Farīdu'd-dīn Mas'ūd bin Ḥāfiz Ibrāhīm Dihlawī (*d.* A.D. 1629). In the reign of Shāh Jahān, Malajīta, on whom the emperor had conferred the title of Vedāṅgarāya, compiled *Pārsīprakāśa* (A.D. 1643). It deals mainly with conversion of dates. *Zīj-i-Jadīd-i-Muḥammad Shāhī* was written over a century later by Rājā Sawāī Jai Singh II of Jaipur and it is by far the most outstanding book of the period.

Mathematics. Before the period began, two outstanding Indian mathematicians had made major contributions—Śrīdhara (*b.* A.D. 991), author of *Gaṇita Sāra*, and Bhāskara (12th century), author of *Līlāvatī*, *Bīja Gaṇita* and *Siddhantā Śiromaṇi*. *Gaṇita Sāra* deals with multiplication, division, square root, cubes, fractions, zero, natural numbers, partnership, mensuration and shadow reckoning.

Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* covers notation, operation with integers, fractions, commercial rules, interest, permutation and combination and algebra. *Bīja Gaṇita* discusses directed numbers, negative quantities (unknown quantities are designated with colours), and simple and quadratic equations. In *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, '*Golādhyāya*' deals with spheres.

Some of these works along with the works from Central Asia, Īrān and West Asia were translated into Persian. For instance, *Līlāvatī* was trans lated by Faiḍī in A.D. 1587, and *Bīja Gaṇita* by 'Atāullah Rashīdī in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. There were other translations and commentaries too. All these exerted great influence.

Riyāḍī (Mathematics) during the period comprised *Ḥisāb* (Arithmetic), *Hindsah* (Geometry), *Hai'at* (Astronomy) and *Mūsīqī* (Music).

The works frequently used were those of Bahāu'd-dīn Āmulī (16th-17th century), Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ṭūsī (13th century), 'Arrāq (11th century), and Al-Kāshī (15th century). Āmulī's *Khulāṣat-ul-Ḥisāb* was used throughout the period and seems to have been the most popular. In Sanskrit Narāyaṇa Paṇḍit's *Gaṇita Pali Kaumudī* (A.D. 1356) and Nayana Sakhā's *Ukārathya Grantha* (A.D. 1731) are worth mentioning.

In Arithmetic, the study covered positive integers, fractions, rule of three, method of trial and error, mensuration, measurement of weight and calculation of distances.

In Algebra, the general development was on the lines laid down by Al-Khwārazmī, Bhāskara and Āmulī. 'Aṣmatullah Sahāranpurī (17th century) contributed to the knowledge of quadratic equations.

In Geometry, Euclid's translations were the most commonly used, and a large number of commentaries were written on them. Of these two *Sharḥ-i-Uqlīdis*, one by Mīr Muḥammad Hāshim (17th century) and the other by Maulavī Muḥammad Barkat (18th century) are the most important ones, and make substantial contributions to the theory of parallel postulate.

Another illustrious family contributed considerably to the development of Mathematics by way of translations or commentaries—Ustād Aḥmad al-Mi'mār Lāhorī, his sons 'Aṭāullah Rashīdī and Luṭfullah Muhandis, and Muhandis's two sons Imāmu'd-dīn Riyāḍī and Khairullah Rashīdī translated *Bīja Gaṇita*, while Riyāḍī is said to have written 25 books on various subjects, particularly on Mathematics and Astronomy.

The general course of development was by way of preparing summaries of or commentaries on earlier works, rather than of developing new techniques, concepts or notations. The application of Mathematics was mostly limited to Astronomy. Its use in drawing magical squares, alchemy and astrology called for intellectual resourcefulness.

Chemistry. The general ideas in the field were alchemical. There were four elements—Fire, Earth, Air and Water—with four qualities (*khawāṣṣ*)—hot, dry, moist and cold. There were neither any definite ideas regarding chemical combination, nor any understanding of the chemical nature of substances. The wide interest in the philosopher's stone and elixir of life gave rise to charlatans and adventurers.

Weights and balances, the first requisite of Chemistry, were crude and rudimentary. The bases of weight measurements were seeds, poppy, black and white mustard, barley, *guñjā, rattī* and *māsā*. The standardization carried out in respect of weights of higher denominations could hardly have any relevance to Chemistry. The theory of Chemistry was alchemical and in close association with Astrology, and its application was limited to medicine and industrial processes, there being no proper relation between the two. The stage had not been reached when it could develop as an independent branch of science to study matter and to investigate its chemical composition.

Various compounds of mercury and arsenic and also extracts and decoctions from different herbs were used in medicine. Although a large number of compounds were prepared or isolated from organic substances, hardly any attempt was made to identify or name them. They were just referred to in connection with processes of drug manufacture.

There were no doubt references to a large number of manufacturing processes, but the approach was empirical and no attempt was made to standardize the processes. Those engaged in the field occupied a low social status, the equipments used were crude, and the processes adopted were elementary.

Mineral acids were used. Making of both fire-works and weapons was well known. Mention may also be made here of the glazed tiles and pottery made during the period. Further, technical skill combined with chemical knowledge was of a high standard, but the knowledge remained only at an empirical level, codified into a set of practices which were to be followed if good results were to be achieved. There was no scope for freshness of outlook or innovations. No doubt some of the manufactures reached the highest standards of quality and excellence, but what is regrettable is that there was little attempt at standardization or systematic efforts to find ways and means of increasing output.

Knowledge was handed down from father to son, or teacher to student. Except in medicine, there was no development of technical literature as such, and much of the stagnation was perhaps due to failure in developing this medium of transmitting knowledge. The few works that have come down are of an alchemical nature, or deal with preparation of medicines. Of them, mention may be made of *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, *Rasarājalakṣmī* and *Rasasāra*. In the 17th century, Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpurī wrote *Ḥikmat-ul-Balīghah* and its commentary *Ash-Shams-ul-Bāzighāh*. *Majmū'at-us-Ṣanā'i* of Mīr Yaḥyā (A.D. 1624) is an illustrated encyclopaedia of crafts, and deals with manufacture of precious stones, dissolving of metals, polishing of glass and colouring of wares, and a number of other processes.

Metallurgy. The general emphasis throughout the period remains on the use of metals and alloys for making of armament or decorative objects, and in neither field any significant technological advance seems to have been made.

Cannons and guns were made of brass, bronze, iron and steel These were generally used in India from A.D. 1400 onwards. The mining and casting processes were crude, and there were no visible efforts at improvement of quality or at reducing cost. Bābur in *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī* gives an account of the casting of cannons: around the mould, furnaces were erected, with channels to the mould; the metal (copper in this case) was melted and allowed to run into the mould, till it was full; and then it was allowed to cool. The weight of a giant size cannon was 30.48 to 47.76 tonnes, length 9.44 m., and the bore 0.475m.

The earliest use of iron in construction seems to have been in the Sun temple at Konārak (9th century) where it was used in making beams. The composition of the beams is very similar to that of the famous Iron Pillar at Delhi, but unlike the latter the beams of the Sun temple have rusted.

An early 19th century account of smelting of iron and making of steel throws light on the primitive techniques. According to Voysey, a cake equivalent to the weight of 110 rupee coins was sold for half a rupee.

Coating of copper utensils with tin came into vogue and gained much currency; according to some it was introduced round about A.D. 1300 Abū'l Faḍl refers to tinning of copper vessels for use in the royal household of Akbar.

The lead alloy Bīdarī (8:2:1 copper, lead and tin) was used mostly for articles of decorative character. White and coloured enamels were also developed and used.

Medicine. Medicine covered a wide range of subjects including dietetics and food technology. The main emphasis was on diagnosis of diseases and their cure. Diagnosis was based on observation of the general condition of the patient and examination of pulse and urine. Though non-quantitative and non-chemical, the great progress made in the development of these techniques was of immense value. A Persian treatise of the 17th century widely used in India, *Tuḥfat-ul-Mu'minīn* by Muḥammad Mu'min Ḥusainī Tunkābunī, discusses in detail differences of opinion amongst physicians regarding drug action.

There were specialized treatises on diseases such as fevers and particular organs of the body such as eyes and stomach. *Nūr-ul-'Uyūn* by Zarrīn Dast (A.D. 1087) deals with the constitution of the eye and its diseases which can be seen and those that cannot, and also suggests prophylactic measures for the latter. The use of spectacles was known, the earliest reference being of 16th century.

There is no conclusive evidence to show that dissection was practised. There are, however, a few treatises on anatomy of the human body, describing in detail the bones, nerves, veins, arteries and muscles and various organs. Something of this knowledge was based on earlier treatises written outside India. In this connection Al-Baiḍawī's *Mukhtaṣar dar 'Ilm-i-Tashrīḥ* (13th century), Muḥammad Riḍā's *Riyāḍ-i-Ālamgīrī* (17th century), *Tashrīḥ-ul-Badan* (15th century), and 'Abdu'r Razzāq's *Khulāṣat-ul-Tashrīḥ* are worth mentioning. The last one incidentally is fully illustrated. These authors knew the difference between veins and arteries, but had no idea of the circulation of blood.

Bhuwā bin Khwāṣ Khān's *Ma'dan-u'sh-Shifā'-i-Sikandar Shāhī* (A.D. 1512), written at Delhi for Sikandar Shāh Lodī, is based on Sanskrit sources, and uses Sanskrit terms extensively.

In the nature of things, physicians were quite occupied by poisons and

their antidotes, and a number of treatises deal with these. The antidotes were both of mineral composition as well as of alkaloidal nature.

A number of treatises of the period show the care and thought given to dietetics. There was knowledge of food preserves, both of pickling and use of sugar syrups (*murabbas*). But the knowledge did not go deep enough and lead to the understanding of the constituents involved in preservation.

In the practice of medicine, considerable knowledge was accumulated relating to description of medicinal plants and their properties, preparation of decoctions and extracts, study of the effect of drugs on human body, chemical processes connected with it—extraction, distillation, evaporation, drying, etc.

Curiously, oils and perfumes also were a part of medicine, and medical lists give details about their preparation and direction for their use, and their benefits.

General regard for sanitation was part of the medical practice and various directions in this respect are given, such as in *Riyāḍ-i-Ālamgīrī* of Muḥammad Riḍā.

Of the Sanskrit works mention may be made of Tisata's *Cikitsā Kalikā* (14th century), *Bhāvaprakāśa* (16th century) of Bhāvamiśra and *Vaidyajīvana* (17th century) of Lolimbarāja. A very interesting book is *Vṛkṣāyurveda* (15th or 16th century) by Parāśara on plant diseases.

The knowledge and practice of medicine at the time reveals a strong and vigorous tradition, but it was a tradition based more on authority than on personal knowledge or experience.

There are a few references to hospitals, but the practice of medicine was highly individualistic. The individual practitioners, however distinguished, could not command resources to effect great improvements, either in basic knowledge or on the organization side.

Other Sciences. Besides the sciences described, there was considerable development in engineering, mainly civil, as is evident from various constructions of houses, mausoleums, mosques, bridges, dams and canals. There was some progress also in technology, particularly textiles, ceramics and metallugry. There is some evidence to indicate that windmills, telescopes, cranes and automatic firing guns were developed as toys. Watermills were in use, but not extensively. Lack of development of printing technology is one of the most significant facts with very far-reaching consequences.

The developments of this period (A.D. 1206–1761) can only be appreciated fully in the context of the developments in contemporary Europe. In making a comparative evaluation one becomes intensely aware that these developments were in a very limited framework, unaware of and impervious to contemporary developments in spite of direct contacts with Europe. It is amusing that the emissaries of Rājā Sawāī Jai Singh did

not bring back the books of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton, but only of De la Hire. The lack of awareness was the same in other fields too. Hali's epitaph truly depicts the times: "Like the ox in the oil-press though they move, yet they remain where they start."

Chapter IV

ART AND ARCHITECTURE A.D. 1206-1761

1. Architecture

A rich variety of buildings and monuments came to be constructed in India through the patronage of Turkish, Mughal and other Muslim rulers between A.D. 1206 and 1761. These cannot strictly be described as specimens of Muslim architecture; they were as much the work of India's hereditary craftsmen as of the alien artisans who came with the invaders. It will, therefore, be appropriate to regard this phase of building as a development of Indian architecture under Muslim influence. We shall then keep clear of the two extreme views which prevail among the historians of Indian art. We must not over-emphasize the role of each new religion which arose in India by giving to the work produced under its aegis a sectarian title. At the same time, we shall emphasize the continuity of Indian developments with some awareness of the fact that the central tradition was constantly reshaped by each new faith.

That the Indian builders had acquired great skill by the time the Muslims came to this country is evident from the tribute paid to their genius by the conqueror, Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, after he had sacked Mathura. "There are here," he wrote to a friend, "a thousand edifices, as firm as the faith of the faithful; neither is it likely that this city has attained its present condition save at the expense of many millions of *dīnārs*, nor could such another be constructed in a period of less than two centuries." Maḥmūd took away many craftsmen who helped to build the famous marble and granite mosque called the 'Celestial Bride', with which he celebrated his victories.

There is evidence of the synthesis between the ancient Indian and Muslim techniques in such a motif as the so-called Arab or Saracenic pointed arch. If one looks at the niche in the walls of a Buddhist or ancient Hindu sanctuary and imagines what it would look like when the image under it has been removed, one can see the same kind of arch as the *miḥrāb*. Of course, many influences mingle to produce each style and we do not know which came first. Similarly, the attempt to interpret the dome as an Arab invention, shaped after the water-melon, so abundant in Arabia, is invidious, because the dome had already occurred in the Buddhist, Hindu, Egyptian, Babylonian and other styles. However, since these features began to enter Indian architecture more frequently after the Muslim invasions, they may be described as a unique contribution of the Arabs, Persians and Central Asians to the native tradition.

The Turkish kings, who followed one another in quick succession on the thrones of Delhi and North-Eastern and Central India, as well as the Deccan, were inveterate builders. They erected splendid victory-towers, impregnable forts, luxurious palaces, mosques and mausoleums. Many great monuments came into being during their regimes both at Delhi and at the provincial capitals of Ajmer, Jaunpur, Gujarāt, Mālwa, Bengal, Gulbarga, Bijāpur and Sind.

At first, from A.D. 1200 to 1246, the Turks seemed to find in the colonnaded courts of the Jaina temples ready-made, improvised mosques. They only had to remove the existing structure in the middle and erect a new wall on the west, adorned with *miḥrābs* pointing the way to Mecca. Later, they began to erect screens of arches in front of the Jaina pillars and to have them carved by Indian artisans in a rich and intricate style with mixed natural and religious motifs. There are two early mosques, the Quwwatu'l-Islām mosque at Delhi and the Aṛhāī-din-kā-Jhoṅpṛā at Ajmer, built mainly out of old Jaina and Hindu temples.

The next monument in this heirarchy is the Quṭb Mīnār, a giant minaret, 73.76 m. in height and 14.73 m. in diameter. Its main column is punctuated by four projecting balconies, the first at 29.57 m., the second at 45.11 m., the third at 57.30 m., and the fourth at 65.23 m., from the base. This tower displays great engineering skill.

The tomb of Iltutmish near the Quṭb is smaller in perspective but a fine example of Indian work under Islamic patronage. There is stronger emphasis on technique here than in the mosque of Aibak. In the same vicinity, the Khaljī Sulṭan 'Alāu'd-dīn had a structure built, which shows that, by this time, Indian craftsmen had mastered the alien styles of decoration, for, the decorative pendentives in this building introduce a fresh style of ornamentation on the older simple Turkish styles. Also, the 'true arch' form is introduced here.

The rugged simplicity of the Turks re-asserted itself later in the fortress called Tughluqābād, constructed by the stern warrior Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq in A.D. 1321. There was great building activity under Firūz Shāh Tughluq. But in Firūz Shāh Koṭla and in the mausoleum at Ḥauḍ Khāṣ, there is an economy of materials as well as simplicity due to a not too rich treasury.

The Lodi tombs are emphatically hard and bare, even more than the Tughluq mausoleums. This was due to the fact that the kingdom was quite unstable from A.D 1414 to 1526 and money was scarce. Technicians, too, had to be borrowed from the provinces.

Sher Shāh's tomb is the last of the series of Turkish burial places. It is more elaborate than the Tughluq or Lodi memorials, but is still quite rugged.

The basic plan of a Turkish tomb consists of an octagonal apartment, roughly 15 m. in diameter, surrounded by a verandah of the same shape,

each face ornamented by three arches of the stilted style and supported by double square columns. It is derived from the Jaina style, but bears no apparent similarity to its prototype.

The mosques of the Turko-Afghāns were as simple as their tombs. By the time of Sher Shāh, there is visible a love of detail, pointing to a richer imagination. Compared to the more ornamental later mosques, the contours of the Kalān Masjid in Delhi, for instance, remain hard. The buildings of the Turko-Afghān monarchs are the index to the rough and ready culture which they brought.

The ruggedness of Turko-Afghān architecture was mellowed in the Muslim provincial kingdoms through the more intimate contact which the Sulṭāns established with local traditions. To the arched domes and radiating vaults of the mosques of the North, there were added cloisters that surrounded the courts. The galleries of the interior were elaborated with short square pillars, bracket capitals, horizontal archways and roofs of flat slabs in the manner of the Hindu and Jaina temples.

The earliest mosque at Jaunpur is distinguished by a number of carved pillars, which were obviously taken from a temple. However, the Jāmi' Masjid in the same city (commenced by Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī and finished under Ḥusain Shāh about A.D. 1470) is an attempt at absorbing Middle Eastern and Egyptian influences. The Lāl Darwāza mosque and the lovely Atālā Masjid owe much more to the Indian styles, both Hindu and Buddhist. Sītā-kī-Rasoī near Jaunpur was a Jaina temple converted into a mosque by Ibrāhīm Shāh in A.D. 1406.

In Gujarāt the synthesis of Hindu and Muslim traditions was almost perfect. Aḥmad, the second king of the Muhammadan dynasty which overpowered Western India, renamed Karṇāvatī as Ahmadābād and adorned it with splendid buildings. The most beautiful of these is the Jāmi' Masjid, perhaps one of the most beautiful mosques in the East. A comparison of this Masjid with the temple built by Rāṇā Kumbhā, about 258 km. away from Ahmadābād, shows how close the Hindu and Muslim traditions had come in spirit. Most of the Muslim buildings in Ahmadābād are, in style and detail, counterparts of the temples at Candrāvatī and Abu. In the city of Māndu, founded on the site of an ancient natural fortress, the original capital of a Hindu kingdom in Central India, a great mosque was built by Hoshang, the second king of the Ghūrī dynasty. The techniques of Hindu, Jaina and Muslim styles are again mixed in this structure, but there is superimposed on the whole a heroic sense of building, reflecting the power of the Sulṭāns.

As in the architecture of Gujarāt and Mālwa, so also in that of Gaur, the old capital of the Muslims in Bengal, the main cue came from local styles. For instance, the use of bricks and the curvilinear form of roof, derived from the use of the elastic bamboo, is clearly visible, especially in the Qadam-i-Rasūl mosque. The views of foliage and low relief which was

the familiar style of decoration on temple facades in Bengal, reappear in the Baṛā Sonā and Dā<u>kh</u>il Darwāza mosques at Gaur. The Firūza or <u>Ch</u>irā<u>gh</u> Mīnār at Gaur, a polygon of twelve sides, 25.60 m. high, is probably a converted *Jayastambha*, a Hindu pillar of victory.

In the southern kingdoms of the Muslims too, a large number of monuments were built. Of these, the large mosque at Gulbarga, erected according to an inscription in A.D. 1367, is a unique piece of architecture. This is the only mosque in India which is wholly covered over, the light being admitted through the side-walls which are pierced with great arches. There is a simple grandeur about this building.

During the reign of the 'Ādil <u>Sh</u>āhī Sulṭāns of Bijāpur, building activity received a great impetus. Notable among the constructions in Bijāpur is the Jāmi' Masjid. created out of the remains of Hindu structures, but never completed—its main gateway was still unfinished when the dynasty was overthrown. The tomb of 'Alī'Ādil <u>Sh</u>āh, likewise, would have been an unrivalled sepulchre, if completed. 'Alī's descendant, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil <u>Sh</u>āh took care that his own tomb was finished in his lifetime; the entire *Qurān* was engraved on its walls and the skill of South Indian craftsmen was ably used in its construction and ornamentation.

There is very little difference between the styles which matured under the Turko-Af<u>gh</u>ān kings and the Sultāns who ruled in various parts of India and the later style perfected in Mu<u>gh</u>al times, except that the Mu<u>gh</u>al architecture is more elaborate and the synthesis of Hindu and Muslim elements in it is complete. The tomb of Humāyūn, for instance, is almost a final development of the style which had begun with the Quṭb group of buildings and passed through the rough Lodī monuments and <u>Sh</u>er <u>Sh</u>āh's mausoleum. The Persian artisans, whom Humāyūn brought to India, contributed frescoes of their own besides a certain finesse in construction. The materials also became finer between A.D. 1540 and 1685

If Humāyūn's tomb is still slightly eclectic, the genius of Akbar, the Great Mu<u>gh</u>al, combined the foreign and indigenous elements completely. In Fatehpur Sīkri, the capital which Akbar planned, is realized a dream like that of Qublāī <u>Kh</u>ān's palace in Xanadu. The first building on this site is the <u>Kh</u>āṣ Maḥal, a square block measuring about 24 square metres, occupying a space as big as the Red Palace in the Fort at Āgra. Its predominant feature is the Dīwān-i-<u>Kh</u>āṣ, a square building with a throne, supported by a richly carved pillar and a five-storeyed open pavilion with equally fine pillars, long colonnades and connecting walls. The next group includes three small but lovely pavilions built for the emperor's three favourite wives, variously called Bīrbal-kī-Beṭī-kā-Maḥal, Mariam's house, and the palace of Rūmī Sulṭānā. The most beautiful building in Fatehpur Sīkri is the mosque, crowned by three domes, and having the tombs of Akbar's patron-saint, Salīm <u>Ch</u>i<u>sh</u>tī, and of the noble, Islām <u>Kh</u>ān. The tomb of <u>Ch</u>i<u>sh</u>tī is in white marble and rather sentimental, but

that of Islām Khan is sober and displays fine taste. The magnificent southern gateway overshadows the whole mosque with its semi-dome into which the actual portal is fixed, a convention characteristic of the architecture of this period. The emperor started building his own tomb at Sikandra, about 10 km. from Āgra. With its marble trellis work and cloisters, surrounded by colonnades on the raised platform with walls full of lovely arabesque traceries, it is one of the most remarkable mausoleums in India Many scholars feel that it is designed on the principles of the Buddhist *vihāras*. Fergusson traced a resemblance between this building and the great *Ratha* at Mahābalipuram.

Akbar's son, Jahāngīr, carried on his father's tradition, building two mosques at Lahore and his own tomb at Shāhdara near Lahore. The most glorious building of this emperor's reign is the tomb of I'timād-ud-daulah at Āgra, which achieves the acme of technique in the mausoleum style. Built entirely of white marble and covered throughout with mosaic, it marks the beginning of what has been called the Indo-Islamic 'baroque' style.

Shāh Jahān, as governor of Gujarāt, probably acquired his love of fine buildings from the gems of architecture created by Sulṭān Aḥmad. Those early impressions mingled with his own delicate and sensuous imagination. The contrast, which his individual sensibility brought to the heroic red sandstone structures of his grand-father, is obvious in the white marble court of Shāh Jahān's palace at Āgra, with its feminine dimensions. Here, the whole lay-out of the great halls — Dīwān-i-Ām, Dīwān-i-Khāṣ, Nawbat-Khānah or music hall, and Rang Maḥal or painted hall, with the river Yamunā in the background—bespeaks of the sensibility of a master builder. He brought the same delicacy and love of marble to the Tāj Maḥal which was built in memory of his consort, Mumtāz Maḥal. In the words of Fergusson, "It is the combination of so many beauties, and the perfect manner in which each is subordinated to the other that makes up a whole, which the world cannot match and which never fails to impress even those who are most indifferent to the effects produced by architectural objects in general." Later critics saw a sentimental strain in the construction, built avowedly on a concept which makes of death an almost nostalgic aspiration to the onlooker. And yet, it offers a challenge to the poetic imagination, as does the best in 'baroque' art. The Motī Masjid at Āgra is another elegant construction typical of Shāh Jahān's concept. The Jāmi' Masjid in Delhi, however, out-shines all other buildings of its kind. The Red Fort at Delhi—also a replica of the fort at Āgra—reveals, through each noble door, vista upon vista of Shāh Jahān's fine sensibility.

Aurangzeb did try to build in spite of his constant campaigning, but he was a puritan and brought the touch of death to everything he undertook. Henceforth, the buildings ordered by members of the Mughal dynasty,

as also the other princes are mostly in a minor key. In their own right, some of them are unforgettable. The Imām-bāṛās built by the Nawābs of Avadh in Lucknow are an instance in point. But the decadence is obvious from the *ad hoc* mixture of European motifs and a confusion of styles, as well as from the false heroism of the tomb of Ṣafdar Jang, situated at a short distance from Humāyūn's tomb in Delhi by which it is overshadowed in nobility of architecture. Equally decadent is the tomb of the Nawāb of Junagadh in Gujarāt, a late example of the Mughal architecture. Shāh Hamadān, the interesting wooden mosque in Srīnagar and some of the small tombs in Lahore, still show vitality, but are clearly the symbols of the decline of the Indo-Muslim architectural tradition.

2. Sculpture and Iconography

The sculpture of the period from A.D. 1206 to 1761 continues the elegance and grace of the early medieval tradition in the massive monumentality of the mid-medieval phase and the 'baroque' splendour of the late medieval centuries.

The late medieval phase of sculpture in Kaliṅga is represented by such magnificent monuments as those at Bhubaneswar, Puri, Konārak, Jājpur and Khiching.

The sculpture of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple marks the early medieval phase in this area as fostered by the Eastern Gaṅgas. The Mukteśvara temple is dainty, almost a dream in stone, with fine carvings of *nāgas* and *nāgīs* and even stories from the *Pañcatantra* narrated on the frame of the pierced window, so exquisitely wrought in stone. The Rājārānī temple is magnificent, with the sculpture showing a variety of themes—*surasundarīs, mithunas* and other iconographic forms, a woman playing the cymbals to make the peacock dance, a dancer slipping off the jingling anklet from her foot, a woman applying collyrium to eyes. These are perfect specimens of the sculptor's art. The iconographic forms like Varuṇa and Agni are also aesthetically near perfection.

In the Liṅgarāja temple, there is an equally lovely representation of sculpture. The great monolithic Devī and Gaṇeśa in the large niches on the outer walls of the temple are great master-pieces and typical of monumental Kaliṅga art. There are several exquisite dancing figures and *mithunas* while on the tiers of the temple is a well-dressed damsel, impatient at the delay of her lover, whom she awaits eagerly, questioning her maid all the time. She is a perfect example of *Vāsakasajjikā Nāyikā;* the finger on her lip and the expectant look in her eyes are highly suggestive.

The 13th century temple of Konārak is probably the culmination of the art of the Eastern Gaṅga sculptor. Nowhere is this era of Kaliṅga

sculpture better represented than in the gigantic and miniature carvings which decorate the *jagamohana* of the stone temple at Konārak. There is not an inch of space here which is not covered with sculpture, and the variety of themes is so great that one cannot but marvel at the resourcefulness of the sculptor, his rich imagination and ingenuity. There are panels representing king Narasiṁha, the builder of the temple, in various attitudes of *dharma, artha,* and *kāma*. All the sculptures here are in pink-coloured khondalite, a stone of rough texture. At intervals, there are panels of soft and green chlorite showing delicate workmanship. One of the portrait panels represents Narasiṁha as a great archer; another shows his tolerance for different faiths by presenting him humbly before Śiva, Jagannātha and Durgā. The sculpture is an epitome of Orissan temple architecture. It is reminiscent of the temples of Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar, of Jagannātha at Puri and of Durgā at Jājpur, built by his ancestors. He himself was the creator of the Sūrya temple at Konārak. Another panel shows him as a scholar-king appreciating the literary works presented to him in an assembly of poets. Yet another panel depicts him as a gay prince on a swing in the harem.

The Cālukyan temples of the later phase in the Karnāṭaka region are characterized by a profusion of decoration, almost subduing the main figures and motifs adorning the monuments of the period. The dress, ornaments, coiffure, floral canopy, clouds, animals and birds with floriated tails and the tapir-like *makara* are all very characteristic of this phase of art.

The perforated screens carrying beautiful minute carvings of figures and the scrolls with patterns entwining animals and birds are very popular. They remind us of the sculptor from the Canarese country, who boasts of his skill in one of the inscriptions which reads: 'when he can entwine forms of elephant, lion, parrot and many other forms so as to shine among the letters, will you madly compete with such a sculptor Sovarasi'. The ceiling is beautifully carved with *dikpāla* and other figures following a tradition already observed at Bādāmi. Sometimes, it has a central panel of Naṭarāja. On all the mouldings are animals, birds, heroes and nymphs which present a magnificent picture of the fecundity of the sculptor's creative skill and imagination. The bracket figures adorning the pillar capitals with their *madanikai* theme make the visitors gaze at the celestial nymphs come down to the earth.

Excellent examples of this phase are the temples at Kuruvatti, Kukkanur, Haveri, Gadag, Belgaum and other places. The decoration and the style of the temples clearly provides the justification for terming one of the temples as 'an emperor among temples (*devālayacakravartī*).'

In Gujarāt, during the time of Vīradhavala, Vastupāla and Tejapāla, one as the minister and the other as a rich merchant of Dholka, built fine temples at Mount Abu, the ceiling of which is indeed remarkable for its

intricate carvings. The Rudra Mahālaya temple at Sidhpur, the Sun temple at Modhera and the Vimala temple at Abu are very important monuments The Tejapāla temple at Śatruñjaya is a typical example of 12th-13th century work. The *Amṛtamanthana* scene on the Dabhoi *toraṇa* is a pleasing presentation of a favourite theme, so often repeated in different schools of sculpture. The *Kāliyamardana* scene on the ceiling of the Somnāth temple and the panel of Narasiṁha killing Hiraṇyakaśipu on the ceiling of the temple at Mount Abu are noteworthy masterpieces. In conception and execution, with great care for detail and decoration and superb finish, the best is the large ceiling group from the Tejapāla temple at Abu. Here, the musical groups, marriage procession and other incidents graphically portray the life of Neminātha. These are all important sculptural decorations.

The Udayeśvara temple dedicated to Nīlakaṇṭha at Udayapur was built by Udayāditya, the Paramāra king, in the 11th century. It is a noteworthy monument of Mālwa.

The series of sculptures of Bherāghāṭ with inscriptions on their pedestals revealing their identity like Phaṇendrī, Vaiṣṇavī, Bhīṣaṇī, Darpaharī, Jāhnavī, etc., present a wealth of iconographic detail in the noteworthy Haihaya monuments.

Continuing the tradition of the Pālas, the Senas produced some of the loveliest sculptures from Eastern India. Among these, the form of Sadāśiva introduced from the South by the Senas who originated from the Karnāṭaka area, is a fine and significant example. A miniature figure of Gaṅgā in the National Museum, New Delhi, is also noteworthy for its peculiar iconographic details.

The most remarkable monuments presenting a wealth of iconography, unsurpassed anywhere, is the group of temples built by the Candellas at Khajurāho during the 10th-12th century A.D. Some of the sculptures are inscribed. These and a small group at Mahoba deserve special attention for the revealing inscriptions on their pedestals. It is not only the iconographic wealth, Brahmanical and Jaina, but also a general sculptural survey of the history of the dynasty presented in the royal procession, as in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple at Kanchipuram a few centuries earlier, which is most interesting. The erotic scenes here have attracted the greatest attention, though these are the least important of the sculptures on the Candella monuments.

The greatest builders in the South were undoubtedly the Coḷas. Among their monuments the noblest are the Rājarājeśvara temple at Thanjāvūr built by Rājarāja in the 10th century A.D. and similarly the gigantic monument for Śiva raised by Rājendracoḷa at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram. The warlike son of Rājarāja took special pride in bringing Gaṅgā water to his capital as tribute from vassal kings from the North whom he had overcome by the might of his arm. A 15 km. long irrigation tank,

filled with Gaṅgā water and the large temple raised for Śiva were a 'liquid pillar of victory' and a thanksgiving to Śiva for his victories. But more probably he did so by a very telling sculpture of Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti in one of the niches of that temple where he placed himself humbly at the feet of Śiva almost in the guise of Caṇḍeśa himself to receive, as he fondly supposed, the laurels of victory from the hands of Śiva himself while he lovingly wound the wreath on his head. This can be seen in the stupendous temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram and this is one of most important sculptures of the Coḷa period.

The temple at Dārāsuram, has a suggestive note of *nityavinoda*—eternal music and dance—as it presents a wealth of iconographic import and lovely sculpture illustrating music and dance. This is one of the exuberantly decorated little temples of the late Coḷa period. The wheel and horse motif added to the *maṇḍapa*, as a Coḷa experiment in art, has inspired the famous Orissan *Ratha* temple at Konārak. Because of a matrimonial relationship between the Coḷas and the Eastern Gaṅgas, the princess Rājasundarī of the Coḷa royal family went as a bride to the royal house of Eastern Gaṅga. This accounts for the introduction of the Coḷa motif in the territory of Kaliṅga. Her descendant, Narasiṁha, appreciatively utilised the motif for creating one of the most magnificent edifices in medieval India, only taking care to multiply the number of wheels and the horses.

Of the famous bronzes presented by Rājarāja to the temple at Thañjāvūr, a vivid picture is gathered from his inscriptions, which corroborate the splendour of Coḷa metal-work. The recently found bronzes of Vṛṣavāhana and Devī from Tiruvenkaku, and now preserved in the Art Gallery of Thañjāvūr, are unsurpassed for elegance. The magnificent Rāma group from Paruttiyur, the Naṭarāja from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, the Madras Museum Rāma group from Vaḍakkupanayur are all magnificent examples of medieval Coḷa metal-work. From the Pāṇḍyan territory hails the unusual Naṭarāja with the right leg lifted, a distinctive type from Poruppumettupatti, which is now in the Madras Museum. The towers of the Chidambaram temple, which belong to the late Coḷa period, are significant additions to the monument, not only for their architectural elegance, but also for the special presentation of dance panels completely illustrating *karaṇas* and *aṅgahāras* described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

In the Kannada districts in the area of Mysore, the Hoysalas, who ruled in the 12th-13th century, created noteworthy temples. The greatest of the Hoysala kings was Viṣṇuvardhana who was converted to Vaiṣṇavism by Rāmānuja in the 12th century. He was responsible for the beautiful temple at Belūr where there is also a portrait of the king with his famous queen Śāntala. The queen, though a Jaina by faith, loyally supported her husband in his enthusiasm for his Brahmanical faith. The beautiful *makara toraṇa* and the magnificent *dvārapālas* at Belūr are matched only by the rich perforated lithic screens along the verandahs of the temple connecting

the outer pillars of the *maṇḍapa*. The large temple at Halebīd is equally important for its typical charm as a Hoysala monument. The miniature temple at Somnāthpur has a wonderful wealth of sculptural detail. There are others at Arsikere, Doddagaddavalli and Nuggihalli and other places.

With their seat at Warangal, the Kākatīyas, who succeeded the Eastern Cālukyas, ruled as contemporaries of the Hoysalas, in the Andhra area, and were responsible for richly carved temples at Warangal, Hanamkonda, Pillamari, Palampet, Nagulapad and other places. Here also, the high plinth, the elaborately carved pillars with high polish and the intricate work on ceiling and doorways make the temples closely linked with their contemporary counterparts in Hoysala territory.

The 13th-century phase of sculpture in the South was practically during the dominance of Sundara Pāṇḍya when the Pāṇḍya power again reached its zenith. It is, however, during the Vijayanagara period, during the 14th century, that a new phase of art arose. Though representing a comparatively decadent phase on account of its stylization, it was still a vital factor. The great builder, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, is credited, like Aśoka, whom legend makes the builder of 84,000 *stūpas*, with several *maṇḍapas* and *gopuras* all over the South in the several linguistic areas. The Vitthala temple at Hampi, like the Kṛṣṇa temple, was his construction and probably represents the high-water mark of Vijayanagar art. At Hampi itself, the Hazāra Rāma temple, and several other temples portray scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇas in sculpture. At Penukonda, there is a similar narration of the story of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa on the temple walls. The Varadarāja temple at Kanchipuram has a marvellous *maṇḍapa* of the period with exquisite carving of rearing steeds with riders and hunters. But, probably, there is no *maṇḍapa* of this period more beautiful than the *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* in the Jalakaṇṭheśvara temple within the Vellore fort. The Mārgasakheśvara temple at Virinchipuram has similar sculpture, and the story goes that the sculptor here was the son of the architect of the Jalakaṇṭheśvara temple, who did it to demonstrate how a single flaw could wreck the purpose of a temple, namely, its use for worship, and how this flaw could be avoided. It is very well known that the Jalankaṇṭheśvara temple is abandoned while the Mārgasakheśvara temple is used for worship. The long and beautiful hall at Srīrangam belongs to this class of the Vijayanagar period. At Tādpatri, there are fine temples, particularly the Viṣṇu temple near the river, representing Vijayanagar sculpture of this phase in the Andhra area. At Moodbidri and other places in South Kanara, the Vijayanagar phase is found with a blend of the Kerala exuberence of decoration and ornamentation. At Suchindram in Kerala, it is again the Vijayanagar phase represented with local exuberance.

The temple of Pārvatī at Chidambaram, the Mīnākṣī temple at Madurai, the Rāmaswāmī temple at Kumbakonam and several others, represent gigantic sculptural work, almost perfect in finish and to a certain extent realistic,

and full of vitality. These represent the Nāyaka phase of the art of Vijayanagar, whose kings were so powerful that they ruled as independent sovereigns. The sculptural wealth in the *Puduhmaṇḍapa* and in the *maṇḍapa* of Alagarkoyil temple, a few kilometres away from Madurai, could easily show how iconography was fast developing beyond the bounds of the text which, for quite a long time, guided the sculptor, while local *sthalamāhātmayas* and legends brought in fresh themes. The *Śivalīlās* represented at Madurai present new themes, such as Śiva in the form of a sow suckling piglings out of sheer pity as the little ones were left motherless. In this phase at Kanchipuram also, we have representations of Devī embracing *Śivaliṅga*, depicting a local legend of how Śiva tested his wife, turned an ascetic, by making the flood of the river Vegavatī wash away the *Śivaliṅga* to which she clung, preferring to be drowned along with it.

The Vijayanagar phase has probably presented the largest number of portrait sculptures. The most outstanding ones are of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and his queens, now preserved in the Śrī Venkaṭeśvara temple on the hill at Tirupati. There is also another image of Acyuta Rāya. We can recall the continuous tradition of portrait sculpture clearly indicated in examples of earlier Coḷa work, the magnificent royal portraits of Kulottuṅga and Coḷamādevī from Kālahasti and the metal image of Rāmānuja from Śrīperumbūdūr where the success of the metal sculptor in the preparation of accurate portraits is clearly demonstrated. The tradition was carried on in the Nāyaka period when a large number of portrait figures of Tirumala Nāyaka and his queens were carved not only in metal but in stone and ivory. The delicately carved ivory figures are preserved in the Srīrangam temple Museum, while the lithic sculptures are in the *maṇḍapa* at Madurai.

3. Painting

The readjustments in Indian society after the advent of Islam as a political power led to a cultural renaissance during the 14th century A.D. This was an age of synthesis. Great saints and poets, as well as political leaders belonging either to the traditional Hindu houses or newly settled dynasties, played important roles.

Western India. The traditional style of painting survived in Western India under the patronage of the middle class, mostly merchants (or in some cases the Jaina ministers), in the form of Śvetāmbara Jaina text-illustrations. These illustrations are primitive in character, with angular faces and stereotyped facial and bodily types in the traditional but crude *tri-bhaṅga* pose. A very conspicuous 'farther-eye' projects out of the three-quarter profile. The colour scheme is limited to raw vermilion, green, lapis lazuli, lampblack and white. The subject-matter, on the basis

of which this painting was formerly attributed to the (Śvetāmbara) Jaina School, is restricted to certain types. Later on, it was variously described as the Gujarātī, Western Indian, and the Apabhraṁśa (corrupt) style. However, its prevalence was known almost all over India and even in Farther India.

The illustrations belong to an archaic type. Some of the illustrations are interesting for their sheer naivete of expression. The subject-matter is restricted to the single figures of Śvetāmbara Jaina divinities. These palm-leaf illustrations received a fresh impetus with the introduction of paper. During this period (14th-16th century), a larger number of such illustrated manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* was produced. The style also becomes more lively with the introduction of new scenes, characterized by a deep background. The contemporary court art also seems to have had its influence. Illustrations of a better quality appear in the manuscripts produced at important cultural centres, such as Mewār, Māndu, Ahmadābād and Jaunpur. Another meeting place of such cultural contacts was in the *Kālakācārya Kathā* illustrations where the Sāhīs were taken from the Sultanate style.

This style was influenced by the revival in the 15th century of the Vaiṣṇavite *Bālagopāla Stuti*, saturated with the childlike *līlās* of Kṛṣṇa or his love affairs with the *Gopīs*, and also the *Devī Māhātmya* illustrations. In 1451 A.D., the famous *Vasanta Vilāsa* scroll was produced at Ahmadābād. With its freshness in expression, sylvan surroundings and lyrical feelings, it is a unique attainment of the age. The other interesting secular illustrated manuscripts are of the *Rati Rahasya* (erotics), and a few leaves of the Avadhī romance, the *Laur-Candā*, a very popular poem of that period. These illustrations show a new phase in this group and introduce us to the 16th century A.D.

South India. Classical Indian painting had its regional types in the South, e.g., at Śittaṇṇavāśal (8th century) The same style, with accentuated regionalism, appears in the Bṛhadīśvara temple (11th century) of Thanjāvūr and even at an earlier stage in the Sigriya wall-paintings (*c.* 7th century) in Ceylon. These show a liveliness which gradually faded away in the later period. Similarly, traces of wall paintings of 11th and 12th centuries survive in the temples at Suchindram and Kanniyākumāri. It may be presumed from local evidence that, in the South, the spirit of ancient Indian wall-painting fully survived in the above-mentioned group. Still, some of these examples show certain new features, e.g., angular treatment of faces with sharp pointed noses or traces of the projecting farther eyes and the jerky movements of limbs.

The Lepākṣī wall-paintings of the Vijayanagar period (mainly 15th and 16th centuries), show a general decline in the art style. The human figures appear as phantoms, devoid of expression; there is a greater emphasis on display of iconographic forms and mythological stories. This

tradition was responsible for giving brith to several court styles under the Muslim kings of the Deccan.

Sultanate Court Style. The court art style as apart from the Western Indian School was not studied until recently As a matter of fact, this important aspect of Indian art has begun to come to the surface only in the last few years. Some of the Sulṭāns and Hindu potentates of this period were patrons of art and culture and, therefore, it is not strange that different regional court styles flourished during their respective reigns. However, there are a few documents which can be ascribed to a definite court or period.

The Sultanate painting shows an attempt to arrive at a fusion of the newly introduced Persian and Indian traditional styles and was accordingly a part of the itinerant cultural movement of Sultanate India. Sometimes, however, one is more predominant than the other, e.g., the *Būstān* manuscript of Nāṣir Shāh Khaljī (A.D. 1500-1510) has no Indian element, except the colour scheme. A few others show only Indian trees or architectural types; while in others, almost everything is Indian, except the male costumes and the facial types. The illustrated manuscript of the *Ni'mat Nāmah* (early 16th century) shows a synthesis of persian and Jaina styles. It is interesting to note that elements of Rājasthānī painting are present in these illustrations. The same tradition is developed in some other examples: an illustrated manuscript of *Ḥamzah Nāmah* at the University Library, Tübingen (West Germany), a *Laur-Candā* manuscript in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and another in the Manchester Library, and a *Mṛgāvatī* manuscript in the Bhārata Kalā Bhavan, Vārānasi, are worthy of special mention. This was probably the style which was ever praised in the Hindī Avadhī poem and also by Abū'l Faḍl, who refers to Hindu painters as about the best in the contemporary world. They had actually contributed to the majority of the Akbarī *atelier* and founded the early Mughal painting on the basis of Indian tradition. Thus, out of the Sultanate painting tradition emerged three major sub-styles—the Mughal, Rājasthānī and Deccani schools—almost concurrently in *c*. A.D. 1550, all sharing some common formulae and yet preserving their individuality.

Mughal School. In the courts of Bābur and Humāyūn, the Tīmūrid style of Persian painting continued. Akbar, however, started a new style. Though superintended by two Persian masters, Mīr Syed' Alī and Khwājah 'Abdu's Ṣamad, it was amazingly Indian in character; and that reflects the monarch's personal regard towards Indian culture. Akbar's youth is aptly mirrored in the *Ḥamzah Nāmah* illustrations, which are full of suspense and mystery. At the same time, they are dynamic in expression. At this stage, both Indian and Persian elements appear side by side. Within a decade, the two styles were completely merged within one complexity. The decorative qualities of both were more or less subdued by the advent of European painting at the court. The subject-matter was mostly drawn upon

from either Hindu mythology or Persian, or books on history and sciences. Akbarī painting is indeed one of the greatest achievements of our country.

Mughal painting developed further under the patronage of Jahāngīr, the illustrious aesthete. The Jahāngīr School is noted for its love of nature—a number of subjects from animal and bird life (and possibly plant life also) were painted. The emphasis is on naturalism, but there is a keen desire to reveal the innate beauty behind the outer form. Book illustrations were almost given up save for a few exceptions which include copies of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*. The expression of a Jahāngīrī painting is subdued and rather slow, in movement, but it is free from dullness. Its charm lies in its probe into the 'Beautiful'.

During Shāh Jahān's period, Mughal painting gains in technical perfection. It shows probably the highest quality in drawing and stippling with great fineness, exquisite colouring, and extraordinary display of likeness of form. It, however, loses in liveliness and becomes stereotyped, static, confined to the four walls of the durbar. Even in the illustrated copy of the *Pādshāh Nāmah* (now in the Windsor Castle Collection) preference is given to durbar scenes, while in a few outdoor scenes the expression is weak and rather dull.

The ill-fated Dārā Shūkoh was also a great patron of painting and followed the Jahāngīrī tradition. Like his grandfather, he preferred bird and vegetal depictions in painting. A portion of his famous album of paintings is available in the India Office Library, London. These paintings, however, are less lively in expression, although more refined in technical skill. Even in the independent female figures (sometimes wrongly identified with Mughal princesses), the expression is rather cold.

A number of Jahāngīrī (Hindu) painters continued to work in the Shāh Jahān's period although in a new spirit. A new star, Muḥammad Nādir Samarqandi, appeared in the court and was about the best in that group, particularly in portraiture.

The divine nature of kingship was a popular theme in Mughal painting at least since the Jahāngīr's period. This was done through certain symbolic representations in which European motifs played an important role, e.g., hour-glass, globe or even cherubs amidst Europeanized clouds or golden rays depicting Divine Light. Such motifs continued to be used in Shāh Jahān's period, but there seems to have been a great emphasis on the display of royal glory by means of a mass of humanity or even armies shown in the background in a humble position and attendant upon the royal figure. These tendencies developed in even more emphasized forms in the later Mughal period. Thus the Shāh Jahān School may be said to have introduced certain features which started a new phase in the later Mughal painting.

Aurangzeb showed indifference towards painting, although it was not discontinued at the court and even a few portraits of the emperor were

done. His long absence from Delhi must have contributed further to the decline of the Mughal School since it was essentially a court art. However, during Aurangzeb's period, the technical qualities of Mughal painting were sustained.

In spite of Aurangzeb's apathy towards art, it is certain that the princes of royal blood and the nobles extended patronage towards painting in an undiminished measure. During the next generations, the Mughal School burst into exuberance although with a gradual decline in quality. The nature of Mughal painting in the post-Aurangzeb period also changed, and new themes were introduced. Besides portraiture and depiction of court-scenes, the chief interest of the 18th century Mughal style was in voluptuous treatment of harem scenes. This tendency was more and more accentuated during the second quarter of the 18th century when the Mughal style weakened in expression and thus, even in this group, the illustrations lack intensity of feeling. The same themes were done over and over again, so that they became monotonous in treatment. Later Mughal painting borrowed a few themes from the Rājasthānī style. Sub-styles arose at Lucknow, Patna and Murshidābād and influenced a number of other styles in painting, e.g., in the Punjab Hills, in the Deccan, and at Būndi, Jaipur, Bīkaner and Alwar in Rājasthān.

During the same centuries, the local courts were in the grip of a vigorous art movement with important centres in (a) Rājasthān with its several sub-styles, (b) the Deccani court, and (c) other regions, some of which, though known at a much later date, belong to the earlier tradition. The last-mentioned group is represented by (i) the Eastern Indian painting with Nepāl, Bengal, Orissa and Assam as its sub-styles; (ii) the Punjab Hills group including Basohli, Jammu, Guler, Kāngra, etc; and (iii) the South Indian group with centres like the one at Thanjāvūr. All of these show the strong influence of medieval traditions and are representatives of the respective court styles.

Rajasthani Group. The origin of Rājasthānī painting dates back to the Sultanate period in the early 16th century. A few dated or undated examples of the second quarter of that century in the characteristic Rājasthānī style are known, showing the Rājasthānī style in a rather developed form, although the illustrations are still simple and unostentatious. On the other hand, the *Caurapañcāśikā* group of illustrations of the second half of the same century show a refined quality in the same style, which probably also influenced the early Akbarī school.

The rise of regional sub-schools in the Rājasthānī group seems to have taken place in the same period. However, the earliest documents from centres like Mewār, Amber, Būndi, Gujarāt, Jodhpur, and Mālwa appear only from the beginning of the 17th century. They appear in their most exuberant forms of expression, each differing in quality and representing an independent sub-school, although all the sub-styles possess

certain common factors due to their common origin. There seems to have been a generic Rājasthānī style which gave birth to these regional forms. These illustrations were strongly influenced by the contemporary literary and musical forms, and draw upon their motifs. All these paintings are decorative in their composition and colour-scheme.

Since its inception the style was wedded to an unrivalled attachment to Nature; the illustrations are almost at the level of landscape paintings in which human figures play insignificant roles. The tree types with their never-ending variety, dense foliage, and richly decorative forms were associated with the singing birds and frolicking animals which similarly appear in the depiction of the amorous sentiment (*śṛṅgāra rasa*) in Indian poetry or music. Rivers full of lotus blossoms and drops of rain falling from deep blue clouds, and streaks of gold showing flashes of lightning flank the colourful landscape. The house of Nit͟hār-dīn (Mewār, A.D. 1606) stands out as the earliest known in the Rājasthānī group. As time went on, the same tradition was carried further by the illustrious Ṣāḥib-dīn, who worked from A.D. 1627 to 1648. This phase represents the Mewār school at its height. The illustrated series ran into hundreds, representing a new theme covering a very wide range of life or mythology. This style becomes more poetic and sentimental in certain *Nāyikābheda* scenes. These long series must have involved a considerable number of painters under the patronage of Jagat Singh I of Mewār (A.D. 1628–1652). However, in the post-Jagat Singh period, covering another half-century, the influence of the Mug͟hal style gradually weakened the vitality of Mewār painting and it gradually became more and more sophisticated and subdued. A few other local chiefs continued to patronize painting in which new themes were introduced and life in the Mewārī court was portrayed.

The Būndi School has an almost parallel history, except that there seem to have been two important periods in it, viz., *c.* A.D. 1620–1635 and *c.* A.D. 1680–1700. During the 18th century, however, the Būndi School took a new turn. Although it was highly influenced by Mug͟hal painting in subject-matter and technical details, Būndi painting retained its originality in expression. The main emphasis is on display of feminine grace in which it excels.

The Mālwa School is a tentative name given to a particular group with a number of sub-styles within that group. They are, in their earliest known period (*c.* A.D. 1634), very similar to, but independent of the Mewār School. The second stage is represented by the *c.* A.D. 1650 group, and the third and fourth stages by *c.* A.D. 1680 and 1700 groups respectively. After the last-mentioned phase, the style seems to have fanned out into several regions in Central India and influenced the local styles, even though it weakened in course of that period.

Reference to painting in Bīkaner should also be made at this point. Presumably a school of painting existed there at least since the early Jahān-

gīr period, since Mughal pictorial influence on the local style is obvious. With the Aurangzeb period, a highly Mughal-influenced style of painting in an exuberant form appeared in Bīkaner. Ruknu'd-dīn was one of the foremost figures of a local house of painters in this group; his style is delicate in taste and refined in technique. In a few cases, it shows extremely clever compositional forms. During the 18th century, Bīkaner painting was greatly influenced by the stylistic traits of the Jodhpur School, another of the Rāṭhor Schools of painting.

During the 18th century again, some other sub-styles of painting started within the Rājasthānī group, particularly in the Jaipur, Jodhpur and Kishangarh regions. A new Rājpūt revival took place during that period, particularly in the Rāṭhor group, which influenced a considerable area of contemporary Rājasthān. The Jodhpur and Nāgaur (which is nearest to Jodhpur in style) paintings show very bold types of expression with broad, fish eyes in the human faces and highly stylized tree types. The Kishangarh style is more lyrical and sometimes sensuous. It is believed to have been started by Mahārāja Sāwant Singh (alias Nāgarī Dāsa, A.D. 1699–1764), a noted Vaiṣṇavite and poet. The Jaipur School, in its later form, began in *c.* 1750 and was destined to flourish at the end of that century and also during the 19th century. Although very much weakened in quality, it spread over even to the Marāṭhā courts.

Deccani Group. The Deccan Sultanates had an independent cultural tradition of their own, even much before the Akbarī period. The Deccani schools were contemporary to Mughal painting, though actually deriving their conventional forms from the Vijayanagar and earlier schools and probably from the Bahmanī court paintings, as shown by an illustrated manuscript of Nujūm-ul-'ulūm of this type. However, a number of paintings, particularly portraits, began to appear since *c.* A.D. 1600 in the three principal courts in the Deccan, namely, Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, and Golconda. A number of stray paintings also appeared, presumably from the Deccan. These schools of painting were strongly influenced by the Turkmān School, due to direct cultural contact with Asia. This is evident from the treatment of the background. However, because of the profound devotion of the Deccan Sulṭāns, the indigenous culture in the South was less susceptible to foreign influence from the earliest stages Among the three courts mentioned above, the Bijāpur court painting under Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah's aegis (A.D. 1580–1627) rose to new heights. Ibrāhīm was devoted to Indian music, religious thought and poetry. His portraits from his early youth to his last days are fairly well known. Recently, portraits of Niẓāmu'l Mulk of Ahmadnagar have also been discovered. The naive feeling and colourful nature of these paintings gradually faded in the wake of Mughal influence; the later paintings from both Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar show a considerable Jahāngīrī influence, although old tradition continued to some extent in the choice of colour and the treat-

ment of the background. After the fall of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom (A.D. 1636) Bijāpur School was still under Mughal influence, which can be seen in the portraits of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh (A.D. 1627–1657). The same style continued in Śivājī's court.

Golconda was the last among the three Deccani courts to come into Mughal hands (A.D. 1687). The Golconda Sulṭāns, among whom Abu'l Ḥasan Tānāshāh (A.D. 1672–1687) stands out, were noted patrons of art. The portraits show the royal taste in fruits, scented flowers, slaves and pets. The Golconda style was, after 1700, replaced by the Hyderābādī style, which, although patronized by the Mughal governors, sustained the Deccani tradition. The Hyderābādī paintings are delicate in execution. They followed the Mughal tradition and were more or less restricted to the expression of female charm in conventional forms.

Punjab Hills Group. A vigorous art-style flourished at Basohli in the Jammu Hills. It shares several characteristics with the early Rājasthāni School but retains its own distinctive individuality. Even the earliest dated manuscript extant (A.D. 1695) displays a maturity in style which must be attributed to long experience. Traces of Jahāngīrī influence seem to point to its existence in that period. During the late 17th century, the style is noted for its vigorous expression. At the same time, it is fresh and naive, with a discriminating use of rather hot and contrasting colours. Even the human figures appear as designs, accentuated with heavily bejewelled make-up. Emphasis is laid on the architectural details. In a few specimens, the monochrome background is preferred to dark foliage which develops in the later examples.

The style reincarnated itself with great profusion in the early 18th century. It became milder in expression, colour schemes and even in the bodily movements of human figures. The style, however, gained in new themes, including *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*, *Rāgamālā*, portraits and so on. After *c.* 1730 this style further weakened, probably due to the rise of a rival, and very different, art style in the same region.

Other Regional Styles. It seems that a few more centres were active in this region at least since the second quarter of the 18th century. By *c.* 1740, a new style of painting appears at three centres, viz., under Rājā Govardhana Canda (1745–1773) of Guler, Rājā Mukunda Deva of Jasrota and the illustrious Balwant Singh of Jammu. It is probable that, in Jammu, there already existed an individual style of painting from an even earlier period. Since the painters belonged to a family of Kauls, Kashmīrī Brāhmaṇas by birth, the relationship of this group is linked with the medieval tradition in Kashmīr. Again, the three styles, namely, of Jammu, Jasrota and Guler Schools, are similar in nature and, therefore, suggest a common origin. At the same time, they possess some regional qualities, which show at least the experience of a generation behind them in evolving their own characteristics.

So, during the 18th century, two different groups appear in the Pahāṛī area. Except that both are fundamentally lyrical in feeling and have almost the same themes as common sources of inspiration, they are basically opposed to one another. One is represented by the traditionalists —Basohli, Bilāspur, Mandi, etc.,—while the other by the Mughal-influenced Kāngra, Guler and Garhwāl group which is sophisticated, sweet and lyrical. Mughal influence may further be noticed in the sensuousness of expression. Yet, this group preserved its own individuality, freshness of feeling and elevated taste as against the decadent later Mughal painting. Pahāṛī painting is more human in feeling, more sympathetic in its outlook and more subtle. Thus, the dying Mughal School founded a great art-style, which blossomed into several notable sub-styles in the Punjab Hills, representing the last great epoch in the traditional Indian art.

The Balwant Singh School, although manifestly influenced by the later Mughal style, possesses an individuality of its own. The painter displays a keen interest in human life and in nature all its variety. Due to social, political and other factors this school soon faded into oblivion. The year 1761 marks almost the end of traditional Indian painting.

4. Dance, Drama and Music

(i) *Dance and Drama*

Although the material is scattered, there is sufficient evidence to show a vital tradition which continued to flourish through five hundred years of political upheaval and unrest. The historical chronicles provide some evidence of the social status of the artists during this period. The more important sources are the texts on music, dance and drama, the creative works of literature in the different languages of India, and the sculptural and pictorial representations of dance and music in the different schools of sculpture and miniature painting which flourished during the later half of the period under review.

The Texts. The most authoritative text of the 13th century relating to music and dance is undoubtedly the *Saṅgītaratnākara* by Śāraṅgadeva A close examination of the chapters relating to dance, as also those relating to music, clearly shows a definite pattern of evolution in these arts. While Śāraṅgadeva faithfully follows the fundamentals laid down by Bharata, he also incorporates many new features of repertoire and composition. He does not introduce any new categories of drama, and continues to divide the dramatic art into *nāṭya, nṛtya* and *nṛtta*. The division of *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* continues, and he conforms to the four categories of *abhinaya* laid down by Bharata. In spite of such fundamental agreement regarding basic theory, he provides ample evidence to convince

us of the modifications and departures which had taken place since the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The most important departure is the introduction of a category of movement and dance patterns called *deśī*. In his discussion of the *aṅgas*, the *upāṅgas*, the *cārīs* and the *karaṇas*, he meticulously distinguishes between the *śuddha* and *deśistha* (regional variants). Indeed, he devotes much attention to a discussion of the *deśī lāsyāṅgas*. It must be remembered that although the *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions the two forms *mārgī* and *deśī*, Bharata for the best part restricts himself to a discussion only of the *mārgī* in both music and dance. Detailed discussions on the *deśī* terminology occur for the first time in the works of Bhoja (11th century) and Someśvara (A.D. 1126–1138). A comparative study of the texts of medieval period from different parts of India leads to the conclusion that although the scholars did not question the basic principles of theory as laid down by Bharata, they introduced into their treatises many new movements and departed in some important respects from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* tradition.

The textual material belonging to this period is rich and sizable, indicating the popularity of these arts. Such works are found practically in all parts of India. Important among them are Jayasenapati's *Nṛttaratnāvali* (A.D. 1254), and the *Saṅgītopaniṣad* written by Vācanācārya Sudhākalaśa in A.D. 1349. The latter is a significant contribution of the Jaina tradition to the literature of music and dance. From Orissa, we have the *Abhinaya Candrikā* by Maheśvara Mahāpātra and the *Saṅgīta Dāmodara* by Raghunātha (17th century). From Assam we have the *Hastamuktāvali* by Śubhaṅkara, which is available in Assamese, Newārī and Bengali recensions. From South India we have a few significant works, especially the *Ādi Bhāratam*, the *Bharatārṇava*, the *Nāṭyavedāgama* of Tulajarājā (A.D. 1729–1735) and the *Balarāmabhāratam* of Balarāmavarman (A.D. 1753–1798). The *Saṅgītamakaranda* by Veda of the court of Śāhjī Bhosle also belongs to this period. The *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, a compilation by Govindācārya in the Marāṭhī script, brings together many texts known to the author. From Rājasthān, we have the important work Saṅgītarāja by Kumbhakarṇa (A.D. 1433–1468). He also wrote a commentary on the *Gīta-Govinda*, entitled the *Rasikapriyā*, in which *tālas* and *rāgas* are mentioned. From Uttar Pradesh, there is the *Saṅgīta-mālikā* of Muḥammad Shāh (17th century). Instances could be multiplied to show the impressive mass of *saṅgīta* and *nṛtya* literature produced during the period.

Apart from the conclusion that the tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was in the basic principles and that there were many regional variants, one more fact emerges from a close examination of these texts. The internal evidence provided by quite a few of these texts makes one believe that a cleavage had taken place between the practising dancers and scholars. These manuals sometimes seem to be entirely unconnected with any system under practice, and the authors were conscious of this difference. It is

also obvious from the study of these texts that there was certainly the emergence of individual styles in dance and drama, a development parallel to the rise of different traditions in the field of plastic arts and literature.

The canons of dramaturgy and dance naturally confine themselves to a discussion of the technique of portraying emotion through movement. For the content and thematic aspect of dance and drama, we must examine the works of creative literature. The most important literary event, which influenced not only dance and drama but painting also, was the composition of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* in the 13th century. Its great impact can be seen on dance and drama forms all over India–from Manipur and Assam in the east to Gujarāt in the west; from Mathura and Vrindāvan in the North, to Tamilnād and Kerala in the South. Innumerable commentaries on the *Gīta-Govinda* exist throughout the country. There are a large number of manuscripts dealing with the *Gīta-Govinda* as material for dance or drama, and this work has been the basic literary text used by many regional theatrical traditions. The spread of Vaiṣṇavism during the period gave further impetus to the development of different forms of dance, drama and music. The rich lyrical poetry provide beautiful thematic material to the artist. We also find that many musical plays were written and enacted during this period. Vidyāpati was the author of a significant musical play entitled *Gorakṣāvijaya*. Caṇḍīdāsa provides another example of dramatic presentation relating to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Caitanya's lyrics were sung as songs for *kīrtana*, often accompanied by dance. It appears from royal inscriptions that *Gīta-Govinda* verses also were not only sung but danced to in temples before the deity. Many rulers in Orissa and South India were patrons of these arts and some of them wrote plays and dance-dramas. The poetry of the *Bhakti* School in Hindī (especially that of the Aṣṭachāpa group) presents an interesting picture of music, dance and drama. There are many beautiful poems of both Sūradāsa and Mīrā Bāī in which the motif of the dance has been used in imagery.

Although the *Rāsa* as a dance composition is mentioned as early as *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, we do not find reference to it in the theoretical texts. However, there is ample literary evidence to support the view that the *Rāsa* as a dance form was very much in existence in Gujarāt during the 13th century. *Rāsa* is often mentioned as a literary composition akin to the ballad meant to be presented through the dance. We know that the *Revantagiri rāsa* of Vijayasena was enacted. The *Garabī* is another popular form of literary composition rendered in the dance that evolved during the latter half of this period. The most important writer of the *Garabī* was Dayārāma (1767–1852).

In Assam, Śaṅkaradeva was the most important writer of dance and drama. His biographies mention that he painted scenes to represent the seven *Vaikuṇṭhas*, made masks, and trained actors for staging his play, the *Cihna-yātrā*. The tradition of one-act plays is found in other parts of

India, especially Mathura where the *jhāṅkīs* still play an important part during *Janmāṣṭamī* celebrations.

In South India, we have the lyrics of the saint-poet Purandaradāsa, the compositions of Tyāgarāja and Kṣhetrajña. *Yakṣagāna* as a full-fledged dance-drama form also appears during the period. About the 16th century we come across many writers of *Yakṣagāna*, important among their works being the *Yakṣagāna Gaṅgā-gauri-vilāsam* in Telugu and Kannaḍa. The *Yakṣagānas* performed to this day are based on the writings of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and Vijayarāghava Kalayāṇam in the 16th-17th centuries.

In Malabār, apart from the influence of *Gīta-Govinda* and the numerous *Abhinaya Gīta-Govinda* manuscripts, the most important contribution to dance and drama was a group of eight plays written by the Rājā of Koṭṭārakkara in 1750. Rāmanātham established firmly an individual style of theatre presentation and the contemporary *Kathākaḷi* owes its origin to these plays. Many literary compositions, which continued to form the basic material for *Kathākaḷi*, were written during this period.

A study of the literature of the period from different regions leads us to the conclusion that music, dance and drama were the common heritage of all cultured men in the society. A close examination of these literary texts also convinces us of two distinct streams of development. Clearly there existed a traditional dance and drama which played an important part in temple ritual; closely related to this was the highly intellectual and sophisticated approach of the initiated dancer and dramatist. Further, there is ample evidence about a widening of interests leading to a popular and secular tradition. The outcome was a gradual intermingling of Hindu and Persian influences. Borrowing from Hindu religious thought, artists of the Mughal court created a form which was not strictly Hindu in spirit.

Sculptural and Pictorial Representations. An examination of the evidence provided by the sculpture and painting of the period also leads us to the conclusion that a distinct stylization had been achieved by the 11th century. The sculptural representation of dance, music and drama during the period is characterized by the use of the outspread *kṣipta* position of the knees and other poses of the dance. The reliefs of the 108 *karaṇas* on the *gopurams* of the Chidambaram temple are significant. These reliefs, with their inscriptions, bear out the continuity of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* tradition. Nonetheless, when these sculptural reliefs are closely compared with the verses of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, it is found that in many cases the sculptors have followed the oral tradition, or the tradition of the *deśī karaṇas* compiled by Sāraṅgadeva and other writers of the period. The fidelity to the text continues, yet the rendering changes. The temples at Halebid record similar poses. The *kṣipta* position is a common feature of the dance sculpture throughout the period, whether at Śrīśailam or Pālampet, or Konārak and Bhubaneswar. Depiction of *karaṇas*, such as

pṛṣṭha-svastika, ardha-svastika, ūrdhvajānu, kuñcita, lalita and *kaṭisama,* are found in the temples at Abu and Vrindāvan, as also in some Kashmīr temples. The Coḷa and Vijayanagar bronzes, along with the stone sculpture at Konārak, use the *bhujaṅgatrasita* movement for depiction of the dance of Śivā, commonly known as the Naṭarāja pose. In painting, we find the same poses repeated, in spite of the radical changes in idiom from mural to miniature. The dance figures of *Citrakalpadruma, Kalpasūtra,* etc. from Gujarāt frequently depict the *sūcī-cārī* and *ūrdhvajānu* positions. The Rājpūt and Pahāṛī Schools of painting, however, show a departure from this basic stance, and for the first time, we find dance figures where the *kṣipta* position is abandoned for the erect standing position. The *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* paintings, as also the *Rāgamālā* series, often depict dance poses; the illustrations of the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśavadāsa belong to the latter half of the period.

Examples could be multiplied to show the vitality of a tradition which was not restricted to any one part of India, or to any one century during these five hundred years of history. The ritual tradition continued in the art of the *devadāsī* and the sophisticated in the court dancer's art, and in both the traditions interpretation of the speech in *abhinaya* led to emphasis on the solo dancer or on the one person depicting many characters. The village square and the community gatherings provided occasion for the dance-drama forms, and these continued to use the *lokadharmī* traditions in varying degrees. Gradually the *vācika* (spoken word) diverged more and more from literary sources and became purely regional and dialectal in character.

In this period we can trace the beginnings of regional styles, which later crystallized into the different stylized traditions of dance and drama. We can also discern the beginnings of the *sampradāya* or *gharānā* tradition, which derives its sanction from the continuity of practice in the region rather than from the *Śāstras* alone.

With the decline of court patronage, the art declined, but the tradition was preserved in these *sampradāyas* and *gharānās* before it was revived in the early part of the 20th century.

(*ii*) *Music*

This period shows that the centres of musical study and practice were the kingdoms that rose to power in different parts of the country. Musicians were patronized at the courts. This phenomenon was seen most prominently in the Deccan and the South which proved to be a congenial soil for the preservation of classical traditions. No less important is the influence of the *Bhakti* movement and the saints and devotees in the different regions, whose devotional songs formed the bulk of the musical composi-

tions of this period. Thirdly, this period shows the further absorption into the main body of the art of regional and folk materials, as also some degree of foreign influence. Fourthly, it witnessed the branching off of Indian music into the two schools of the North and the South—Hindustānī and Karnāṭaka. There were exchanges between the two and movement from one area to the other with gradual collaboration. The musician gave the art a unifying role.

At the beginning of this period appeared the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārañgadeva, Auditor-General of king Siṅghaṇa (A.D. 1210–1247) of the Yādavas of Devagiri. It gives, first, a succinct summary of the ancient *mārga* music, which had become a thing of the past, and then a detailed account of the *rāgas, tālas* and compositions current in the author's time.

Several Sanskrit works were produced on the model of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Jaina interest in the art is seen in the two works of Sudhākalaśa and in the *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* of another, perhaps earlier, Jaina writer Pārśvadeva, which is very important for the amount of *deśī* material on music and dance preserved by it. The *Gīta-prakāśā, Saṅgīta-kāumudī, Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa, Saṅgītasaraṇī* and *Saṅgītakāmada* (16th-18th century) show the very active cultivation of this particular art. In Bengal, Mithilā and Assam, the *Saṅgīta Dāmodara* and the *Hastamuktāvalī* of Śubhaṅkara, written probably in Assam for the *Aṅkiyā nāṭs*, enjoyed a unique popularity. In the 17th century, among the Malla kings of Nepāl, the great music and dance enthusiast, Jagajjyotirmalla (A.D. 1617-1633), made special efforts to collect manuscripts from the South and from writers in Mithilā. His interest in these twin arts led not only to the production of such notable works, *Saṅgītabhāskara* and *Saṅgīta sārasaṅgraha*, but also to a rich crop of musical plays in Sanskrit-Newārī medium.

Kumbhakaraṇa in Mewār, author of a gloss on the *Gīta-Govinda* and a voluminous compilation *Saṅgītarāja*, determined and set forth the music of each song in the *Gīta-Govinda*. The *Saṅgītapārijāta* of Ahobala, translated into Persian in 1724, describes *svaras* in terms of the length of the wire in tension on the *vīṇā*. In A.D. 1428, one of the subordinates of Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Sharqī ruler of Jaunpur, sponsored the compilation of the *Saṅgītaśiromaṇi* for which *paṇḍits* were brought together from all parts of the country; this effort was repeated in the 18th century by Pratāpa Singh, sponsor of the *Saṅgītasāgara*.

To Vidyāraṇya, the saint-founder of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the early part of the 14th century, is ascribed the *Saṅgītasāra*, which may be regarded as a fore-runner of the Southern system.

The popular belief that the separate development of Hindustānī music was due to Amīr Khusraw is not accepted by scholars. There was the influence in the North of Persian and Arabic musical instruments, but this could not have affected the basic structure of Indian music. Amīr

Khusraw himself exclaimed: "I am an Indian, even if a Turk... My lyre responds to the Indian theme". The main differences were few. While the names of *rāgas* remained common to North and South, the corresponding content varied in each case; in the intonation of notes and the execution of graces (*gamakas*), stylistic divergence arose; so, too, in the method of elaborating and expounding a *rāga*. The Hindustānī School began to observe strictly a time theory of *rāgas*, which has some justification; but it is so overdone as to impose limitations on concert programmes. In fact, the time theory is a historical survival from the earlier age when music was dealt with as an accessory of drama and its varying situations. *Rāgas* came to be classified in different ways in the two systems The North took six *rāgas* as primary and also arranged them on the analogy of family relationship—husband, wife, sons and daughters.

In the South, a more scientific system was brought into force at the time of Vidyāraṇya, viz., that of parent and derivative modes, *Janaka* or *Melakartā rāgas* and *Janya rāgas*. The earliest available treatise written in South India, which deals with the *rāgas* under the *Mela-Janya* scheme, is the *Svaramela-kalānidhi* (A.D. 1550) of Rāmāmātya of Kondavīdu in Andhra Pradesh. It describes 20 *melas* and 64 *janyas*. Somanātha wrote the *Rāgavibodha* in A.D. 1609 and dealt with 23 *melas* and 76 *rāgas*, incorporating some Hindustānī conceptions about the *rāgas*.

Three texts were written in Thanjāvūr, the middle one of these being the bed-rock of the Karnāṭaka system, viz., the *Caturdaṇḍi-prakāśika* of Veṅkaṭamakhin (*c* A.D. 1650). After this Tulajā of the Thanjāvūr Marāṭhā dynasty wrote the *Saṅgītasārāmṛta*, which kept itself very close to contemporary music. The chief contribution of Veṅkaṭamakhin is the devising of the 72 *Melarāga* system under which any *rāga*, old, obsolete, current or of the future, could be brought in. This was a scientific system which, in modern times, attracted Bhatkhande, who applied it to the reorganization of Hindustānī music in his *Lakṣyasaṅgīta*.

The emergence of the Śaivite Nāyanārs and Āḷvārs of the Tamil region and their devotional music was followed by the rise of the Haridāsas of Karnātaka, who expressed high truths and moral teachings through Kannaḍa songs (*padas*). The greatest of these was Purandaradāsa (A.D. 1480–1564), considered as *Pitāmaha* (grandfather) of Karnāṭaka music. His output of *padas* is believed to have been close to five lakhs. At Tirupati flourished four generations of *Tallapākkam*-composers (15th-16th centuries), whose songs on Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara, carved on copper-plates, ran to prodigious numbers; they also codified the style and method of *Bhajana* or *Saṅkīrtana*. One who exerted a great formative influence on the art during this age was Tānappācārya who is said to have organized the form and expression of fifty *rāgas* in all the four aspects of *Gīta*, *Prabandha*, *Thaya* and *Ālāpa*, collectively called *Caturdaṇḍī*. The last great composer in this period was Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, who produced in the manner

of the *Gita-Govinda* a poem for singing and dancing called *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī*; fragments from this poem still figure in concerts in the South. This age may be said to have set the stage for the advent of the golden age of Karnāṭaka music in Thanjāvūr and the appearance of the musical trinity—Tyāgarāja, Muttusvāmī Dikṣitar and Śyāma Śāstrī.

The same *Bhakti* movement, which inspired and sustained the art in the South, also produced, all over the North, great souls who were at once saints and musicians. The *padas* of Nāmadeva (A.D. 1270–1350), Dāsopant (A.D. 1551–1616) and other holy men of Mahārāshtra are set to different *rāgas*. The *Bhajanas* of Mīrā Bāī (A.D. 1498–1546) are famous. Equally renowned as saint-singers are Sūradāsa of Āgra (A.D. 1483–1563) and Tulasīdāsa (A.D. 1532–1623), author of the immortal *Rāmācaritamānas*. In Mithilā, Bengal and Assam arose Vidyāpati, Caṇḍīdāsa, followers of Caitanya (A.D. 1486–1533), and Śaṅkaradeva (A.D. 1449–1569). The Vrindāvan Gosvāmīs occupy a prominent place in the development of North Indian music; it was Svāmī Haridāsa (16th and beginning of 17th century) who was the teacher of the great Tānsen of Akbar's court. Tānsen was also a pupil of a Muslim divine of Gwalior.

Rājā Māna Singh (A.D. 1486–1517) of Gwalior played a distinguished part in the growth and perfection of the *Dhrupad*, which represented the acme of classical art in Hindustānī. *Dhrupad*, which evidently had its origin in the old *Prabandha*, had come into vogue even earlier at the time of 'Alāu'd-din Khaljī, when Gopāla Nāyaka and Amīr Khusraw flourished. Amīr Khusraw introduced some new *rāgas*, new instruments and new compositions such as *Qawwālī*, the Muslim counterpart of the Hindu *Bhajana*. Like *Dhrupad*, there arose in Mathura region another form, *Vori* or *Dhamar* (so called after its *tāla*), singing of Kṛṣṇa's sports. A lighter and freer composition was *Khyāl*, of which the greatest composers were Sadāraṅga and Adāraṅga of the court of one of the last Mughal rulers, Muḥammad Shāh. The *Ṭhumrī* employed folk-scales and amorous themes, while the *Ṭappā* developed from the songs of the camel-drivers of Punjab. Other forms that came into being in this period included *Tarānā* (from which was derived the South Indian *Tillana*), *Dādrā* and *Ghazal*.

In the South, the systematic texts, written frequently enforced a stricter science. In the North, fewer Sanskrit texts appeared and there was greater liberty and mixing of *rāgas*. There were also different schools and styles called *gharānās*, each of which expounded *Dhrupad* or particular *rāgas* in its own way. Hindustānī was thus less codified in this period, a feature which has continued to the present day.

5. Crafts of India

The centre of traditional crafts in India has always been the village

community. Every craftsman was given a piece of land by the village people in exchange of which he was supposed to supply them with their requirements. By this system, the craftsmen felt financially secure and free to develop their crafts in close touch with tradition.

During the period under review, the craftsmen were generally employed, at any rate in the urban centres, by rich patrons who engaged them on a fixed salary or on a contractual basis. Mughal emperors like Akbar and Shāh Jahān were particularly known for their love of the crafts and their patronage to artisans. Akbar used to inspect the royal craft-centre once a week, and he rewarded the craftsmen according to merit. The minds of Indian craftsmen were never closed to outside influence. Islamic arts and crafts emerged from the fusion of different traditions. Influence of Arabic and Persian elements made a strong impact. Unlike the Hindus, Islamic craftsmen used bright colours. Hindu designs were symbolic, while Islamic designs were geometrical and abstract. Depiction of human figures was prohibited in Islam and, therefore, *jālī* work, decorative floral designs and animal figures were introduced. During the Sultanate period, decorative art was plain. There were single creeper borders on spherical or cylindrical boxes, while heraldic animal designs were used on textiles in bright colours. During the Mughal period, new techniques were brought in, especially heavy gold-and-tinsel embroidery. Ornaments became elaborate. New kinds of flower motifs were introduced from Persia, China and Europe.

In this period, some fundamental changes came about in the Indian craftsman's vision. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* mentions the introduction of *Naqshbands* or designers, brought from the craft workshops of Irān. With them, the new profession of designer was established, separating the craftsman from the designer. In Mughal workshops, emphasis was shifted to caligraphy, enamelling, inlaying and elegant ornamentation of surface. This resulted in specialization and perfection in these fields, but brought about a decline in the major expressions of the artisan's tradition.

Jewellery. The Muslims did not evolve new designs or types of jewellery. They concentrated their attention on increasing and improving the modes of ornamentation. The finish of the jewelled articles improved in quality and more refined gold was used. At Delhi, the fine work of precious stone-setting was specially developed. It was in this period that the art of enamelling also reached its peak point. The ornaments were beautifully enamelled with floral and geometrical designs integrated with bird, animal and floral motifs. Jaipur became an important centre for enamelling work. The Mughals were great lovers of pearls and precious stones, especially of diamonds. With the fall of the Mughals, the art of *kundana* setting lost its popularity and plain ornaments of solid gold came into vogue. The quality of enamelling also deteriorated.

Damascening or Koftgari. During the long centuries of Muslim rule,

this craft received the highest patronage. The art of damascening, or *koftgarī* work, had its home in ancient Damascus, from where it was introduced into India through Īrān and Afghānistān. In this art, one metal is encrusted on the other in the form of wire which, by under-cutting and harmonizing, is thoroughly and beautifully incorporated with the basic metal. This art seems to have originated in the desire to decorate the weapons of war. Akbar was keen about this craft and took personal interest in the ornamentation of the weapons in the royal armoury. With the passage of time, this craft was diverted to decorating articles of domestic use, such as boxes, betel cases, *ḥuqqahs* and *ṣurāhīs*. Damascening in silver is called *bīdrī* work; the name is taken from Bīdar. The Muslim craftsmen of Bīdar were famous for this work.

Textiles. In the 14th century, Muḥammad Tughluq employed some five hundred expert weavers at Delhi for weaving silk and gold brocades for the ladies of the court. The most gorgeous and highly ornamented fabric, with silk and gold embroidery, was called *Kimkhāb*. This art is said to have been taken from India to Babylon. The design of the hunting scene produced in Banārasī *Kimkhāb* was considered to be unique.

In the Mughal court, there was always provision for the manufacture of costly fabrics and garments. Tavernier writes that the ambassador of Shāh Ṣafī (A.D. 1628–1641) presented to his master, a 27 meters long muslin turban, so fine that it could hardly be felt by touch. A rare muslin was formerly produced in Dacca: when laid wet on the grass it became invisible and indistinguishable from the dew, and was therefore named *Shabnam*. Another kind was called *Āb-i-Ravān*, or running water. A very popular kind of muslin was known as *Pannā Hazāra*, the thousand emeralds, since sprays of flowers were arranged in such a way as to produce the effect of jewels.

The renowned *Palampores* of Masulipatam were generally used as curtains. They were imported into Europe from the end of the 17th to the beginning of the 19th century and received royal patronage.

The most important industry during this period was the manufacture of cotton cloth. The principal centres were Pātan in Gujarāt, Burhānpur in Khāndesh, Jaunpur, Vārānasi, Patna and a few other places in Uttar Pradesh and Bihār, besides many cities and villages of Orissa and Bengal. Silk weaving was practised in Lahore, Āgra, Fatehpur Sīkri and Gujarāt.

Embroidery. Hand embroidery was widely practised in India from very early times, but no examples of a period prior to the 16th century are extant. The French traveller Bernier has given a detailed description of Mughal workshops of the middle 17th century.

Embroidery on cotton, silk, wool, velvet, and even leather was quite well known. The *kashīdah* embroidery of Kashmīr, the *phūlkārī* work of Punjab, the chain-stitch embroidery of Kāthiāwār and the silk-embroidered woollen shawls of Kashmīr have been famous.

Certain factors have contributed to the development of the various forms of art fabrics in India. One of them is the rigid social code which gave rise to individual styles of decoration, colours and designs for different occasions and different communities. Muslims were prohibited from wearing pure silk and had to wear other types of fabrics known as *mashrū* and *himrū*, which are mixtures of cotton and silk and very pleasing in appearance. Court patronage also helped a great deal in their development. When the local artists came in contact with foreigners, fashions and designs underwent a change. A desire to capture markets outside India led to the adoption of different patterns and colours, with new symbols and motifs. Even now Persian influence is eivdent in the Farrukhābād prints, Masulipatam curtains, and brocade *sārīs* of Vārānasi.

Woollen Materials. Woollen shawls of a high order became popular during the Mughal period. Most of the woollen fabrics of Kashmīr were made of *pashm*, the wool of a certain mountain goat. The finest shawls were of *tūsh*, derived from certain wild animals and collected from shrubs and rocks where the animals rubbed off their fleece in warm weather. Akbar was a great admirer of Kashmīrī shawls, ornamented with gold and silver thread. According to Bernier, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmīr in the 17th century was done on a 'prodigious scale and brought her extensive wealth'.

Dyeing and Calico-printing. The dyeing industry also flourished. According to Terry's account, the coarser cotton cloths were either dyed or printed in fast colour. In a Chinese account of the 15th century and those of Bernier and Tavernier, we find references to the import of printed cottons from Calicut; the fastness of the dyes used and the beautiful hand-printed chintz, curtains and printed calicos of the Mughal courts are also mentioned.

Carpet-weaving. This craft greatly flourished in Mughal times. Akbar brought Persian weavers in the country and in A.D. 1580 established the imperial carpet factory at Lahore. It was here that the finest carpets were produced, some of which survive even today. This industry flourished at least till the time of Shāh Jahān. Carpets were generally made of cotton-wool in various mingled colours and of different sizes. Some were made entirely of silk with woven flower and figure motifs. The base of some very rich carpets was silver or gold on which silken flowers and figures were woven.

Other Crafts. Under the patronage of the Mughal rulers, ivory craft flourished in Delhi. With Muslim influence, the earlier mythological panels and animal figures were combined with *jālī*-work of Mughal pattern. Terry describes the skill of Indian craftsmen in making cabinet boxes, trunks, and dish-stands, inlaid with ivory, mother of pearl, ebony, tortoise-shell and wire.

Papier Mache. The *papier mache* industry was very prosperous

during Mughal times. Due to the silky and glossy texture of Kashmiri paper, it was also found to be very good material for painting and for writing state documents.

Pottery. It is believed that, with the invasion of Chingiz Khān (A.D. 1221), glazed pottery was introduced in Punjab and Sind. It was influenced by the traditions, surviving in Irān, of the ancient civilization of Nineveh and Babylon. This pottery generally consists of drinking cups, water bottles and plates of all shapes. Glazed pottery, partly on Persian models and partly with Indian designs, has been found at 'Adilābād (Tughluqābād), in Gujarāt and at Māndu, dating back to the Sultanate period.

Glassware. Glassware was extensively used in Mughal times. Examples of some beautiful cut-glass *huqqahs*, bowls, etc., are found in some of the museums.

Inlaying and Stone-carving. The art of marble inlay and mosaic work reached excellence in medieval India, where precious stones were inlaid in beautiful flower patterns on marble. This art probably came into vogue in the reign of Jahāngir and reached its zenith in Shāh Jahān's time. It is believed that the *jāli* also was an invention of this period for substituting human figures and images of the Hindus. This art of inlay-work generally formed part of architecture. But several minor items like flower-vases, boxes, plates, shades, and beautifully carved handles, bowls, etc., of jade have come down to us from the Mughal days. Sometimes, these articles were further ornamented with precious stones.

Political disorder, incessant wars, administrative bankruptcy and general insecurity during the latter half of the 17th and the whole of the 18th centur affected the country's social economy, breaking down the feudal pattern into near-chaos. One of its direct effects was the slow degeneration of all applied arts and crafts. Even textiles, one of our richest crafts, could not escape the general decay. The ruin of the weavers in Bengal was brought about by the competition from manufacturers in England. When silk and cotton goods exported by the East India Company became popular in England, two laws were passed by the British Parliament in 1700 and 1720, prohibiting the use of Indian cotton and silk goods in England. The impact of alien western styles began to create a hybrid *bāzār* art in the towns. The old village crafts, however, survive to this day.

PART III

MODERN INDIA

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA (1761-1947)

1. Establishment of British Rule (1761-1818)

As a result of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) in Europe, the French and English settlements in India also became involved in open hostilities. The French were defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandiwâsh in January, 1760, and Pondicherry capitulated a year later. The work of Dupleix and Bussy in the South was thus destroyed in 1760-61; the French possessions in India were, however, restored by the Treaty of Paris (1763).

Bengal and Avadh. Mīr J'afar, placed by Clive on the *masnad* of Murshidâbâd after the battle of Plassey, was deposed in 1760. The theory of Mīr J'afar's conspiracy with the Dutch perhaps finds no support from the Dutch records. He would perhaps have gladly joined the Dutch if they had been victorious at Bīdar, but the position on the eve of Plassey was altogether different. Mīr Qâsim was placed on the throne by the British in the hope that he would be able to meet their financial demands. The new Nawâb assigned to them the districts of Burdwân, Midnapore and Chittagong for the expenses of the British army which was to help him. This alliance was of great use to the British in their campaign against the French in 1760-61—the money paid by Mīr Qâsim helped the Calcutta Council to finance their war in the South. The Nawâb succeeded in establishing a better system of administration. But he came into conflict with the British in Bengal on the question of a privilege i.e. duty-free private trade of the Company's servants: a privilege which had been granted to the Company for its export and import trade by emperor Farrukhsiyar. According to this Imperial *farmân*, the Company had to pay Rs. 3,000 a year and in return could carry on trade duty-free in Bengal. The Company's servants extended this privilege to their own coastal trade, inter-Asian trade and finally the inland trade. This was an obvious usurpation. But Mīr Qâsim and Vansittart, the Governor, proposed a plan which they thought would be a better one. The British private traders were to pay 9 per cent duty, while the Indian merchants, hampered by stoppages, were to pay 40 per cent. The Calcutta Council turned this proposal down. Mīr Qâsim, in the circumstances, remitted all duties on Indians and the British alike for two years. This measure deprived the British private traders of the privileged position they had created for themselves: they could not compete with Indian traders on equal terms. Matters came to a head when Ellis, chief of the Company's factory at Patna, tried to seize the city. This precipitated war. Mīr Qâsim, an excellent civil administrator, was no military leader.

His army was defeated. When he was forced to withdraw to Avadh, the Nawāb Wazīr and emperor Shāh 'Ālam II decided to come to the defence of the eastern *ṣūbas* of the empire. The confederates advanced to Patna, and a battle was fought at Buxar on October 22, 1764. With a decisive victory at Buxar, the British army overran Avadh. The Nawāb Wazīr fled to the Rohilla country, but Shāh 'Ālam II came to terms with the British. Clive also concluded a treaty with the Nawāb Wazīr of Avadh, who was to pay fifty lakhs of rupees for the expenses of the war and was given back his dominions. He entered into a defensive alliance with the Company. Avadh became for the British a buffer state. Shāh 'Ālam II was now a fugitive—Delhi had fallen into the hands of the Rohilla Chief Najību'd-daulah. The British gave Shāh 'Ālam II possession of Korā and Allahābād, while he granted them the *Dīwānī* of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa in reutrn for a regular annual payment of twenty-six lakhs of rupees. Mīr J'afar's son and successor, Najmu'd-daulah, signed a treaty with the Company and became a titled pensioner on fifty-three lakhs of rupees per year, which was subsequently reduced.

Clive did not take over the administration of Bengal; it was left to the Nawāb's *Nā'ib Dīwān* and *Nā'ib Nāẓim*, Muḥammad RiḍāKhān. On him rested the entire responsibility for the civil and criminal administration. He was, however, placed under the superintendence, direction and control of the British Resident at the durbar. Francis Sykes was the first Resident in the new set-up and was succeeded by Edward Becher. In a similar manner Shitab Rai, *Nā'ib Nāẓim* and *Nā'ib Dīwān* in Bihār, worked under the supervision of these successive Residents at Murshidābād.

The Governor and Council at Calcutta had complete control over military and political matters, the Resident at the durbar exercising his functions under their guidance. This system, according to Clive, served to hide the true position from the Dutch, the French, the Danes and other European trading companies in Bengal. Complete control of finance was calculated to make any hostile action like that of Mīr Qāsim impossible. This system of government continued from 1765 to 1772.

Maladministration characterized British rule in Bengal. Divorce of power from responsibility led to grave abuses. There was a persistent attempt at maximizing the revenue. Under the Resident at the durbar the English supervisors were appointed in *Dīwānī* districts in 1769. Direct British administration was in force from 1760 in the ceded districts of Burdwān, Midnapore and Chittagong. A great famine struck Bengal and Bihār in 1770 and swept away one-third of the population. The newly appointed supervisors were accused of intensifying the rigour of the famine by their attempt to corner the grain market in the interest of their private trade. The Court of Directors felt that the assumption of direct responsibility would be an effective cure for misgovernment. Warren

Hastings, who was appointed Governor of Bengal, was asked to take over the administration from Riḍā Khān and Shitab Rai. He did this in 1772.

Under Clive's political system, Shāh 'Ālam II, with his high claims and feeble resources, was a British pensioner at Allahābād. The Marāthās reappeared in Northern India in 1769, recaptured Delhi in 1771 and brought the emperor back to that city. The British political system was to readjust itself to changed circumstances. The settlement of 1765 had made Avadh a buffer state, a possible barrier against a combination of northern powers as also against any Marāthā attack. The second article of the treaty of 1765 with Avadh had laid down that in case of the invasion of the dominion of any one of the parties the other should render help with a part or the whole of its forces. If the Company's forces were employed in the Nawāb Wazīr's service, the expense involved was to be defrayed by him. Nothing was stated about the expense of the Wazīr's troops in the service of the British.

The emperor and the Marāṭhās attacked Ḍābita Khān, son and successor of the Rohilla chief Najību'd-daulah, and captured his strongholds. Other Rohilla chiefs, headed by Hāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, had rallied to his cause. Marāṭhā light horse raided Rohilkhand. Hāfiẓ Raḥmat approached Shujā'u'd-daulah and requested him to bring about a settlement with the Marāṭhās, who demanded a payment of forty lakhs of rupees. An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the Rohillas and Shujā'u'd-daulah; this was approved by the British General, Sir Robert Barker. The Rohilla chiefs agreed to pay forty lakhs of rupees to Shujā'u'd-daulah if he could help them to get rid of the Marāṭhās, who withdrew for the time being on the approach of the rains. Growing Marāthā demands soon led to a struggle with the Mughal emperor. Defeated, he was forced to cede the districts of Korā and Allahābād, which he had obtained from the British in 1765. This new situation brought an appeal from Shujā'u'd-daulah to Warren Hastings. The Marāthās had crossed into the Doāb. As the British crossed the Ganga, the Marāthās withdrew from their post at Ramghat and sent their *wakīls* to meet Shujā'u'd-daulah and the British commandant. Shujā' promised to make the Rohillas pay to the Marāṭhās and on this assurance they left for the Deccan in May, 1773. The murder of Peśwā Nārāyaṇa Rāo in the same year created such complications that they could not reappear in Northern India until 1784. Warren Hastings (1772-1785) now took Korā and Allahābād and sold these districts to Shujā'u'd-daulah for fifty lakhs of rupees. Hastings and the Nawāb Wazīr met at Vārānasi and concluded a treaty in September, 1773. Hastings agreed to help Shujā' in conquering Rohilkhand. The ruler of Avadh was to pay for the assistance and had to accept a British political Resident. But Hāfiẓ Raḥmat was not in a position to make the payment. Shujā' agreed to

pay forty lakhs of rupees to the Company and secured the help he wanted. The battle of Mirānpur Katra on April 23, 1774, was decisive. Rohilkhand was annexed to Avadh; and the dependence of the ruler of Avadh upon the Company was increased. The Yamuna now formed the British frontier.

This was the beginning of the rapid decay of Avadh. On the death of Shujā'u'd-daulah in 1775 a new treaty was concluded with his successor. A regular brigade of the Company's troops was stationed in Avadh after the annexation of Rohilkhand, the Nawāb bearing the expense. A second brigade was added on the same terms in 1777. The Resident's establishment also swelled to a large extent. The financial pressure was hard and the Nawāb's debt mounted to £1,400,000 in 1780. To get this settled, Warren Hastings seized the treasuries as also the *jāgīrs* of the Begums. He justified this drastic action on the ground that he badly needed the money for the expenses of the war with Haidar 'Alī and the Marāṭhās. The expulsion of Chait Singh from Vārānasi was also justified by him on the same ground.

First Maratha War (1775-82). Warren Hastings sought also to intervene in the affairs of the Marāṭhā empire. His idea was to detach Berār and set up in the person of Mādhojī Bhonsle a new Marāṭhā line in the heart of India, a kingdom dependent on the British—another Avadh. With this view he sent Elliot to Nāgpur. But in the meantime the Company's government at Bombay had openly taken up the cause of Raghunātha Rāo (Rāghobā). Warren Hastings, accordingly, asked Elliot to negotiate the passage of a British army through Berār and an alliance in general terms. Elliot died and the negotiations lapsed. Raghunātha Rāo promised to cede Salsette and Bassein, and refrain from entering into alliance with the enemies of the Company. These were the main terms of the Treaty of Surat concluded in 1775. The British in Bombay agreed to help him with 2,500 men in his contest with the confederate Marāṭhā leaders who had taken up the cause of the posthumous son of Nārāyaṇa Rāo. Colonel Keating and Raghunātha Rāo with their troops succeeded in defeating the Poona troops in the plains of Arras in Gujarāt. But all this had been done by the Bombay Government without consulting the superior administration at Calcutta. The Calcutta Council in which the opponents of Warren Hastings were in the majority declared this treaty as "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized and unjust". They sent Colonel Upton to Poona to negotiate with the Marāṭhā ministers who were headed by Nānā Fadnavīs. The Treaty of Purandhar was concluded on March 1, 1776. The English gave up the cause of Raghunātha Rāo who was to receive a pension from Poona, but they were to retain Salsette. The treaty was ineffective. The Bombay Government gave shelter to Raghunātha Rāo. The Court of Directors upheld the Surat Treaty. The war began again. A British army of about 4,000 men

marched to Poona. They were defeated at Talegaon and compelled to sign a convention at Wadgaon in January 1779, by which the British were to surrender all territories taken by the Bombay Government since 1773.

Warren Hastings disavowed the convention. He sent an army from Bengal across Central India under Goddard who captured Ahmadābād on February 15, 1780, and Bassein about the end of the year. But he failed in his attempt to advance to Poona and was compelled to retreat. Another army under Popham was sent by Hastings to help the Rāṇā of Gohad. The Rāṇā's men helped Popham to escalade the strong fort of Gwalior belonging to the Marāṭhā chief Mahādāji Sindia. The Marāṭhā chiefs now expressed their willingness to come to terms with the British. Mahādāji Sindia opened negotiations and a treaty was concluded on May 17, 1782. By this treaty, known as the Treaty of Salbai, the English acquired Salsette but renounced the cause of Rāghobā. Their attempt to create a puppet in Mahārāshtra was thus foiled.

Mysore Wars. In the history of the growth of British power in India the First Marāṭhā War was very closely connected with the Second Anglo-Mysore War. This can be explained only if we review the previous history of Anglo-Mysore relations.

Ḥaidar 'Alī, the ruler of Mysore, was known to be closely connected with the French. He was also in strong opposition to the Marāṭhās because he had taken advantage of their disaster at Pānīpat in 1761 to conquer Marāṭhā territories south of the Tungabhadra. There was enmity between Ḥaidar 'Alī and Muḥammad 'Alī of Arcot, who was even more dependent upon the British than the ruler of Avadh. Ḥaidar 'Alī and the Niẓām (Niẓām 'Alī) joined in an alliance against the British in 1767. The First Anglo-Mysore War lasted from August 1767 to April 1769. Ḥaidar and the Niẓām carried the war into the territory of the Nawāb of Arcot. There was a fierce engagement with the British at Changama and then a battle at Trinomalai. Ḥaidar and Niẓām 'Alī suffered a defeat. The Niẓām withdrew and concluded a treaty with the Madras Government. Ḥaidar now followed a plan of perpetual harassment rather than hazard a battle. He was very strong in cavalry. He succeeded in placing himself between the British army and Madras, and before the British General Smith could reach Madras, he had forced its Government to accept his terms—mutual restitution of conquests and a defensive alliance.

Ḥaidar attached great importance to this defensive alliance which he intended to utilize if the Marāṭhās invaded his territoy. The Marāṭhās, because of Ḥaidar's encroachment on what they regarded as their dependent territory, invaded Mysore and defeated him completely in the battle of Chinkurali (1771). This, however, did not mean a collapse of Ḥaidar's military power. A desolating war continued and in spite of Ḥaidar's repeated requests the Madras Government would not come to his aid:

they felt they could not alienate the Marāṭhās for the sake of Ḥaidar 'Alī. Subsequent developments in Mahārāshtra—the death of Peśwā Mādhava Rāo, the murder of Nārāyaṇa Rāo, the conflict between Raghunātha Rāo and the ministerialist party at Poona—placed Ḥaidar 'Alī in a very advantageous position, and he took advantage of it to push his conquests upto the Tungabhadra, the Marāthās could not prevent him even from annexing the Doāb.

War began between the British and the French in 1778. In spite of Ḥaidar 'Alī's protest a British expedition captured Mahe from where he drew his military supplies. There were frequent frontier disputes from Cuddapah to Dindigul. At this time the Poona Government, on the lookout for allies against the British, wanted to form an alliance with Ḥaidar 'Alī as also with the Nizām. They both agreed to join in a grand alliance. The Bhonsle Rājā of Nāgpur was to attack Bengal, the Niẓām the Northern Circars, and Ḥaidar 'Alī Madras. The Marāthās had their own confrontation. This diplomatic revolution was a very remarkable event in the history of India. But the diplomacy of Hastings also was at work. He won over the Nizām and induced the Bhonsle Rājā of Nāgpur not to advance beyond safe limits. Haidar 'Alī was left to fight it out in the east. He carried the war into the Carnatic and defeated Baillie at Pollilore (Polur) but his forces were routed by Coote at Porto Novo and Sholinghur (1781). In the South, however he succeeded in defeating and capturing Braithwaite at Anegundi (February, 1782) The French under Suffren dominated the Indian Ocean and captured Trincomalee in Ceylon, but they were not in a position to help Ḥaidar 'Alī. His distrust of the Marāṭhās was so great that he had driven the bargain very hard, making them recognize his conquest of all Marāṭhā territories. The Marāṭhās could hardly be his faithful allies in these circumstances, and when they concluded the Treaty of Salbai with the British, Ḥaidar 'Alī was once again left alone. He died on December 7, 1782. His son Tīpū Sulṭān carried on the war against the British and achieved success in Malabār. When news of peace between the French and the English reached India, Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, concluded with Tīpū the Treaty of Mangalore (March 1784) on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests and liberation of prisoners. Warren Hastings was very much opposed to these terms, but he had to accept them. The treaty, under these circumstances, could not but be a 'hollow truce'.

Tīpū attacked Travancore on December 29, 1789. The Rājā was an ally of the Company under the terms of the Treaty of Mangalore. Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) was not a strict non-interventionist and he declared that the attack was an act of war. As the Niẓām and the Marāṭhās were apprehensive of the growing power of Tīpū Sulṭān, they allied themselves with the British. The Third Anglo-Mysore War lasted two years. Cornwallis himself led the campaign when he found that Medows, the British

commandant, had failed to make any headway. He captured Bangalore in March, 1791, but his first attempt to advance to Seringapatam failed. Tīpū's scorched earth policy created a famine in the British camp and Cornwallis had to raise the siege. As he fell back the Marāṭhās joined him with sufficient supplies. The next campaign was more successful. Cornwallis reached the outskirts of Seringapatam and compelled Tīpū Sulṭān to sue for peace. By the Treaty of Seringapatam, concluded on March 19, 1792, Tīpū Sulṭān surrendered half of his territory. The British took Dindigul, the Baramahal, Coorg and Malabār, while the Niẓām and the Marāṭhās extended their territories upto Cuddapah and Tungabhadra respectively.

Sir John Shore (1793-1798) did not deviate from the policy of non-intervention. Like Cornwallis he believed that if the Marāṭhās were left alone they would quarrel among themselves and their power would disintegrate. So there was peace and retrenchment before the next phase of expansion began under Lord Wellesley. In the affairs of Avadh, however, Shore was in favour of active interference. When Āṣafu'd-Daulah of Avadh died in 1797, there were two claimants for succession—S'ādat 'Alī and Wazīr 'Alī. The deceased Nawāb had been in favour of Wazīr 'Alī, but Shore's nominee was S'ādat 'Alī who was made to sign a treaty by which the subsidy paid to the English was increased and Allahābād fort was annexed to the Company's territories.

A series of conquests and annexations began under Wellesley (1798-1805). He formulated the policy of 'subsidiary alliances' and proceeded to make the British power supreme in India. Shore had not intervened when the Marāṭhās attacked the Niẓām in 1795. The Niẓām had been defeated by the Marāṭhā army at Kharda but Peśwā Mādhava Rāo Nārāyaṇa committed suicide which led to disorganization. In these circumstances, it was easy for Wellesley to take action. He persuaded the Niẓām to dismiss the French force at Hyderābād and substitute it with a British detachment; a subsidy of twenty-four lakhs of rupees per annum was to be paid for the maintenance of these troops. Further, the Niẓām was to conduct his foreign policy in accordance with British advice.

Wellesley then turned to Mysore. He wanted Tīpū Sulṭān to give up his friendship with the French. Actually, Tīpū's negotiations with the French could not be dangerous at all to the British with their sea-power. Tīpū was also in correspondence with Zamān Shāh of Kābul, inducing him to invade the Punjab. With the Marāṭhās and the Niẓām to support him in the field of battle, and with his own forces from Madras and Bombay converging, Wellesley declared war on Tīpū in February, 1799. Seringapatam was taken in May 1799. Tīpū Sulṭān died fighting. Wellesley restored the kingdom to the old Hindu Wodeyar dynasty, after appropriating large tracts of it for distribution among the Marāṭhās, the Niẓām and the Company. The new dependant state of Mysore which was now governed by a subsidiary treaty was surrounded on all sides by British territory.

Wellesley continued territorial expansion and annexed the principality of Thanjāvūr by taking advantage of a disputed succession. He annexed the Carnatic in 1801, and concluded a second subsidiary treaty with the Nizām in 1800: the Nizām had to cede his territories south of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra by way of the payment for the subsidiary force. A new treaty was concluded with Avadh in 1801. Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand divisions and a portion of the Ganga-Yamuna Doāb were surrendered. These new territorial divisions were known as the 'ceded districts'. Commutation for the subsidy took the form of territorial cession in Avadh as in Hyderābād. Avadh was no longer a buffer state. The subsidiary treaties and territorial cessions served one good purpose. In the Second Anglo-Marāṭhā War the Company's territories escaped invasion, the ravages of war were kept at a distance from the sources of British wealth and power.

Second Maratha War (1803-5). The sequence of events that led to the war is very clear. The death of two shrewd Marāṭhā statesmen—Mahādājī Sindia in 1794 and Nānā Fadnavīs in 1800—left a void difficult to fill. There was fierce rivalry for power between Daulat Rāo Sindia (successor of Mahādājī Sindia) and Jaswant Rāo Holkar (who succeeded Tukojī Holkar in 1797). Both tried to secure ascendancy at Poona. In 1802, Holkar succeeded in defeating the troops of the Peśwā and Sindia almost within sight of Poona. Thereupon Bajī Rao II fled to Bassein and concluded a subsidiary alliance with the British on December 31, 1802. He was to receive a subsidiary force of not less than 6,000 and was to assign districts yielding twenty-six lakhs of rupees for its maintenance. The British were to control his foreign relations. He thus sacrificed his independence and received British protection. British troops restored him to Poona, and Holkar withdrew.

So the Marāṭhā Confederacy was threatened with dissolution. Sindia and the Bhonsle Rājā of Nāgpur decided to face this new situation while Holkar remained watchful. General Arthur Wellesley in the South and Lord Lake in the north fought the armies of the two Marāṭhā chiefs. General Wellesley defeated the combined armies of Sindia and Bhonsle at Assaye in September, 1803. The Bhonsle Rājā precipitately withdrew and was defeated again by General Wellesley at Argaon in November. The Treaty of Deogaon was signed in the following month. Bhonsle ceded the province of Cuttack along with certain other territories and agreed to receive a subsidiary force. Sindia's French trained army was defeated by Lord Lake at Alīgarh and at Delhi and finally at Laswāri. He concluded the Treaty of Surji Arjungaon ceding to the British the Ganga-Yamuna Doāb territories as also Ahmadnagar and Broach and giving up all his claims on the Mughal emperor, the Peśwā, the Nizām and Gāikwār. By another treaty concluded in 1804, Sindia agreed to have a subsidiary alliance under the Company's overlordship.

Holkar now declared war and almost succeeded in overwhelming Colonel Monson at the Mukandwara Pass. The Rājā of Bharatpur rallied to Holkar's support. But Holkar's army was defeated by Frazer at Dīg and Lake at Farrukhābād in November, 1804. His capital Indore was captured. Lake next attacked Bharatpur, but four successive assaults failed and he had to make peace with the Jāṭ chief. Holkar fled to the Punjab. It should be noted here that when Lord Lake entered Delhi in September, 1803, Shāh 'Ālam II placed himself under British protection. Wellesley made no separate treaty with him, but provision in the form of a pension was made for him and his successor's maintenance.

Non-Intervention (1803-1813). But the pace of British expansion was perhaps too fast. The defeat of Monson and the failure at Bharatpur made the authorities in England feel that empire building was going too fast. Wellesley was recalled and Lord Cornwallis (1805) was sent for the second time to pursue the policy of non-intervention. While he could not undo the work of Wellesley with regard tothe Niẓām, Avadh, Mysore and the Peśwā, he tried to conciliate Sindia by restoring Gwalior, Gohad and territories to the west of the Yamuna with the exception of Āgra. Cornwallis died in 1805. Sir George Barlow who became his temporary successor (1805-1807) concluded a treaty with Sindia which recognized the Chambal as the British Indian frontier. Holkar was conciliated by the restoration of his territory and was given a free hand in Rājputānā.

Lord Minto came as Governor-General in 1807. His administration (1807-1813) coincided with the Napoleonic wars in Europe. He established friendly relations with Īrān and Afghānistān. One noticeable act of Minto was the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809 with Ranjit Singh. It checked Ranjit Singh's advance eastward and put a stop to his attempts to bring cis-Sutlej Punjab under his control. Minto thus pushed the frontier of British India from the Yamuna to the Sutlej.

Third Maratha War (1817-1819). Lord Hastings succeeded Minto in 1813 and continued until 1823. The Peśwā was restless under the British yoke. He was compelled to sign a new treaty in June 1817, by which he had to give up the headship of the Marāṭhā Confederacy and he was to conduct relations with other states through the British Resident. He had also to cede the Konkan and his rights in Mālwa, Bundelkhand and in Northern India. However he was not ready to accept such a humiliating treaty as perpetually binding upon him. Appa Sahib, Regent at Nāgpur, likewise concluded a humiliating subsidiary treaty.

The Pindari chiefs, Karim Khan, Amir Khan, Chitu and others who had attended Marāṭhā armies, were devastating Mālwa and Rājputānā. They now entered into the British territories in search of fresh fields and pastures and provoked a war with them. Hastings collected an army of 1,13,000 and drove the Pindari chiefs out of their lairs in 1817-18. Karim Khan surrendered and was granted an estate. Amir Khan was

assigned Tonk in Rājputānā. Chitu took shelter in a jungle where he was killed by a tiger. The rest of them joined the standard of Peśwā Baji Rao.

The Pindari War of Hastings was consequently merged in the Third Anglo-Marāṭhā War. Daulat Rao Sindia was induced to conclude a new treaty with the British in 1817. He gave the British the right of entering into treaty relations with the Rājpūt states on the left bank of the Chambal. The Peśwā burnt down the British Residency. The British detachment was reinforced and Poona was occupied. Appa Sahib of Nāgpur organized resistance, but his troops were defeated at Sītābaldī Hills and Nāgpur. Malhar Rao Holkar II was defeated at Mehidpur. The Peśwā's army was finally defeated at Āshti. He surrendered to the British on June 18, 1818. Thus all Marāṭhā opposition to the British power ended. A new settlement was made with the Marāṭhā chiefs. The Peśwā surrendered his name and authority for ever, and in return was given eight lakhs of rupees as pension and made to retire to Bithūr near Kānpur. A small district was, however, reserved at Sātāra for the descendant of Śivājī as the Rājā of Sātāra. The remaining portions of the Peśwā's territory were annexed to the Presidency of Bombay. The Bhonsle state of Nāgpur disappeared. British supremacy was established in Rājputānā. Separate treaties were concluded with Mewār, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and other Rājpūt states. Central India also was thus brought under British control.

The Anglo-Nepalese War, which was caused largely by frontier incidents, lasted from 1814 to 1816. Ochterlony's victory at Makwanpur in February, 1816, led to the conclusion of the treaty of Sagauli. The Nepāl ruler gave up his claims to Sikkim, ceded the disputed Tarai tracts, and received a Resident at Kātmāndu. Thus the northern frontier was given settled limits.

Internal wars were over. British sovereignty was now established in India. Only the Punjab frontier remained open.

2. Consolidation of British Rule (1818-1858)

The year 1818 is an important landmark in the history of India, for the map of India, as drawn by Lord Hastings, remained substantially unchanged until the time of Lord Dalhousie. By 1818 the greater part of India, extending from the Sutlej to the Brahmaputra and from the Himālayas to Kanniyākumāri, had been brought under British control. There, however, remained the problem of securing effective control over the western and eastern frontiers of India. Control over the western frontier was secured by annexing Sind and the Punjab and by making Aghānistān a buffer state between the British and Russian empires. Control

over the eastern frontier was to be secured by annexing Lower Burma and by establishing British authority over Assam, Manipur, Cāohār and Jaintia. In addition, the process of political unification of the country was to be hastened by annexing some of the problem states. An attempt was also to be made to consolidate British power in India by carrying out far-reaching reforms, such as the encouragement of English language, the abolition of *Sati*, the suppression of thuggee etc. on the eastern frontier, war between Burma and British India lay in the logic of history, for it was of vital importance to both the countries to secure control over the frontier by annexing Assam, Manipur and other border states. Slowly but almost inevitably events moved to a crisis and led to the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826).

Border Disputes. The Burmese conquest of Arakan in 1785 had brought Burma for the first time into direct contact with Chittagong and led to border disputes. Thousands of Arakanese fled to Chittagong. Burmese forces sometimes entered British territory in pursuit of Arakanese rebels. The influx of refugees was great, especially in 1787, 1794 and 1798. The Burmese asked the British authorities to expel them, a demand which was difficult to concede. Attempts were made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of these border disputes. The British Government sent envoys to Burma—Captain Symes in 1795 and again in 1802; Captain Cox in 1797; and Captain Canning in 1803, 1809 and 1811. These missions proved unsuccessful—as the envoys were not treated well—but there was an easing of the tension. Unfortunately in 1811 the Arakanese refugees from Chittagong invaded Arakan in large numbers. The Burmese now became more aggressive and tried to bring Manipur and Assam under their control.

Manipur. In 1764 Burmese forces invaded Manipur and its ruler Jai Singh (1764-1788), fled to Assam. He regained his throne three years later but was driven out again in 1770. The see-saw struggle continued until the Burmese finally pushed into Manipur (1782) and compelled Jai Singh to submit. When Jai Singh abdicated in 1788 there were fierce disputes about the succession to the throne. The victory of Kaurajit led the rivāl Marjit, to seek Burmese help. He agreed to renounce Manipur's claim over the Kubo Valley and acknowledge Burma's suzerainty. He occupied Manipur in 1812-13 but he was driven out six years later, and the kingdom was annexed to Burma.

Assam. In 1817, taking advantage of internal dissensions in Assam, Burmese forces invaded the country and placed Chandrakanta on the throne. When he was deposed by some of the chiefs and replaced by Purandar, the Burmese invaded Assam again (1819) and Chandrakanta was reinstated. He soon tried to shake off Burmese control and that led to hostilities (1821). Next year Bandula, the Burmese general, conqured Assam and it became part of Burma.

First Burmese War (1824-26). The Government of India under Lord Amherst (1823-1828) was alarmed at the Burmese conquest of Assam and Manipur. In September, 1823, the Burmese attacked the island of Shâhpuri near Chittagong, belonging to the Company, and made hostile moves on the Company's territories in Bengal. Lord Amherst declared war on February 24, 1824. Great difficulty was experienced in conducting operations because of the pestilential nature of the terrain. One expedition with gunboats proceeded up the Brahmaputra into Assam. Another marched by land through Chittagong into Arakan, as the Bengal sepoys refused to go by sea. A third and the strongest sailed from Madras direct to the mouth of the Irrawaddy. The war dragged on for more than two years. Rangoon fell on May 11, 1824, and Prome (the capital of Lower Burma) on April 25, 1825. Hostilities were ended by the Treaty of Yandaboo concluded on February 24, 1826. By this treaty the King of Ava agreed to cede the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British, give up all claims to Assam, abstain from interference in Câchâr and Jaintia, recognize the independence of Manipur, enter into a commercial treaty, agree to the appointment of a British Resident at Ava, and pay an indemnity of a crore of rupees. The King of Ava still retained the whole valley of the Irrawaddy down to the sea at Rangoon.

Second Burmese War (1852). Under Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856) the Second Burmese War was fought in sharp contrast to the First. While the First had been provoked by military threats and the aggressive policy of the Burmese, the Second Burmese War was the result of ill-treatment of some European merchants at Rangoon and insults heaped on the captain of a British frigate who had been sent to remonstrate. Lord Dalhousie's thorough-going preparations for the campaign yielded good results. The lower valley of the Irrawaddy, from Rangoon to Prome, was occupied in a few months and as the King of Ava refused to enter into negotiations, it was annexed by proclamation on December 20, 1852, under the name of Pegu.

North-West Frontier. The British secured control over India's eastern border provinces in the two Burmese Wars. The defence of the territories in north-west, however, proved to be a more difficult problem. Beyond and to the west of the British frontier line along the Sutlej in 1809 lay, almost on parallel lines, one behind the other, the powerful Sikh kingdom of the Punjab, the principality of Sind and the unchartered country of Afghânistân.

Of all these Afghânistân was of great strategic importance. The Government of India, therefore, could not afford to have a hostile *Amir* in Afghânistân. It was, therefore, safe for India to convert Afghânistân into a buffer state. The Russian borders adjoined Irân's northern frontier, and, as a great land-power, Russia could create serious difficulties for Irân. On the other hand, Great Britain was a great sea-power and her navy

could land troops at any time in south Īrān, on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Thus Īrān was subjected to pressure from Russia in the north and Great Britain in the south. Great Britain tried to gain influence in Īrān by making the Treaty of Tehran in 1809 (revised in 1814); she agreed to help Īrān with men or money against any European invader. Unfortunately, however, no help came in the war which broke out between Russia and Īrān in 1826; Īrān was forced to accept a treaty on humiliating terms. Russia hoped to control Central Asia through Īrān. The British Government's fears of Russian designs on Afghānistān and Central Asia naturally increased. When Īrān laid siege to Herāt in 1837, Lord Auckland (1836-1842) was asked by Lord Palmerston to stop the impending danger to the British empire. Alexander Burnes was accordingly sent to negotiate with Dost Muhammad. But his mission failed as Peshāwar, claimed by the *Amīr* could not be given to him without offending Ranjit Singh.

It is necessery, for a clearer understanding of Auckland's awkward situation, to refer to the events in Turkey and their relation to the events narrated above.

In Turkey also Russia was able to gain a great deal of influence because of certain circumstances. Mehmet Ali, the ambitious ruler of Egypt, defeated Turkish forces in 1832. The Turks appealed to Russia for help. By the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (1833) Russia practically established a protectorate over Turkey. This was a great diplomatic triumph for Russia. It alarmed Great Britain and other European powers. Lord Palmerston's diplomatic counter-offensive led to the Treaty of London (1840-41), which sought the gradual replacement of Russian influence in Turkey by British. Henceforth, it was a primary aim of British foreign policy to support Turkey against Russia. "It is in the interaction of British policy towards Russia in the Near and Middle East that the explanation of much that happended in the two Afghān Wars is to be found." The two powers—one a great land-power and the other a great sea-power—were in a position to throw each other into a state of alarm.

This problem was further complicated by Afghānistān's border disputes on her east with the Punjab. Peshāwar was the bone of contention between them. Ranjit Singh had conquered Peshāwar in 1834, but the Afghāns were determined to recover it.

By the Tripartite Treaty of June 26, 1838, Dost Muhammad was to be overthrown and Shah Shuja, an Afghān prince living in exile, at Ludhiāna was to be placed on the throne of Afghānistān with the Sikh military and British financial support. When Lord Auckland found that Ranjit Singh was not keeping his promise, he decided that the British should undertake the military duty also. This decision was justified in a letter to the Court of Directors (August 13, 1838).

First Afghan War. The British army crossed the Bolan Pass and captured Kandahár, Ghazni and Kâbul (1839). Shah Shuja was enthroned. His rule, however, proved to be unpopular. The Afghâns rose in revolt. The British envoy Sir Alexander Burnes and his predecesser Sir William Macnaghten were both murdered and the retreating British Indian army perished in the defiles of Afghânistân. Lord Ellenborough (1842-1844) took energetic steps to restore British authority in. Afghânistân. Two forces converged on Kâbul—one from Jalâlâbâd and the other from Kandahâr—and Kâbul was captured. Then the British forces withdrew leaving Dost Muhammad to take possession of his throne. He proved to be a capable ruler and maintained friendly relations with the British Government.

Repercussions of the Anglo-Afghan War. "The conquest of Sind followed in the wake of the Afghân War and was morally and politically its sequel." When the First Afghân War broke out in 1838, the British augmented their power in Sind. Since Ranjit Singh did not permit the British forces to pass through his kingdom, the only alternative for them was to move across Sind, but the Treaty of 1832 (renewed in 1834) forbade the passage of armed vessels or military stores. British decision was to violate those terms. The *Amirs* were informed that the prohibiting article of the treaty would remain suspended so long as the emergency lasted. That was not all. The British decided that the *Amirs* must also help them financially in the war effort, and a demand was made accordingly for a large sum of money in commutation of Shah Shuja's claims for tribute. The plain fact that the *Amirs* had ceased to pay this tribute to Shah Shuja for the past thirty years was simply ignored. The *Amirs* even produced documents to prove that Shah Shuja had given up his claims in 1833. But the British compelled the *Amirs* to agree to their unreasonable demand. Further, the British insisted on a new treaty by which their hold on Sind would be strengthened. The reluctant *Amirs* were cowed down by the threat of military action and accepted the new terms (1839). Henceforth, they had to bear the obligation of paying three lakhs of rupees a year for a British subsidiary force to be kept in Sind.

Conquest of Sind (1843). In September, 1842, Sir Charles Napier was sent to Sind as commander of the British forces with full civil, political and military powers. He told the *Amirs* that he was convinced that the charges of disloyalty against them during the Afghân War were well founded. So the treaty with them must be revised, and that would mean cession of territory, provision of fuel for steamers on the Indus, and the loss of the right of coinage. Before the *Amirs* could indicate their assent to these terms, Napier acted as if they had refused them. He razed the fortress of Imamgarh to the ground. Under the threat of war, the *Amirs* hastened to accept the demands. But their patience was exhausted and they rose in revolt. Defeated at Miâni on February 17, 1843, they were exiled and

Sind was annexed. The British treatment of the *Amīrs* was high-handed. Outram condemned it; so did the Court of Directors. Even Napier had frankly admitted: "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so and a very advantageous, useful humane piece of rascality it will be."

Punjab. Ranjit Singh, the founder of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab, was a capable ruler and a great statesman. He had seized Lahore in 1799 and made it his capital, and from that point he had extended his conquests to Multān in the south, Peshāwar in the west and Kashmīr in the north. On the east, however, he was hemmed in by the Sutlej: the authority of the British had already advanced upto that river. When he died on June 27, 1839, he left no successor capable of wielding his sceptre. Lahore was torn by dissensions. When the civil government was paralyzed, the army emerged triumphant with disastrous consequences. The process of disintegration of the kingdom started when Kharak Singh, the successor of Ranjit Singh and his only son Naunihal Singh were killed in 1840. There followed a disputed succession to the throne. Chand Kaur, widow of Kharak Singh, was helped by the Sandhanwalia chiefs, while prince Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, was supported by the powerful minister, Dhyan Singh. Both parties sought the help of the British Government, promising in return cession of valuable territory. A compromise was, however, made by which an interim government was set up with Chand Kaur as the Regent assisted by a council of ministers. Dhyan Singh and Sher Singh did not like the arrangement, and secured the support of the army by lavish promises of reward. They regained power but at a terrible price: the army went out of control since the government was unable to meet its demands. Power passed into the hands of 'military *pañcāyats*' or elective committees. The civil government was weak and helpless. Then tragic events followed in quick succession. The Sandhanwalia chiefs staged a *coup d'etat* and murdered Sher Singh and Dhyan Singh in 1843, but they in their turn were exterminated by Hira Singh, the son of Dhyan Singh. Hira Singh, who had seized power by lavish inducements to the army, failed to make good his promises. He lost his life on December 21, 1844, in a conspiracy organized by Jawahar Singh, brother of Rānī Jindan, the widow of Ranjit Singh. The Rānī now ruled the Punjab with the help of her brother and her advisers, Lal Singh and Tej Singh. But the real ruling authority was the army. The army and the civil government were working at cross-purposes. The army favoured the claims of prince Peshawara Singh as against those of Dalip Singh, the infant son of Rānī Jindan. Jawahar Singh, her brother, brought about the murder of Peshawara Singh; the result was that he was tried by the 'military *pañcāyats*' and executed on September 21, 1845. Rānī Jindan became alarmed at the growing power of the army and thought that it would perhaps be expedient to declare a war against the British. The British Government, ever watchful and alert, was ready for the trial of strength with the Khālsā army.

First Sikh War (1845-46). A leaderless army went to its doom with undaunted courage and *elan*—such an example is rare in history. When the First Sikh War with the British began in December 1845, the Khālsā army under Tej Singh crossed the Sutlej and swung into position for an attack on the small, isolated British force under Littler at Ferozepore. The other British detachments were still far away, at Ludhiāna and Ambāla respectively. A vigorous offensive would have yielded good results. The Sikhs fought bravely but they lacked good leadership, and were defeated at Mudki (December 18, 1845), Ferozeshah (December 21, 1845), Aliwal (January 28, 1846), and Sobraon (February 10, 1846).

When Lahore surrendered to the British, Lord Hardinge (1844-1848), declined to annex the kingdom. By the Treaty of Lahore (March, 1846) Dalip Singh, the infant son of Ranjit Singh, was recognized as Rājā; the Jullundur Doāb, or tract between the Sutlej and the Beās, was added to British territory; the Sikh army was limited to a specified number; a British Resident was appointed to assist the Sikh 'Council of Regency' at Lahore with Rānī Jindan as Regent and Lal Singh as Wazīr; a British force was sent to garrison the Punjab on behalf of the child-Rājā; and a heavy war indemnity of one and half crores of rupees was imposed on the Lahore durbar. Half a crore of rupees was paid, and in lieu of the balance the Lahore durbar offered to cede Kashmīr. By a separate treaty, the territory forming the Jammu and Kashmīr state was handed over to Gulab Singh in return for 75 lakhs of rupees. The Governor of Kashmīr refused to surrender the territory, but the revolt was put down. Lal Singh was tried for complicity in the revolt, found guilty and exiled. A few months later by the Treaty of Bhirowal (December, 1846), Rānī Jindan was deprived of all power and the administration was to be carried on by a 'Council of Regency' composed of eight leading chiefs under the virtual dictatorship of the British Resident.

Second Sikh War (1848-49). The British now had a firm grip over the Punjab. It was only a question of time before even the semblance of independence of the Lahore durbar was wiped out. Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856) had been barely six months in India when the Second Sikh War broke out. Events had moved fast towards a crisis. Rānī Jindan had been removed from Lahore to Shékhūpura on a charge of conspiracy against the British Resident. The disbanded Sikh soldiers were restive. The leading chiefs, Chatar Singh, Governor of Hazāra and his son Sher Singh, became hostile: this was due to the Resident's reluctance to permit the marriage of Dalip Singh with the daughter of Chatar Singh. In 1848, the storm burst. Dīwān Mulraj, Governor of Multān, failed to comply with the finanacial demands of the Lahore durbar and resigned. Two British officers, who accompanied Kahan Singh, the successor of Mulraj, were assassinated at Multān. The British army was not ready to act in the hot season. During this interim period the revolt at Multān assumed formidable proportions,

especially after Sher Singh who had been sent by the Resident with a large army to Multân left the British camp on September 14, 1848. The Khâlsâ army again came together and once more fought on even terms with the British. At the battle of Chiliânwâla (January 13, 1849), the Sikh soldiers covered themselves with glory. It was a drawn battle. The British claimed victory, having stormed the batteries and captured the guns. The Sikhs also claimed victory; they had not only repulsed British attacks but compelled the enemy to abandon the battlefield. Before reinforcements could come over from England, with Sir Charles Napier as Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough restored his reputation by the victory of Gujrât (February 21, 1849), which destroyed the Sikh army. Multân had already been captured on January 22, 1849, and the Afghân cavalry under Dost Muhammad, an ally of the Sikhs, had been chased back to their native hills. The Punjab, annexed by proclamation (March 29, 1849), became a British province—a virgin field for the administrative talents of Dalhousie and the two Lawrences, Henry and John.

Indian States: Besides rounding off the territories and securing the frontiers of the Company's territories as far as practicable, steps were taken to consolidate the British power in India by either annexing the incorrigible states or placing British Commissioners over the erring ones. A disputed succession in Bharatpur led to British intervention. In January, 1826, Lord Amherst put down the pretender and restored the *status quo*. Lord William Bentinck placed Mysore under a British Commission in October, 1831, believing that it was being misgoverned. It was too late when he realized the mistake. Mysore continued under British administration till 1881 and emerged as a model state on rendition. Coorg was annexed in May, 1834 due to the misrule of the Râjâ. The principality of Câchâr was annexed in 1832 and Jaintia in Assam was incorporated into the British empire in 1835 to save it from maladministration. Lord Ellenborough curbed the military strength of Sindia and placed the state under British protection during the Râjâ's minority. In 1843, a dispute regarding the regency in Gwalior resulted in a war against the rebellious state army. Peace was restored after it was defeated in the battles of Mahârâjpur and Panniar.

Doctrine of Lapse. Lord Dalhousie followed vigorously the policy of annexing feudatory states by what is commonly known as the Doctrine of Lapse. He was convinced that British administration was better for the people than the rule of the Indian Râjâs. Accordingly, he regarded them as anomalies, to be abolished by every possible means. He further believed that good faith must be kept with rulers on the throne and with their legitimate heirs while no sentiment should save the dynasties which had forfeited sympathy by generations of misrule nor preserve those that had no hereditary successor. The Doctrine of Lapse was the outcome of these principles, complicated by the Hindu law and practice of adoption.

Dalhousie held that the state of a ruler could not pass to a son adopted without the consent of the suzerain. Such consent, at the same time, would not be easily given. For in his mind the benefits to be conferred through British administration upon the state subjects weighed heavier in the scale of their happiness than the right of the adopted son to inherit and 'misrule' the state. The Doctrine of Lapse, which had been recognized as early as 1834, thus became a powerful instrument in Dalhousie's hands for hastening the process of political unification and administrative consolidation of the country under British rule.

Sātāra was the first of the important states that escheated to the British Government in 1848. Dalhousie claimed that it had been created by Lord Hastings on the downfall of the Peśwā in 1818, and, therefore, he declared that when the Rājā of Sātāra, the last lineal representative of Śivājī, died without a male heir in 1848, his death-bed adoption of a son without the consent of the British would not be accepted. The independence of the Rājpūt state of Karauli was continued by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, who drew a clear distinction between a dependent principality and a protected ally and held that in Karauli ancient custom must continue. In 1853, Jhānsi and Nāgpur (1854) suffered the same fate as Sātāra and when Baji Rao, the ex-Peśwā, died his pension of Rs. 8,00,000 lapsed to the state. His adopted son, Nana Sahib, was not allowed to draw it. The Nawāb of Carnatic died in the same year; his rank and pension were abolished as in the case of Thanjāvūr. The same principle was applied to Jaitpur, Sambalpur, Bāghāt and Udaipur between 1849-1852. Dalhousie further notified that on the death of emperor Bahadur Shah, his heir must quit Delhi and retire from power with a pension and an honorary title. In 1853, British administration was extended to Berār which the Nizam of Hyderābād handed over temporarily to the British Government in lieu of the arrears of his subsidy as also for the expense of the Hyderābād subsidiary contingent. All these were extremely drastic measures and bound to recoil like a boomerang.

Annexation of Avadh (1856). The most conspicuous of all Dalhousie's annexations was that of the kingdom of Avadh on grounds of maladministration. Ever since the Nawāb Wazir, Shujā'u'd-daulah received back his forfeited territories from the hands of Lord Clive in 1765, the existence of his dynasty had depended on the protection of British bayonets. Guarded alike from foreign invasion and from dynastic rebellion, the Nawābs had lost their grip over administration. Degeneration was inevitable under a system which conferred on the ruler power without responsibility. Lord William Bentinck in 1831 and Lord Hardinge in 1847 had warned the Nawābs (who had assumed the title of Shāh or King since 1819) that they must put their house in order. Colonel Sleeman in 1851 and Colonel Outram in 1855 reported on the deplorable conditions in Avadh. A strong case could, therefore, be made out for the annexation of Avadh on grounds

of misrule. But Dalhousie could not ignore the steadfast loyalty of the Nawābs to the British Government. Moreover, annexation would mean the repudiation of the treaty of 1837. By this treaty the British Government could not annex Avadh even if its ruler failed to carry out reforms; but they could take over the administration, allowing the king to retain nominal sovereignty, i.e., palace, rank and titles. This treaty gave rise to a great deal of misunderstanding. Even though the Court of Directors had not approved of it, Lord Auckland had informed the king of the disallowance of only one clause. Moreover, the treaty was included in a subsequent government publication and, what is more surprising, it was referred to as still in force by succeeding Governors-General. So the kings of Avadh regarded the treaty as extant. Dalhousie felt that in the circumstances it would not be advisable to annex Avadh. As an alternative, he was in favour of taking over the administration and leaving to the king his nominal sovereignty. But he was overruled by the Home authorities who decided on annexation. General Outram, Resident at the Court of Lucknow, failed in his effort to induce king Wajid Ali Shah to abdicate. Avadh was annexed in February, 1856. Wajid Ali was brought to Calcutta and was given a generous pension. The annexation of Avadh, involving as it did the repudiation of a solemn treaty, excited public feeling and was one of the main causes of the Great Revolt of 1857.

Revolt of 1857. Though some far-sighted Englishmen, notably Sir Henry Lawrence, had given warnings of the coming storm, the British Government was completely taken by surprise at the outbreak of the Great Revolt in May, 1857. The Revolt was due to many causes; of these the most important undoubtedly was the discontent of the sepoys of the Bengal army. A sepoy became a non-commissioned officer after twenty years of service and a commissioned officer at the age of about fifty-five. The highest post that he could reach was that of Subedar-Major or Risaldar-Major. Such unfavourable terms of service could neither evoke loyalty nor produce any sense of discipline in the sepoy army. Sir Henry Lawrence had the foresight to strike a note of warning against this system: "The question is only whether justice is to be gracefully conceded or violently seized."

Caste Prejudices. The high caste Brāhmaṇas and Rājpūts of Avadh, North-Western Provinces and Bihār (present Uttar Pradesh and Bihār), who were recruited in large numbers to the Bengal army, were very particular in observing their caste rules and regulations. Even while camping they would have their own separate cooking pots and *loṭās*. When, during the Sikh Wars, Sir Harry Smith lost his baggage and the three regiments under his command lost their *loṭās* and cooking pots, the sepoys preferred to remain hungry for twenty-four hours rather than partake of the meals prepared by men of other castes. No wonder that the sepoys had a horror of *kālā pānī*, sea voyage, regarded as defilement. In 1824, the 47th Regiment refused to serve in Burma and was disbanded. Again, the 38th Regiment

refused to serve in Burma in 1852. That explains why the sepoys particularly resented the passing in 1856 of the General Service Enlistment Act by which every recruit had to serve wherever required and not in India alone. They also resented the government order which stopped the practice of sepoys being invalidated after fifteen years' service. According to the new rule a sepoy was not permitted to retire on invalid pension but was retained with the colours and employed on ordinary cantonment duty. The sepoy had thus to serve in the army for a longer period and, if necessary, outside India. These two fundamental changes in the rules of recruitment created sharp discontent.

Faulty Disposition of Troops. Some British historians have expressed the view that one of the causes of the Great Revolt of 1857 was the disparity in numbers between European and Indian troops (2,33,000 Indian and 45,322 British soldiers) and the faulty distribution of troops. They have pointed out that Delhi and Allahābād were held by sepoys and, except for some British troops at Dānāpur, there were no British soldiers between Allahābād and Calcutta. It is true that the disparity in numbers and the faulty deployment of troops facilitated the spread of the Revolt, but then this could hardly be regarded as one of its causes. The main impulse for the revolt sprang from the growing momentum of discontent.

Dalhousie's Annexations. More than anything else, it was the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie which created widespread resentment. One by one the petty states as well as powerful independent kingdoms were swept away and absorbed into the British empire in India: the Punjab and Lower Burma by the right of conquest; Avadh on the plea of maladministration; and Jhānsi, Sātāra, Nāgpur, etc., by the Doctrine of Lapse. Dalhousie refused to grant to Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the Peśwā, the pension of rupees 8 lakhs on the death of Peśwā Baji Rao. Perhaps Dalhousie aimed at the political unification of the country. Nevertheless, the pace of conquests and annexations was so rapid that it created uneasiness in the minds of Indians. Dalhousie raised a hornet's nest for he alienated powerful vested interests.

Economic Factors. It has been rightly stated that "every annexation of a native state not only deposed a reigning house but still further limited the rapidly narrowing field in which men of Indian race could display their political and administrative talents." Land-owners were antagonized by Lord Bentinck's resumption of rent-free tenures; due to this measure, the landlords who had lost their title-deeds were deprived of their estates. The proceedings of the Inam Commission at Bombay (set up to enquire into rent-free tenures), resulted in the confiscation of 20,000 estates. A further blow came from the strict enquiry made by Coverly Jackson, the Chief Commissioner of Avadh, into the titles of the *taluqdārs*, the hereditary revenue collectors of Avadh.

Greased Cartridges. In this critical state of affairs, a rumour ran

through the sepoy army that the cartridges served out to the Bengal Regiments had been greased with the fat of cows, the sacred animal of the Hindus, and the lard of pigs, regarded as unclean by the Muslims. There is evidence that a disastrous blunder had really been made in this regard. The blunder was quickly remedied, but it was already too late. The Hindus and Muslims alike were convinced that it was a deliberate attempt of the British Government to hurt their religious feelings.

On May 10, 1857, three native regiments mutinied at Meerut (the largest military station in Northern India) and marched to Delhi where more sepoys joined them. They proclaimed Bahadur Shah, the titular king of Delhi, as the emperor of India. Once more the Mughal flag fluttered on the ramparts of the Red Fort. A rallying centre and a traditional name were thus given to the Revolt, which now spread like wild fire through Avadh, the North-Western Provinces, and Bihār. Beginning as a revolt of the army the movement soon developed into a war to rid the country of its foreign rulers.

The main interest of the war centres on the cities of Kānpur, Lucknow, Delhi, Jhānsi and Gwalior. Kānpur contained one of the great native garrisons of India. At Bithūr, not far off (about 20 km.), was the palace of Nana Sahib, the heir of the last Peśwā. When the sepoys at Kānpur revolted on June 4, Nana Sahib came forward to assume the leadership. The Europeans shut themselves in an entrenchment which bore a siege for nineteen days. Tatya Tope, the military adviser of Nana Sahib, showed skill and energy in launching attacks. On June 27, the Europeans surrendered and were permitted to leave for Allahābād under a safe conduct, but were treacherously murdered.

Sir Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Avadh, had foreseen the storm. He fortified and provisioned the Residency at Lucknow and retired there with all the European inhabitants and a weak British regiment. On July 2, he was wounded by a shell and died two days later. The garrison held out against enormous odds. The sepoys in large numbers rallied to the support of the Begum of Avadh, but they could not capture the Residency. Meanwhile a small British force had secured Allahābād enabling Major-General Havelock to advance at the head of a large force on July 7 for the recapture of Kānpur. After a series of engagements Kānpur was taken on July 17. On July 25, Havelock advanced from Kānpur for the relief of the Residency. The advance was checked by strong opposition at Unnāo and Bashirat Ganj; Tatya Tope threatened Kānpur again; the three regiments at Dānāpur mutinied and tried to cut the British lines of communication. Havelock, however, overcame these difficulties. He defeated Tatya Tope's troops at Bithūr on August 16. Tatya Tope escaped to Kālpi, where he soon gathered many recruits. A large force led by Havelock and Outram stormed its way into the Residency at Lucknow on September 25. But this relieving force was itself invested by fresh swarms

of sepoys. Lucknow was not relieved, it was only strengthened.

Meanwhile, British troops had advanced from Ambâla and Meerut and taken up position on the Ridge on June 8 to begin the siege of Delhi. Sepoys, who had flocked to Delhi in large numbers, launched many fierce attacks, but failed to dislodge the British troops on the Ridge. The British had one great advantage in their firm grip over the Punjab, which became an admirable base of operations for the capture of Delhi. In the Punjab the revolt had been met by swift anticipated measures of repression and disarmament, carried out by Sir John Lawrence and his lieutenants—Herbert Edwardes and John Nicholson. In the middle of August, Nicholson arrived with reinforcements from the Punjab. On September 14, the assault was launched and after six days' desperate fighting Delhi was recaptured. Nicholson fell at the head of the storming party. The sons of Bahadur Shah were shot dead by Major Hodson, while the old Mughal emperor, after a trial of doubtful legality, was sent as a state prisoner to Rangoon, where he lived till 1862.

The interest of the story now shifts to Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell cut his way into Lucknow and effected the final deliverance of the garrison on November 17. Tatya Tope then carried out his famous counter-offensive. At the head of a large force, composed mainly of the Gwalior contingent, he swooped down from Kâlpi on Kânpur and routed the British troops commanded by Major-General Wyndham. He could not reap the fruits of victory: Sir Colin Campbell rushed down from Lucknow in time to save Kânpur and to defeat Tatya Tope's troops on December 6. Sir Colin Campbell then regrouped his forces and finally reoccupied Lucknow in March, 1858.

Meanwhile, Sir Hugh Rose with an army from Bombay was conducting a vigorous campaign in Central India. His most formidable antagonists were the Rânî of Jhânsi and Tatya Tope. Sir Hugh Rose laid siege to Jhânsi on March 22. A large force led by Tatya Tope advanced from Charkhari for the relief of Jhânsi, but was defeated at the battle of the Betwa on April 1, 1858. After a desperate resistence, the Rânî left Jhânsi on April 4. She suffered further reverses at Kûnch (May 7) and Kâlpi (May 22).

At a time when the Rânî's fortunes were at the lowest ebb there took place a dramatic turn of events. The soldiers of Sindia went over to her side and she entrenched herself in the strong fort of Gwalior. Her triumph was short lived. Sir Hugh Rose recaptured Gwalior on June 20. The Rânî gave her life, fighting bravely at the head of her troops.

All this time the struggle had been gaining in intensity in Avadh. The people of Avadh and Rohilkhand, stimulated by the presence of the Begum of Avadh, the Nawâb of Bareilly and Nana Sahib, had joined the sepoys *en masse*. In this region alone it was a revolt of the people rather than the mutiny of an army. Kunwar Singh rallying the sepoys and the people moved out of Bihâr and made strenuous efforts to organize the forces of

opposition in several parts of Central India and Avadh; but he was forced to return to Bihār where he died in April, 1858. On May 5, 1858, the battle of Bareilly was lost by the Rohillas. The strong counter-offensive against Shāhjahānpur met with failure. In spite of this set-back the people of Avadh carried on the struggle for a long time. Sir Colin Campbell conducted the campaign in Avadh and it lasted through two cold seasons. It was not till January, 1859, that opposition was finally overcome.

The last phase of the war was marked by the exploits of Tatya Tope. After the loss of Gwalior, Tatya Tope commenced "the marvellous series of operations", which continued for ten months and which established his reputation as one of the greatest guerilla leaders. Tatya Tope, after doubling backwards and forwards through Central India and Rājputānā, was at last betrayed, captured and executed on April 18, 1859.

3. India Under British Crown (1858-1947)

The British Crown took over the Indian administration in 1858 after the Great Revolt and relinquished its power in 1947. The period falls into two clear divisions: 1858-1905 and 1905-1947. In the first period the British empire in India reached its zenith; in the second the central event was the growth of the nationalist movement and the achievement of Independence in 1947.

(a) 1858-1905

Authority from the Company to the Crown was transferred under the Government of India Act of 1858. In England the President of the Board of Control was replaced by a Secretary of State for India under the British Cabinet who was to have final authority over Indian affairs. To assist him with local knowledge a Council of India with fifteen members was created. Of these, eight were to be nominated by the Crown and seven were to be elected by the Court of Directors. In India the Governor-General was to be the personal respresentative of the British Crown and to assume the title of Viceroy. All this change took place during the administration of Lord Canning (1856-1862), the last Governor-General of the Company who became the first Viceroy and Governor-General of India under the Crown.

The change was formally announced by the Queen's Proclamation of November 1, 1858, which set forth a new policy for India. The policy was born of a reappraisal of the Indian situation in the light of the Revolt of 1857. It was recognized that the quickening of the tempo of social reform legislation in partial disregard of the Indian tradition had been a mistake. The pace was faster than the country could bear. Dalhousie's uninhibited drive for territorial acquisition had caused serious alarm among the princes. The Queen's Proclamation, therefore, reversed the reformist trend by

committing the Government of India to a policy of greater respect for Indian usages and customs and of non-interference with religious beliefs and worship. The princes were assured that all the treaties and engagements made with them by the East India Company would be respected and that no further encroachment on their territories would be made. The policy of 'lapse'. was discontinued.

Canning's first task after the Mutiny was to bring peace to the ravaged countryside. He did it effectively without yielding to the cry for vengeance from the British residents of Calcutta. The Revolt had brought in its trail a difficult financial problem. The Government was burdened with a heavy debt. Two British financial experts, James Wilson and Samuel Laing, cut down government expenditure and introduced an income tax, a paper currency and annual budgets. With these measures the deficit was converted into a surplus by 1864. The Government of India Act of 1858 did not radically alter the structure of government, but small changes began to accrue right from the beginning. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 added a fifth member to the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Canning introduced the portfolio system by which members of this council were given responsibility for specific departments. For the first time provision was made for the nomination of non-official members to the Imperial Legislative Council. At the same time, power of legislation was restored to the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The judicial system was significantly altered by the enactment of the Indian Penal Code (1860), the Code of Criminal Procedure (1861) and the High Courts Act (1861).

Before he left for England in 1862 Canning had reconstructed the Government of India according to the needs of the time and had launched it on a new career in a world changing under the impact of the Industrial Revolution of the West.

Between Canning (1856-1862) and Curzon (1899-1905) India was governed by nine Viceroys: Lord Elgin I (1862-1863); Sir John Lawrence (1864-1869); Lord Mayo (1869-1872); Lord Northbrook (1872-1876); Lord Lytton (1876-1880); Lord Ripon (1880-1884); Lord Dufferin (1884-1888); Lord Lansdowne (1888-1894); and Lord Elgin II (1894-1899). It was a period of completion and consolidation of British imperial rule in India which reached its high point under Curzon. The frontiers were rounded off, the relations with the Indian states were straightened out and placed on a permanent footing, and a highly bureaucratized imperial administrative machinery came into being. Moreover, economic development and modernized communications unified the country as never before, and the very same forces of the modern world drew India into a closer integration with all parts of the British empire. The establishment of direct telegraphic line between England and India enabled the Secretary of State to exercise direct effective control over Indian affairs from London and thereby to subordinate the 'policy' of the Governor-General-in-Council

in India to that of the British Cabinet. The Government of India lost its virtual autonomy and henceforth the policy for India came to be dictated more and more by the larger considerations of the empire.

The Frontier : Afghanistan. By 1858 the whole of the Indian subcontinent had passed under British domination but a settled frontier was yet to emerge. In the north-west the stability of the frontier depended on a good understanding between British India and Afghānistān. This in its turn depended upon the policies of the two neighbours of Afghānistān –Persia and Russia. In 1855, Dalhousie had concluded a treaty of friendship with Dost Muhammad, the *Amīr* of Afghānistān and had helped him to foil a Persian attack on Herāt (1856-57). The death of Dost Muhammad in 1863, touched off a struggle for succession in Afghānistān. The Government of India stuck to its policy of non-interference. In 1868, Sher Ali one of the claimants defeated all his rivals and was promptly recognized as the new *Amīr*. The situation became more complicated by the steady advance of Russia into Central Asia. Bukhara had been reduced in 1866; the province of Russian Turkistān had been created in 1867; Samarqand fell in 1868; and in 1873 Khiva too was taken. The British were shaken out of their policy of 'masterly inactivity' and the Gladstone ministry sought Russia's recognition of Sher Ali's rights in Central Asia. But the succeeding Disraeli ministry took an alarmist view of Russian activities in Europe and the Near East and favoured stronger action in Afghānistān. In 1876, as the Russians once more intervened in the Balkans, the British occupied Quetta (1877) and Lytton proposed to send an envoy to Kābul. The *Amīr's* refusal to accept the envoy led to the British invasion of his country in 1878. The treaty of Gandamak (1879) converted Afghānistān into an almost protected state of India, but popular rising prevented its enforcement. In 1880 Lord Ripon recognized Abdur Rahman, the nephew of Sher Ali, as the *Amīr* of Kābul on condition that he should have no political relations with any foreign power except the British. The cession of Kurram, Pishīn and Sibi made to them in 1879 was confirmed. In 1881, Abdur Rahman became the master of the whole of Afghānistān after eliminating his rivals with British help. In the eighties there was a fresh scare caused by the Russian occupation of Merv in 1884 and Panjdeh in 1885. The Zulfikār Pass was threatened. In 1887 Britain, Russia and Afghānistān concluded an agreement which fixed the boundary between Russia and Afghānistān. A line of demarcation between Afghānistān and India known as the Durand Line was drawn in 1893-1895. It divided the sphere of influence equally between Afghānistān and India. Dealing with the tribals on the eastern side of the new line, however, became a major frontier problem for India. This was adequately solved by Lord Curzon by the creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 and by making its administration an imperial responsibility.

Burma. The two Burmese Wars had given the British the possession of the coastal provinces of Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim, thus shutting out upper Burma from the sea. English traders were, however, admitted to upper Burma and their rights were secured by the treaties of 1862 and 1867. The English were very keen on opening overland trade with China through Burma. Exploratory moves were permitted by King Mindon and his successor Thibaw in spite of strained relations with the Government of India. In 1884, the emergence of a French empire in Indo-China precipitated a crisis by upsetting the balance of power in South-East Asia. In 1885, the French concluded a treaty with Burma and sent a Consul to Mandalay. They started negotiations with Thibaw for commercial and railway concessions and promised to supply arms through Tonkin. The French activities threatened British interest in Burma and it seemed certain that Thibaw was out to seize this opportunity to oust the British with French help. The imposition of a heavy fine on the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation by the Burmese Government provided the *casus belli* and Lord Dufferin in 1886 lost no time in annexing upper Burma. Beyond eastern Burma lay the kingdom of Siam which came to be recognized, in 1893, as a buffer state between the British and the French spheres of influence.

Princely States. Dalhousie's policy of annexation is held to be partly responsible for the outbreak of the Great Revolt of 1857. Yet the princes, with a few exceptions, stood aloof from the Revolt to the great relief of the British rulers. Canning gratefully described the Indian states as 'breakwaters' in a storm that could have swept the British out of India. The experience of the Great Revolt brought a new appreciation of the role of the subsidiary and subordinate states, and the changed attitude was reflected in a new policy towards them. The Queen's Proclamation explicitly abandoned the policy of annexation. The princes were assured continued enjoyment of their treaty rights. The Doctrine of Lapse was repudiated and the right of adoption was conceded on condition of loyalty to the Crown. All this was done to conciliate the princes. At the same time the Crown stood forth as 'the unquestioned Ruler and Paramount Power in all India'. The theory of 'one charge' enunciated by Canning meant that India constituted one political unit comprising both the British possessions and the Indian states. The open assumption of paramountcy by the British Government weakened the position of these states and reduced them to the status of protected princes.

In the period following the Great Revolt there was a great deal of interference, as before, in the internal affairs of the states by the Paramount Power. On the one hand, there was constant British pressure on the states to modernize; on the other, there was direct political intervention in case of misgovernment. The agency through which the British Government operated was the Resident who usually exercised great influence over the

internal administration of the state. The programme of modernization had enduring results. Lord Mayo founded the Chief's Colleges at Ajmer, Lahore, Rājkot and other places with a view to encouraging the education of the princes along modern lines. Among other features of modernization were the laying of railroads, introduction of post and telegraph services, and the creation of a modern army. The Imperial Service Corps formed by Dufferin built up a close association of the states with the Indian armed forces, and this lasted well into the 20th century. Through the service of a number of distinguished Indian *Dīwāns* the administration of the states was improved and in the same period popular representative institutions were introduced.

Cases of disputed succession called for British interference in Alwar (1870), Gwalior (1875) and Kashmīr (1885). In 1876 the British Government went so far as to depose the Gāikwār of Baroda for misgovernment. This high-handed action outraged Indian sentiment and produced a sense of uncertainty in the minds of the princes. Partly to conciliate the temper of the princes a durbar was held in Delhi in 1877, when Queen Victoria assumed the title of 'Empress of India'. Mysore was restored to its legitimate sovereign in 1881. The British, however, continued to assert their right of interference in the internal affairs of the states, and in 1891, in order to quell an armed rebellion, they took the drastic measure of deposing and executing the Rājā of Manipur. All through this period the overriding authority of the Paramount Power steadily grew, reducing the Indian states to absolute political impotence. The claims of imperialism were at their highest under Curzon, reducing the princes to tools of the Crown in the administration of the empire in India.

Administrative Structure. The framework of a unified administrative system for British India had emerged before the Great Revolt. In the period after 1858 new features appeared. The Secretary of State for India was endowed with great powers by the Government of India Act of 1858. The Viceroy was for the first time subordinated to the centralized control of the Home Government. Formerly, the East India Company's administration in India used to be subjected to periodic scrutiny through enquiries instituted by the British Parliament. Now, although the Secretary of State was responsible to the Parliament, the general apathy of its members towards Indian affairs left him free to pursue his own policy without much interference.

The supreme government in India underwent a great change in the second half of the 19th century. Canning had introduced an Indian element in the central administration by nominating the Mahārājā of Patiāla, the Rājā of Vārānasi and Sir Dinkar Rao to the Imperial Legislative Council. Other changes brought about by the Act of 1861 have already been noted. The Indian Councils Act of 1870 empowered the Governor-General to override the decisions of the majority of his Council and to pass

regulations without referring to the Legislative Council. His Council was further enlarged in 1874, by the addition of a sixth member for public works. The Indian Councils Act of 1892, passed in response to nationalist demand, added ten more members to the Legislative Council out of which four were to be elected by the provincial legislatures. The provincial legislatures in their turn were enlarged by the addition of fifteen to twenty members representing municipalities, district boards, chambers of commerce and universities. The Act thus took the significant step of recognizing the principle of representation through election. The powers of the Legislative Council were enlarged to include the right to discuss the annual budget.

Another notable feature of the Indian administration of this period is the growth of an all-powerful imperialist bureaucracy. The Indian Civil Service had already attained some degree of efficiency. After 1858, the service grew into a tightly organized corporation, the members of which became 'immovable, irresponsible and amenable to no other authority but their fellow members'. The civil servants were responsible only to the Secretary of State and became the chief agency through which the authority of the Home Government was exercised in India. Closer integration with the Home Government coincided with the growing exclusiveness of the British elements in the civil service as a caste in India. The Great Revolt had snapped the ties that had grown up between the English administrators and the Indian people in the days of the Company. Distrust of the Indians tended to widen the gulf between the ruler and the ruled. Steam navigation and the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) kept the British officials in India in close touch with their home, making it unnecessary for them to develop homely feelings towards Indians. British administration after the Great Revolt was fast assuming an alien character.

The decision to throw open a few responsible, high ranking posts of the administration to Indians had been taken under the Charter Act of 1833. Open competitive examinations were started in England in 1853, but it was not until 1864, that the first Indian entered the civil service. The successive lowering-down of the qualifying age for the examination showed the persistent resistance of vested interests to admit Indians to the civil service. Indian demand for holding simultaneous examinations in England and India was not accepted. On the recommendation of a Public Service Commission in 1886, the services were reorganized into imperial, provincial and subordinate cadres. Indians were to be appointed by promotion or direct recruitment to the provincial and subordinate services. The arrangement continued till the end of British rule.

Steps were, however, taken to allow Indian participation in administration. In 1871, acts were passed in the different provinces to set up district committees to administer funds for education, sanitation and other local needs such as the maintenance of roads. These committees

were nominated by the Government. Lord Ripon extended the system further in 1882 by setting up local committees for the sub-divisions of districts and for municipalities. These local boards were to have non-official chairmen and half to two-thirds of their members were to be elected.

That Indian participation in the administration had a limit beyond which it could not be pushed was shown by the agitation over the Ilbert Bill. Under an Act of 1873 British subjects in the districts could be tried only by European magistrates. In 1883, the Ilbert Bill sought to empower Indian sessions judges to try Europeans. Vigorous agitation by the Europeans forced the Government to amend the bill, giving the Europeans the right to claim a jury half of which were to be Europeans.

Finance and Economic Policy. The reforms of Wilson and Laing had, as shown already, enabled the Government to tide over the difficulties which followed the Great Revolt. The Government, however, needed funds to undertake public works such as irrigation and communications for prevention of famine and protection against its horrors. As the revenue from trade proved inadequate, the Government raised loans in 1867, to finance irrigation projects and the construction of railways. Financial decentralization began in 1870, when the provinces were given fixed yearly grants and in addition permitted to raise funds through local cesses. By the middle of the 19th century India had been fully woven into the web of world trade. In accordance with the avowed government policy of *laissez-faire* customs cactus line was wiped out. There was a noticeable expansion of trade in this period, stimulated in a large measure by the introduction of railways and the opening of roads and canals. Under the pressure of Lancashire the import duties levied on coarse cotton cloth were abolished in 1879. In 1894, a currency crisis made it necessary for the Government to reimpose a general import duty of 5 per cent. Strong protest from Lancashire led to the imposition of a countervailing excise duty of 5 per cent on cotton goods manufactured in Indian mills. Even the Governor-General's Council protested against such a clear case of discrimination against India but had to yield ultimately to the British mill-owners' pressure upon the British Cabinet.

The most outstanding economic achievement of the period was the expansion of the railways. By 1900, about 40,234 km. of railroad had been built. The construction work was actually carried out mostly by private companies but the whole programme was sponsored by the Indian Government. The railways undoubtedly provided the foundations on which the structure of modern India was later on built. Industrialization which had begun in the middle of the 19th century, made rapid progress after the introduction of railways.

Periodic recurrence of famines was one of the toughest rural problems of the time. Severe famines occurred in Orissa in 1866-67, in the u.p., the Punjab and Râjputâna in 1868-69, and in Bihâr in 1873.

The railways helped a great deal in fighting famines by facilitating quick transport of food from the surplus areas. The Government was seriously concerned with the famine problem and after years of experimentation evolved a policy which was embodied in the Famine Code of 1883. It recommended the creation of a special fund for providing relief and employment in the famine affected areas. It also urged the full utilization of railway facilities for the transportation of grain from unaffected areas.

Educational Policy and National Awakening. Introduction of western education after Macaulay's Minute on education (1835) had come as a corollary to the policy of admitting Indians to the administration under the Charter Act of 1833. The law courts too needed trained personnel for proper functioning. In 1857, the three universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were founded. Schools and colleges multiplied rapidly thereafter. In 1882, the Hunter Commission studied the educational system and recommended the reorganization of the educational services. English education brought to India political ideas of the West along with a knowledge of western science. These ideas produced the great intellectual ferment of the 19th century, which had begun much earlier than 1857. They ultimately found political expression in the national awakening of the eighties. By that time a sizeable educated middle class had appeared on the scene which spoke the common English language and had a common stock of western liberal ideas. The railways, the telegraph and the press, besides the industries employing skilled labour, enabled them to act on an all India basis, and in due course these scattered activities crystallized into forums of national feelings and ideas.

In 1876, Surendranath Banerjea founded the Indian Association in Calcutta. This organization was primarily concerned with a plea for the admission of Indians to the civil service. It also carried on a campaign against the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act (1878) of Lord Lytton. In 1883, the Ilbert Bill agitation led to the foundation of the Indian National Conference in Calcutta with representatives from all over India. In 1885, the Indian National Congress was formed in Bombay and the Indian National Conference merged into it without any difficulty. It began with seventy-two members but soon grew into a significant national body with representatives from all parts of the country and all sections of the people. The Muslims, however, under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan held aloof from the nationalist agitations of the 19th century. In the first twenty years of its existence the Congress confined itself to the passing of resolutions which criticized various government policies and urged reforms. It also opened a branch in London in order to present its views before the British public. Although Dufferin described the Congress Party as a 'microscopic minority', his government could not altogether ignore its existence and passed the Indian Councils Act of 1892 partly to meet the situation created by Congress campaigning

in England. In 1899 when Curzon arrived in India the Indian nationalist movement had taken roots and was well under way.

Curzon's Administration. Lord Curzon (1899-1905) came to India with strong preconceived ideas. He was totally blind to the influence of the educated middle class and to the existence of a strong national movement. He was an imperialist to the bone with his eyes fixed on India as a country where he would fulfil his destiny. In total disregard of the dynamics of new India he proceeded to set the crowning stone on the imposing edifice of the British empire in India. For indeed his term of office at the turn of the century marked the high noon of British imperialism in India.

In his frontier policy he combined caution with characteristic imperialist bluster. In the north-west, the occupation of territories right up to the Durand Line had provoked a revolt in 1897. Curzon settled the problem by vacating Chitrāl, the Khyber and the Kurram valleys, raising tribal levies to police the tribes, concentrating British troops in bases a little away from the frontier, and improving communications between the bases to facilitate the quick movement of troops. Finally, the North-West Frontier Province was created to keep a permanent watch on the frontier. In Afghānistān Habibullah succeeded his father Abdur Rahman in 1901. Curzon renewed the existing treaty with him and established amicable relations by addressing the new *Amīr* as 'His Majesty'.

In the Himālayas, Curzon found it difficult to enforce the Anglo-Chinese agreements of 1890 and 1893. By the former agreement Sikkim had become a British protectrate and its boundary with Tibet had been defined. Russian designs in Tibet forced Curzon to depart from the traditional British policy. The frequent visits of Dorjief, a Buriat Mongol, between Russia and Tibet led him to send a mission to Lhasa under Sir Francis Younghusband. A treaty was concluded in 1904, which confirmed the earlier agreements of 1890 and 1893, and gave the British certain trading and residential rights in Tibet. This was the first treaty signed directly between British India and Tibet. This policy pointed to the strategic importance of Tibet as a buffer region between India on the one hand and China and Russia on the other.

Under Curzon the administrative machinery was overhauled and economic development actively promoted. The Indian police was reformed and reorganized. Curzon had insisted that famines were caused by the failure of rains rather than by high taxes. Yet he implemented the Land Resolution of 1902 to lighten the burden of taxes on the peasants. The Punjab Land Alienation Act sought to protect the peasants against eviction by the money-lenders. Curzon showed his concern for agricultural development by encouraging co-operative credit societies and agricultural banks and by opening a Department of Agriculture and an Agricultural Research Institute. The works relating to irrigation were pushed on with

great vigour. A Department was created for Commerce and Industry. Another 9,651 km. of new railroad was added. To preserve the ancient monuments of India, a Director-General of Archaeology was appointed, and the Archaeological Department made good progress under Sir John Marshall. The Imperial Library was founded in Calcutta.

Curzon next turned to reform the university education. He appointed in 1902, an Education Commission which, characteristically enough, did not include any Indian member. The Commission recommended introduction of post-graduate studies and residential system. The official element in the university senates was to be strengthened and the Vice-Chancellors were to be appointed by the Government. Greater government control over the affiliated colleges was to be established. These were sweeping reforms and were looked upon by the educated middle class as interference with their autonomous institutions, particularly in the internal affairs of the affiliated colleges, and raised a storm of protest against the Universities Act of 1904.

The agitation against the Universities Act was but a prelude to the massive *Swadeshi* movement which followed another administrative measure of Curzon, viz., the partition of Bengal. The province of Bengal was considered by the Government to be too big for a Lieutenant-Governor to manage. Curzon split Bengal into two, creating a new province out of Assam and Eastern Bengal with Dacca as its capital. The measure aroused strong nationalist sentiment in Bengal. Led by Surendranath Banerjea, the anti-partition protest led to the *Swadeshi* movement and the boycott of foreign goods, and this political and economic campaign in Bengal made a tremendous impact on India as a whole. But Curzon carried out the partition with determination.

A difference with the Home authorities over the appointment of Lord Kitchener who was the Commander-in-Chief, as military member of his Executive Council led Curzon to resign in 1905 when he had just begun his second term of office. He, therefore, left India hardly aware of the fact that almost unwittingly he had offended the Indians and called forth a national movement against British authority which was destined, in due course, to free India from British imperial rule.

(b) 1905-1947

The events of 1905 brought out in the open the deeper conflicts and tensions of the Indian national movement and revealed all the major traits that were to characterize the movement henceforth. There was in the first place the clash between moderates and extremists within the Indian National Congress. The moderates led by Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjea and Gopal Krishna Gokhale greatly admired British politi-

cal institutions and trusted British rulers. They relied a great deal on British public opinion for setting things right even if the Indian Government took a wrong step. They confined themselves to constitutional agitation in India and England for progressive reforms within the framework of the British empire. The victory of the Liberals in British elections raised hopes of fresh concessions and the moderates did not want to do anything that might alienate the sympathy of the new government in England. The extremists, on the other hand, had no faith in the British and were impatient of the lawyer-dominated politics of petition and prayer. Their leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak was convinced that the British would not yield to anything but pressure and he strongly advocated active resistance. He was bent upon doing something 'to make government angry'. The *Swadeshi* movement gave the extremists the long-sought opportunity to act. Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Bepinchandra Pal made a determined bid to get the national movement out of the hands of the lawyers' 'ring'. In the Congress sessions at Vārānasi (1905), Calcutta (1906) and Surat (1907) the extremists fought for a wider national objective and more militant means to attain it. Gokhale joined the extremists in condemning the partition of Bengal. A resolution was passed endorsing the boycott of British goods. That was as far as the moderates were prepared to go. As the extremists tried to widen the boycott movement, the two groups fell out and there was an open split in the Surat session. The moderates under the leadership of Mehta, Banerjea and Gokhale held their own. Their opponents suffered a temporary eclipse after the arrest of Tilak in 1908—this left the field free for the moderates till 1916.

The second notable feature of the developments of 1905 was the emergence of terrorism. It was active in western India, Bengal and the Punjab. The movement was an index of popular desperation and heightened national consciousness. Though confined to a limited area, terrorism had nevertheless a significant impact on the political life of India. The bombs were a blast against British authority in the country. Though not openly supported by the people, the terrorists won silent admiration by their example of personal fearlessness. Their activities worried the British rulers a great deal and impressed upon them the urgency of reforms, thus making things easier for the moderates. On the whole, terrorism quickened the pace of political change in India.

A third interesting development was an attempt to widen the *Swadeshi* movement from a mere boycott of British goods to a boycott of everything British. In anticipation of Gandhi, Aurobindo Ghose developed the concept of the four-fold boycott: economic, educational, judicial and executive. This led to constructive, nation-building efforts like the national education movement. But at the same time, it produced a revivalist attitude which deprecated everything western and glorified the eastern, especially Hindu heritage.

Another notable trend was Muslim separatism. At first the Muslims along with the Hindus condemned the partition of Bengal. As the anti-partition movement gathered momentum and British deliberations for the grant of further reforms became known, Muslim politics took a distinctly separatist turn. The Muslim League was founded in 1906. It endorsed the partition of Bengal and opposed anti-British boycott. A demand was put forward for separate electorates for the Muslims in any system of representation that might be introduced.

Finally, it is to be noted that in 1905 the Indian national movement was no longer progressing in isolation within the sheltered preserve of the British empire. More and more it stood exposed to the interplay of world forces. While the moderates and the extremists still looked to England for political counsel, the terrorists turned for inspiration to the anarchists and anihilists of Europe and similar groups in Ireland and the United States of America. Dramatic events like Japan's victory over Russia, the Young Turk revolution and the fall of the Manchus in China made a deep impression upon the Indian nationalists' imagination and gave them an international outlook. They became increasingly aware of international forces at work which could be utilized to their advantage in the political struggle. Lord Minto (1905-1910) began in the old-fashioned way by trying to rally the princes through a 'Council of Chiefs'. This idea was soon dropped as the princes could hardly prove effective 'breakwaters' in the new sterm. Helped by the Liberal Secretary of State, Morley, Minto ended up by rallying the moderates and the Muslims. In their anxiety the British officials refused to make distinction between the terrorists and the extremists. They found it convenient to lump them together and give them a severe treatment. Two Acts were passed by which incitement to murder and the making of bombs became felonious. The Government was empowered to deal firmly with seditious meetings and the press. Lajpat Rai was deported along with the terrorist Ajit Singh. Tilak was sentenced to six years' imprisonment at Mandalay. The British Government thus cracked down on the extremists and the terrorists before it came forward with further reforms.

The Indian Councils Act, known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, was passed in 1909. Constitutionally, it was an advance on the Act of 1892. The number of members in the Legislative Council was raised to 60 of whom 27 were to be elected. The size of the provincial legislative councils was also enlarged. The official majority was retained in the Central Legislature but was given up in the provinces. Except in Bengal, which had an elected majority, the official and the nominated non-official members together still outnumbered the elected members in the provinces. The scope of discussion in the legislative councils included the asking of supplementary questions and the tabling of resolutions.

There was strong opposition in the services to the appointment of an

Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Secretary of State's Council of India, although there was no legal bar to such an appointment. In 1907, Morley had appointed two Indians to the India Council in London and in 1909, after the passage of the Act, Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (later Lord Sinha) was appointed a member of the Governor-General's Council. The powers of the executive at the Centre and in the provinces were in no way restrained by the new legislatures.

The principle of election was recognized. But two things may be noticed here. First, the elections were mostly indirect. The members of the Central Legislature were chosen by those of the provincial legislatures and the latter by such public bodies as municipalities, district boards, chambers of commerce, universities, landholders and other groups. Secondly, the reforms of 1909 introduced a communal electorate and gave a special position to the Muslims by creating a number of Muslim constituencies for the Centre as well as the provinces.

Minto left it to Hardinge (1910-1916) to work the reforms. The task did not prove to be difficult. By 1910 the emotions stirred by the partition agitation had disappeared. Extremism too had been suppressed. The moderates and the Muslims accepted the reforms and extended their co-operation to Hardinge. Politics returned to the constitutional channel and moved along the course laid down by the Act of 1909. In the Delhi durbar of 1911, three important announcements were made. The partition of Bengal was annulled. Bengal was raised to the status of a Governor's province. The capital of India was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi. It was during Hardinge's administration that public opinion in India reacted strongly against the anti-Indian policy of the Union Government of South Africa. Hardinge earned great popularity by his open sympathy with the Indians suffering abroad.

As a dependency of the British, India was automatically drawn into the first World War which began in 1914. There were three different responses to the war. There was, in the first place, a marked willingness to help Britain and to stand by her in the hour of need. The princes placed their troops at the disposal of the Imperial Government. The moderate political leaders sympathized with the Allied cause and supported the British war efforts. In all 12,00,000 soldiers were recruited in India and a generous sum of money was contributed to the war fund. Indian soldiers distinguished themselves in France, the Middle East and Africa and earned a good name for their country. The moderates felt that India legitimately deserved a reward for her services and expected the British Government to grant it after the war.

The extremists' attitude to the war was different. In their minds sympathy for the Allied cause was mixed with a secret satisfaction at the humbling of Britain at the hands of her enemies. The war was changing the political climate in India and the extremists saw in it a new opportunity to press

their demands. Gokhale died in 1915. Tilak, freed from prison in 1914, returned to politics. The Home Rule Leagues founded by Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant in 1916 started a spirited campaign for self-government.

Lord Chelmsford (1916-1921), the new Governor-General, had to reckon with the Home Rule agitation. The extremists led by Tilak captured the Congress at Lucknow. Tilak rounded off this victory by rallying the Muslims to the nationalist cause. Already in 1913 the Muslim League had declared self-government within the empire as its goal. The war between Britain and Turkey threw the Muslims into great agitation and made them anti-British. Tilak showed his genius by seizing this moment to strike an agreement with the Muslim League known as the Lucknow Pact (1916). The Congress accepted the idea of a separate Muslim electorate and the Muslim League agreed to join the national movement. It was decided that the two organizations should jointly draw up proposals for constitutional reforms. Jinnah hailed this event as marking the birth of a united Indian nation.

The terrorists' response to the war was one of renewed activity. They wanted to take full advantage of Britain's difficulties during the war and became particularly active in Bengal and the Punjab. An attempt to procure a shipment of arms from Germany failed. The Ghadar Party, set up by Indian revolutionaries in the U.S.A., had a strong base in the Punjab.

To meet the situation in India the British Government took two significant steps. First, it announced its willingness to grant reforms. On August 20, 1917, E.S. Montagu, the Liberal Secretary of State for India, declared in the House of Commons that Britain stood for 'progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire'. The measures to be introduced were set forth in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report published on July 8, 1918. Secondly, the Government of India set up a committee headed by Justice Rowlatt to inquire into the extent of subversive activity in India. The Rowlatt Report, also released in 1918, recommended that the Government should assume special powers to deal effectively with terrorism. The publication of this Report robbed the gesture of 1917 of much of its value. The Government seemed to be arming itself with new powers at the very moment when it was committed to make political concessions. The distrust of British *bona fides* persisted. The quick enactment of the Rowlatt Bills in early 1919 and the long delay in implementing the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals convinced the Indian leaders that Britain was not prepared to part with power.

With the end of the first World War in November, 1918, events moved rapidly. The forced recruitment in a few cases, during the war had created some bitterness. The Government was held responisble for lack of civil supplies and the price rise. The U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's wartime pronouncements in favour of 'self-determination' had raised expectations which, it was later felt, were not likely to be fulfilled. In the post-war years,

Mahatma Gandhi emerged as the foremost leader of the nationalist movement. When the Rowlatt Bills were passed, he launched a protest movement by calling for a *hartāl* on April 6, 1919. This was the beginning of *satyāgraha*. The movement, at first peaceful, led to violence in some parts of the country. The British authorities were determined to put it down by force. On April 13, 1919, General Dyer broke up a peaceful meeting at Jalliānwālla Bāgh in Amritsar, by firing upon the assembled people, killing 379 and wounding more than 1,200. The Punjab was cordoned off and strong punitive measures were taken to produce a 'moral effect' on the whole country. The 'Amritsar massacre' was the Government's answer to nationalist violence and terrorism. This incident and the subsequent justification of Dyer's action by the Conservatives in England and the British officials in India aroused intense racial feelings. It made clear to the Indians that Britain was speaking with two voices and those who wanted to hold on to power appeared at the time to be stronger than those who were willing to come to terms with the nationalist leaders.

In December, 1919, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were formally approved of by King George V. Under the Act of 1919, the Central Legislature was reconstituted and made bicameral. The upper chamber known as the Council of States was to have 60 members of whom 34 were to be elected. The Legislative Assembly, which was the former Imperial Legislative Council, was to function as the lower chamber. This body was to have 143 members of whom 103 were to be elected. The official majority in the Central Legislature was given up. The franchise was restricted but the principle of direct election was recognized. The Executive Council of the Governor-General was enlarged. Although the Act did not explicitly mention this, yet after 1921 it became a convention to appoint three Indian members to the Council. The Governor-General still remained directly responsible to the Secretary of State for India and his powers were in no way restricted by the new legislature. A bill rejected by the Legislative Assembly could still be certified and passed by the Governor-General, if he considered it essential for the peace and safety of the state.

The provincial legislatures were considerably enlarged and were to be unicameral. It was provided that 70 per cent of the members were to be elected. Separate electorates were maintained for Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Sikhs and Christians, as also for non-Brāhamaṇas in Madras. In every province the executive was to be diarchical. The Governor with his Executive Council was to be in charge of the 'Reserved Subjects' and the ministers acting with the Governor were to be responsible for the 'Transferred Subjects'. The 'Reserved Subjects' were police, justice, press, prisons, irrigation, land revenue, famine relief, forests and mineral resources. The 'Transferred Subjects' were local self-government, education, public health, sanitation, medical administration, public works, agriculture, fisheries,

excise, co-operative societies, industries etc. Bills relating to 'Transferred Subjects' could not be passed without the assent of the Legislative Council. Bills relating to 'Reserved Subjects', however, could be passed by the Governor over the head of the Legislative Council. A Chamber of Princes was set up, to be presided over by the Viceroy. It was a consultative body formed of the representatives of Indian states to advise the Viceroy on matters relating only to the states. It was provided that after ten years a committee should be set up by the British Parliament to report on the working of these constitutional reforms and to recommend further changes if any.

Tilak wanted to work the reforms and advocated 'responsive co-operation'. Mahatma Gandhi too was at first in favour of giving the reforms a trial, and carried the Congress with him at Amritsar (December, 1919). This attitude changed in 1920 when the publication of the Hunter Committee's report on the Amritsar happenings and the open appreciation of Dyer's action in England by raising a fund came as a shock. The Muslims were agitated over British policy towards Turkey and a mass movement was taking shape to protest against the imposition of harsh peace terms on the Caliphate. In August 1920, the Congress, led by Mahatma Gandhi, rejected the reforms and took the momentous decision to launch a non-violent non-cooperation movement. The *Khilāfatists* led by the Ali brothers, Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali, now joined forces with the Congress in a national struggle against the British. Mahatma Gandhi promised *Swarāj* in a year, provided the people carried on non-cooperation peacefully.

The Non-cooperation Movement was essentially a revival of the *Swadeshi* movement on an all India scale. It urged people to resign from government offices, shun the British law-courts, withdraw from schools and colleges and boycott the elections. On the positive side, there was a campaign for using indigenous goods, especially *Khādi* or homespun cloth. Mahatma Gandhi carried *Swadeshi* a step further by addressing the people in Hindi instead of English. For the first time the peasants and workers were drawn in large numbers into the fold of the national movement, and this gave it a truly mass character.

Lord Reading (1921-1926), who replaced Chelmsford, refrained from taking any precipitate action. The crucial year of 1921 passed without bringing the promised *Swarāj*. Meanwhile the Government had gone ahead and implemented the reforms. Elections had been held (October, 1920) and the Central and Provincial Governments reconstituted (February, 1921). Whatever their worth, these measures had created a diversion in the people's minds. The Moplah rising (August; 1921) embittered communal relations and the *Khilāfat* movement was beginning to lose ground. Mahatma Gandhi launched the Non-cooperation Movement authorized by the All India Congress Committee on November 5, 1921, at Delhi. An outburst of violence at Chauri Chaura, a village in U. P,

led him to suspend the movement (February, 1922). He was arrested in March, 1922, and sent to prison for six years. With Mahatma Gandhi's arrest the Non-cooperation Movement came to a standstill. The *Khilāfat* agitation declined and collapsed finally after the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924.

In 1923, the Congress under the leadership of Motilal Nehru and Chittaranjan Das, decided to contest the elections with a view to wrecking the Councils from within. Nehru and Das formed the Swarāj Party which was to dominate the Congress for the next five years. In the elections of 1923, the Swarājists emerged as a powerful force, but they still had other political groups to reckon with. There were the Responsivists of Mahārāshtra following the Tilak line, the Justice Party of Madras and the Independents led by Jinnah. The cohesion of nationalist forces achieved by Tilak and Gandhi was gone. The Muslims drifted away from the Congress. Communal riots broke out in 1924. Terrorism reappeared after 1923. Mahatma Gandhi, released in 1924, retired to his *āśrama* at Sābarmati to give shape to a constructive programme dedicated to communal harmony and upliftment of the Hindu untouchables.

Through the ups and downs of the nationalist movement the Government was able to continue its work of running the administration along the lines of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The Press Act of 1910 and the Rowlatt Act of 1919 were repealed. Indianization of military and civil services was steadily pushed on. From 1923, the holding of simultaneous civil service examinations in London and Delhi was arranged. The death of Chittaranjan Das in 1925 was a blow to the Swarāj Party. In spite of the best efforts of Motilal Nehru, discipline could not be enforced in the party and it grew weaker through continuous desertion of individual members. Communal disturbances continued to disrupt national unity and in 1915 the Hindu Mahāsabhā was formed. The elections of that year were fought along communal lines. Nationalist politics lost its direction and failed to make any headway.

The deadlock was broken by the new Viceroy, Lord Irwin (1926-1931). In 1927, at Irwin's initiative the British Government appointed a Parliamentary Commission to inquire into the working of the reforms of 1919 with a view to consider the next step. This Commission, headed by Sir John Simon, did not include any Indian. Its appointment was an affront to the Indian nation and the news of its coming visit to India touched off a new phase of nationalist agitation. Ranks were closed and all the political groups threw themselves vigorously into the task of organizing a nation-wide boycott of the Commission. The Simon Commission visited India twice in 1928-29 and was greeted with balck flags, strikes and mass demonstrations. It was on this occasion that Jawaharlal Nehru stepped forward as an important national leader. At his initiative the Congress at Madras (1927) declared complete independence as its goal. In 1928,

an All-Parties Conference produced a draft constitution for India, better known as the Nehru Report, having been drawn up by Motilal Nehru and Tej Bahadur Sapru. This report opposed separate electorates upon which Jinnah broke with the Convention and joined ranks with communal Muslim leaders to issue a manifesto stating the special demands of the Muslims. The Nehru Report accepted Dominion Status and the Congress agreed (1928) to accept the scheme if it were implemented by the end of 1929.

Irwin persuaded the British Government to declare Dominion Status as India's political goal and to hold a Round Table Conference of all parties to discuss the recommendations of the Simon Commission. The Congress wanted the proposed Round Table Conference to draw up a Dominion Constitution, but the British Government refused. Consequently, the Congress at Lahore (1929) reiterated complete independence as India's goal. Decision was also taken to boycott the Round Table Conference and to launoh a civil disobedience movement. On January 26, 1930, the Congress observed the 'Independence Day'. On March 12, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi set out on a march from his *āśrama* at Sābarmati towards the sea-shore at Ḍāndī to make salt in defiance of the salt law. He reached Ḍāndī on April 6, and prepared salt from the sea-water. A countrywide civil disobedience movement followed. Laws were broken deliberately to court imprisonment. Boycott of the British goods and labour strikes gave a new character to the movement in 1930. The Muslims did not throw in their full support, yet a big section was drawn into the movement. Women also joined the national struggle in large numbers. The Government took vigorous action. Gandhi was arrested. Over 60,000 people were sent to jail. There were a few deaths among the agitators.

The first Round Table Conference (November, 1930—January, 1931) took place without any Congress representation but with the participation of the princes and other political parties and groups. At the second and third Round Table Conferences the British Government brought the non-Congress Indian political parties as a counterweight to the Congress. The Simon Commission had proposed self-government in the provinces and federation of British India and the princes at the Centre. At the first Round Table Conference, the princes offered to join the federation. No progress was, however, possible without an agreement with the Congress. Early in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi was released and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was concluded on March 4. The Government released the prisoners and the Congress called off the Civil Disobedience Movement and joined the second Round Table Conference (September-December, 1931). Meanwhile, the fall of the Labour Government in England gave the Conservatives a chance to press their viewpoint at the conference table. The communal issue was successfully played up. An agreed scheme of electoral representation could not emerge. The second session broke up without yielding anything con-

crete. The Civil Disobedience Movement was renewed in 1932. Mahatma Gandhi was arrested again shortly after his return from England.

Lord Willingdon (1931-1936), the successor of Irwin, was hostile to the Congress. The organization was banned and over 1,20,000 persons were arrested. In August, 1932, British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald made a communal award on electoral seats. Mahatma Gandhi opposed the separate electorate for 'Depressed Classes' with a fast and had it withdrawn. The award was modified by the Poona Pact of September, 1932. In the third Round Table Conference (November-December 1932) certain new reform proposals took shape. They were finally announced in March, 1933. These proposals were embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935.

The Act of 1935 represented a major reorganization of the constitution of India. It proposed to create a federation of India out of British India and the Indian states which were willing to join such a federation. Burma, hitherto a part of British India, was now separated. Sind was separated from Bombay to become a separate province. A new province of Orissa was also formed. The Central Exeoutive was to be a diarchy having a division of subjects between the Viceroy and the ministers. The Viceroy was to have responsibility for the 'Reserved Subjects'. The ministers, who would be in charge of the 'Transferred Subjects', were to be responsible to the legislature. The Central Legislature was to be bicameral, consisting of a Council of State and a House of Assembly. Both the chambers were to have representatives from British India and the federating princes. A federal bank and a federal court were to be set up. The federal part of the constitution, however, could not be put into operation because the princes refused to join it.

The Act of 1935 introduced autonomy in the Governor's provinces, now eleven in number. The Governor was to be assisted by a Council of Ministers responsible to the legislature. Certain reserved powers, such as those relating to law and order, were still retained in the hands of the Governor. The provincial legislature was to have two chambers: the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly. The members of both houses were to be elected on the basis of communal voting. The Governor could issue ordinances and refuse to give his assent to bills passed by the legislature. In certain circumstances, the Governor could issue also permanent acts known as the Governor's Acts with or without the assent of the legislature.

The diversification of national politics had begun in the twenties. Upto 1922 the principal parties in the political struggle were the Congress and the British Government. After 1922, with the collapse of the Non-Cooperatoin Movement, other political parties secured a place in national politics with the opportunities offered by the recurring general elections. The Round Table talks too brought these diverse groups into limelight.

The purpose of the Government which connived at these developments was to break the monopoly of the Congress. In this the Government was successful. Besides, Mahatma Gandhi's claim to represent the whole of India was not accepted. In the thirties the Congress, which still remained the dominant political force, had to face serious rivalry from other parties, especially the Muslim League.

The idea of a separate national destiny had begun to stir the minds of the Muslim leaders. In 1930, Muhammad Iqbal first broached the idea of a union of the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistān, Sind and Kashmir as a Muslim state within an Indian confederation. In 1933, the term 'Pākistān' came into circulation, but the scheme was rejected by everybody concerned as immature, not deserving serious consideration. As prospects of fresh reforms became brighter, the Muslim League reorganized itself under Jinnah. In the provincial elections of 1937 the Muslim League did not do well. So it offered to form coalition ministries with the Congress in each province, but the Congress did not accept the proposal. From this point onward the League stepped up its campaign for the special minority rights and carried the movement to the Muslim masses.

The growth of leftism posed another challenge to the Congress. The left wing built up pressure within the Congress for a radical policy and militant action. It played an important part in the Madras session of the Congress (1927), the boycott of the Simon Commission and the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32. In the thirties Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose emerged as the outstanding left-wing leaders of the Congress. Nehru, though socialistically inclined, accepted Mahatma Gandhi's leadership and his non-violent technique. Bose, on the contrary, had little faith in non-violence and preferred an armed struggle with the British. A socialist group emerged within the Congress, of which the most distinguished member was Jayaprakash. Besides the Congress left wing, there were the workers' and peasants' organizations and the communists. The All-India Trade Union Congress was founded in 1920. Activities among the peasants had begun approximately in 1923, but it was not before 1936 that the All-India Kisān Sabhā was formed. From 1921 individual communists had been active both inside and outside the Congress. The Kānpur Conspiracy Case (1924) and the Meerut Trial (1929) revealed the existence of a small but powerful communist group in India which was in touch with the Communist International dominated by Soviet Russia. Terrorism in its old form declined in the thirties and was in large part transmuted into a revolutionary leftism.

In 1937, the Congress contested the provincial elections and formed ministries in seven out of the eleven provinces. In the North-West Frontier Province the Red Shirts, led by the 'Frontier Gandhi' Abdul Ghaffar Khan, won a majority. This meant that the Congress came to control eight provinces in all. The governments it formed were highly

successful and won the confidence of the people. The Congress, however, had still to solve the communal question and also meet the leftist challenge. Supported by the 'nationalist' Muslims, the Congress still hoped to rally the whole nation behind its secular programme. Consequently it refused to accept the two-nation theory put forward by the Muslim League. The Muslim League made a rapproachment with the Congress difficult by claiming to be the sole representative of all the Muslims in India, thus virtually denying the right of individual Muslims to opt for the secular programme of the Congress. The communal question could not be solved.

In the thirties the Congress had begun to develop its own 'foreign policy'. Nehru played an important part in shaping this policy. Sympathy was expressed for China and later for the victims of the Nazi and Fascist aggression in Europe and Africa. When the second World War began in Europe in September, 1939, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow (1936-1943), declared India to be at war without prior assent of the Central Legislature. No effort was made to consult the representatives of the people. The Act of 1935 was amended by the Parliament to confer on the Central Government special powers to deal with the emergency. Provincial autonomy was also restricted at the same time. The Congress demanded that the Government should state its 'war aims' having due regard to the conflict of democracy and imperialism and clarify how they applied to India. It further declared that India could not co-operate in the war without the status of an equal partner, but would help Britain if her freedom was recognized. The Viceroy could promise such constitutional advance only after the war. In October-November, 1939, the Congress ministries resigned from office.

After the capitulation of France the Congress again offered to co-operate, provided that India's equal partnership and independence was recognized and a national government was set up at the Centre. In response to this offer the British Government proposed on August 8, 1940, to appoint more Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council and set up immediately a War Advisory Council with representatives from British India and the states. India was to have Dominion Status after the war, but transfer of power was to depend upon communal accord. The Congress rejected the proposal and started an 'individual civil disobedience' movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Communal relations deteriorated steadily thereafter. Jinnah had hailed the Congress resignation from the ministries in Congress provinces as deliverance from the tyranny of majority rule. In 1940, the Muslim League declared Pākistān to be its ultimate goal. It further demanded that in any national government that might be created the Muslims must have equal share with the Hindus. The League made it clear that no further constitutional advance could be made without its consent.

The entry of Japan and the U.S.A. into the war in 1941 created a new

situation. The spectacular collapse of British defence in Malaya and Burma made a settlement with the Congress necessary. In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British Cabinet, brought a new proposal. A Dominion of India was to be set up after the war with freedom to secede from the Commonwealth. The new constitution of India was to be drawn up by a constituent assembly elected by the provincial legislatures. The provinces could opt out of the union if they so wanted. The Indian states would be free to join the union or to stay out. The states would be represented in the constituent assembly by the nominees of their rulers. During the war the Viceroy's Council was to be reconstituted into an Interim Government of the party leaders. Negotiations broke down as the Cripps offer was rejected by both the Congress as well as the League.

Cripps returned to England a disappointed man. The nationalist leaders too felt equally disappointed. Meanwhile, Burma had passed into Japanese hands. The Japanese invasion of Bengal and eastern India was imminent. The Congress was desperately eager to work for India's defence at this crisis. Even Mahatma Gandhi withdrew his insistence on non-violence and permitted the Congress to go its own way in the matter of national defence. On August 8, 1942, the Congress passed a resolution calling upon the British to relinquish power and to quit India. The Congress had no desire to disrupt war efforts and would allow the Allied forces to operate from Indian bases. On August 9, the Government arrested all the Congress leaders and banned the Congress organization. A mass movement followed, which led to violent clashes between the people and the police. Railway stations were attacked and railway lines were torn up in several places. A split occurred among the leftists. The Congress socialists fully endorsed the movement and actually went underground to lead it. The Communist Party of India, attaching great importance to Soviet Russia's involvement in the war on the Allied side, refused to hamper war efforts and stood aloof from the August movement of 1942. The Quit India Movement was violently suppressed.

Subhas Chandra Bose had escaped from India in 1941, and had established contact with Japan and Germany. In 1942, the captured Indian troops and the local civilian Indian population in Japanese occupied Malaya and Burma revived the Indian Independence League and formed the Indian National Army. Singapore was at first the headquarters of this movement. Bose assumed the leadership of these organizations in 1943, and established a provisional Āzād Hind Government. The headquarters of the Āzād Hind Government were shifted to Rangoon in Janaury, 1944. In that year the I.N.A. moved upto the Indian frontier with the invading Japanese army. But the attempt to invade India through Manipur and Assam failed. Burma was eventually reconquered by the Allied forces, and the I.N.A. finally surrendered to the British in May, 1945.

In 1944, the tide had turned in favour of the Allies. Lord Wavell (1943-1947) broke the political deadlock by releasing Mahatma Gandhi in May, 1944. Subsequently, Gandhi held long discussions with Jinnah in an attempt to solve the communal question but failed to arrive at an agreement. In March, 1945, Wavell received authorization from Home to convert his Executive Council into an Interim Government. It was to be composed of the British Viceroy, the British Commander-in-Chief and the representatives of the political parties of India. A constituent assembly was to draw up a constitution at the end of the war. In May, 1945, the war ended in Europe with the surrender of Germany. The congress leaders were released and in June, 1945, Wavell convened a Conference at Simla with a view to forming an Interim Government. At the Simla Conference the Muslim League claimed itself to be the sole representative of the Muslims in India and as such wanted to appoint all the Muslim members of the Executive Council. The Congress, in order to assert its national character, wanted to appoint at least one Muslim member which the League would not allow. The Simla talks, therefore, failed.

The Labour Party came to power in England in 1945. The new government proposed to hold general elections in India to test the relative strength of the parties. In the elections of 1946 the Congress and the Muslim League emerged as the two outstanding organizations, indicating once again that a settlement between the two was imperative.

Japan surrendered in August, 1945. There followed a large scale withdrawal of Allied troops from India. Indian opinion was greatly vexed over the trial of a number of I.N.A. officials at a time when the country was highly excited over the news of open revolt of the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy in February, 1946.

The Labour Government announced on February 19, 1946, that three members of the British Cabinet, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander, would visit India to offer new proposals. The Cabinet Mission arrived in India in March, 1946. It proposed a Federal Union of British India which the states might join later. The Central Government was to deal with Foreign affairs, Defence and Communications. The provinces were to be grouped under three divisions: (i) North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistān; (ii) Bengal and Assam; and (iii) the rest of India. A constituent assembly, to draw up the constitution of the Federal Union, was to be elected by the provincial legislative assemblies by communal voting. Each division was to have a constitution of its own drawn up by representatives of its constituent units. At the same time every province would have a right to opt out of the Federal Union after the first elections under this plan. The Mission also proposed the formation of an Interim Government by complete Indianization of the Viceroy's Council.

At first, both the Congress and the League agreed to work the plan.

They, however, disagreed on the question of appointment of Muslim members to the proposed Interim Government. The League would not allow the Congress to nominate any Muslim, while the Congress insisted on appointing at least one against one of the five seats offered to it. The Congress then refused to join the Interim Government, but agreed to accept the long-term plan of drawing up a constitution. The Muslim League accepted the whole plan, but the Viceroy refused to form the Interim Government with Muslim League members only. The Muslim League then turned away and rejected the entire plan. A few weeks later, the Congress agreed to join the Executive Council and the Viceroy decided to reconstitute it with Nehru as its Vice-President. This action infuriated the League and Jinnah launched 'Direct Action' on August 16, 1946. On that day violent Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in Calcutta. A chain reaction set in and the riots spread to Noākhāli district of Bengal, Bihār and U. P. In October, the Muslim League joined the Executive Council but only with the purpose of preventing the monopoly of power which would be enjoyed by the Congress. In December, the constituent assembly met, but the League refused to join it.

The deadlock was broken by Prime Minister Attlee's announcement on February 20, 1947, that the British Government proposed to leave India at a date not later than June, 1948. Lord Mountbatten (March-August, 1947) was appointed the new Viceroy to steer through the final transfer of power. Serious riots broke out in the Punjab, making it plain that a partition of India was unavoidable. On June 3, 1947, Mountbatten announced his plan.

The British Government accepted the principle of partition and agreed to the creation of Pākistān if the Muslim majority areas so desired. It was further agreed that in case of partition, power would be transferred to the two dominions of India and Pākistān on August 14, 1947. British Paramountcy over the Indian states would lapse and these states would be urged to join either of the two dominions. The plan was accepted by the Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikhs. It was implemented according to the procedure laid down by Mountbatten. Pākistān emerged with two wings: the western and the eastern on both sides of India. This was brought about by the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, the final decisions having been taken by their respective legislatures. The North-Western Frontier Province and the district of Sylhet too joined Pākistān by a plebiscite. Each dominion had its own constituent assembly. A Boundary Commission fixed the frontiers between the two dominions. The Indian Independence Act was passed on July 18, 1947, conferring Dominion Status on India and Pākistān as from August 15, 1947. Mountbatten was chosen by India as her first Governor-General. Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pākistān. Power was actually transferred to India on the midnight of August 14-15, 1947.

educated persons, carried on in English and was meant for the ears of the authorities rather than the people'. It was Tilak who, for the first time, set out before the nation, in a clear manner, the attainment of self-government or *swarāj* rather than reforms in administration as the ideal, and lastly it was Tilak who carried the gospel of self-help and political agitation to the masses. Meanwhile a severe famine struck the Deccan (1896-1897) and 'people perished like flies'. Tilak organized a corps of volunteers to help the famine-stricken people and even launched a no-tax campaign among the peasants. The bubonic plague which burst out in Poona in all its severity, further added to the hardship of the people. The forced segregation and the compulsory domiciliary visits created a feeling of panic and alarm among the people. The inquisitorial searches carried out by the Plague Committee (with the help of British soldiers) in private houses and places of worship created a widespread discontent which culminated in the murder of W.C. Rand (the Chairman of the Poona Plague Committee) and Lt. Ayerst, another British officer (June 22, 1897).

The Chapekar brothers—Damodar and Balkrishna—were tried for the murders and sentenced to death. Tilak was arrested on a charge of inciting disaffection against the Government by means of his articles in the *Kesari* and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. Tilak's arrest sent a wave of discontent and indignation throughout the country and 'even the untutored mill-hands fasted in protest' and students in colleges and schools 'wore black mark indicative of the deep sorrow they felt in their hearts.' Surendranath Banerjea gave expression to these feelings of sorrow when he declared at the Congress session of 1897: "A nation is in tears".

Tilak was undoubtedly the embodiment of the spirit of the new school of politics. He rebelled againt the attitude of prayerfulness and importunity and the method of political mendicancy which characterized the Congress. He strove hard to make the movement truly national by bringing into it the mass of people. It has been rightly observed that "Tilak brought political philosophy in India from heaven to earth, from the Council Hall or the Congress *mandap* to the street and the market". While Tilak popularized politics and gave it a force and vitality it had hitherto lacked, Aurobindo Ghose spiritualized it. He reviewed the theoretical teachings of Bankimchandra and Vivekananda and brought them into the field of practical politics. Both Tilak and Lajpat Rai regarded the redemption of their motherland as the true religion, and as the only means of salvation. The difference between the old and the new school is best illustrated in their respective attitudes towards the goal of the movement. The former or the moderates, as they came to be known later on, wanted reforms in administration under the aegis of the British rule, while the extremists held that "good government is no substitute for self-government". Tilak admirably summed up the position in one sentence: "Home Rule is my

birth-right and I will have it". That this spirit had already permeated the Congress by 1897 is clear from the remarks of Frederiok Grubb, a British journalist, who attended the annual session of the Congress in 1897: "Formerly it was a Congress of petitioners, now it is a Congress of men and women determined to win their freedom".

Nowhere did Tilak's methods and organization attract more attention than in Bengal which followed his example in training school boys and students in gymnastic societies for purposes of political agitation. Endeavours were even made to introduce the cult of Śivājī and to organize festivals on the lines of Gaṇapati and Śivājī festivals in Mahārāshtra. The Śivājī festival, however, did not become popular in Bengal. Here, the worship of Goddess Kālī made a stronger appeal to the English-educated middle class of the 19th oentury. Prominent among those who oarried on the work of Tilak in its true spirit were Aurobindo Ghose and Bepinchandra Pal in Bengal and Lajpat Rai in the Punjab.

Repressive Measures. Lord Curzon came to India (1899-1905) with a strong determination to stem the rising tide of nationalism. He inflioted "in almost breathless succession one contemptuous measure after another to which the people took the strongest exception. The dominant note of his policy throughout this period was that India was and must remain a possession of England, that England's imperial grip over her should be tightened and that no political advance should be thought of". He completely officialized the Calcutta Corporation and gave it a European majority by reducing the total membership by a third. A similar policy was pursued in the Indian Universities Act when he took away the autonomy of the universities and, in the same year (1904), the Official Secrets Act extended a good deal the scope of the term 'sedition'. The climax was reached by the partition of Bengal (1905) whioh was considered to be a subtle attack on the growing solidarity of Indian nationalism. The official plea that the province had grown unwieldy, thus impairing administrative efficiency in the outlying eastern districts, was only part of the reason. As Lord Minto (1905-1910), who suoceeded Curzon pointed out, "Partition might have been effected with much greater regard to Bengali sentiment if instead of the sacrifice of a part of the Eastern Provinces, Bihar and Orissa had been handed over respectively to the United and Central Provinces". Sir Henry Cotton was of the oonsidered opinion that it was "part and parcel of Lord Curzon's policy to enfeeble the growing power and to destroy the political tendenoies of a patriotic spirit." The Bengalis felt 'humilated, insulted and trioked' and resorted to a vigrous agitation to get the wrong undone. Never in the history of British India was any measure by Governement opposed so vehemently or persistently and with such unanimity as the partition of Bengal. *The Statesman*, an English daily of Calcutta, wrote on August 10, 1905: "There never was a time in the history of British India, when publio feeling

and public opinion were so little regarded by the supreme Government as they are by the present administration", and it warned the Government that "just as religions thrive on persecution, so there was nothing half so effectual as the systematic disregard of public opinion for fostering public political discontent." It is estimated that, between December 1903 and October 1905, about 2,000 protest meetings were held and the political associations and newspapers carried on a tearing and raging campaign against this measure. Lord Minto informed the Home authorities: "The opinion is decidedly that there has been a want of consideration for local sentiment, that people have not been consulted who ought to have been consulted and that the overbearing tone of Curzon's speeches on several occasions has tended seriously to increase the bitter feeling which exists". Curzon's obstinate refusal to pay any heed to popular views in this matter sounded the death-knell of constitutional agitation, and, amidst unprecedented scenes of enthusiasm, resolutions were passed at a huge public meeting held on August 7, 1905 at Calcutta, to boycott British goods, and adopt *swadeshī* (indigenous) goods and to spread national education. It was followed by hundreds of public meetings, picketing of shops where foreign goods were sold, clashes with police, lathi blows, imprisonment of volunteers, flogging, expulsion of students, etc.

The ineffectiveness of the Congress to change the decision of the Government enabled the group led by Tilak to make its voice felt in the deliberations of the Congress. During its session held in 1906 at Calcutta, the Congress not only endorsed their plans but for the first time in its history laid down as its goal, 'the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies', which the President Dadabhai Naoroji, summed up in one word '*swarāj*'. The *swadeshī* movement spread to other parts of India and according to the confidential report of the Intelligence Branch, boycott and *swadeshī* movements assumed an all-India character even towards the end of 1905. As to its results, Surendranath Banerjea observed: "What we could not achieve in 500 meetings extending over 2 years' time, we secured by a boycott lasting for a period of 3 months." The moderates in the Congress, however, fought shy of the idea of boycott, though they accepted *swadeshī*. Gokhale, their leader, argued that the term 'boycott' had a sinister meaning as it implied a vindictive desire to injure another and should be discarded. The extremists, however, were of the opinion that the twin ideas of *swadeshī* and boycott were complementary to each other as one could not succeed without the other. The moderate party criticized both the end and the means of the exteremists and characterized them as impracticable. It was the difference on these points which led to the final clash between the two wings of the Congress. The 'Boycott Resolution' passed by the Congress at Vārānasi (Benares) at the instance of the extremists was a sort of compromise and its confirmation at Calcutta was resented by the moderates who prepared themselves for a show of

strength at the venue of the next session which was changed from Nāgpur, a stronghold of the extremists, to Surat where the moderate leader Pherozeshah Mehta had a great following. The extremists genuinely feared that the moderates were bent upon altering the resolutions on *swadeshi*, boycott, national education and *swarāj* passed at Calcutta. Tilak's efforts to get an assurance that these resolutions would not be whittled down by the moderates at Surat were of no avail. It resulted in a free fight at the Congress meeting and the police had to be called in to restore order. The moderates immediately afterwards drew up a new constitution and declared their objective to be the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British empire. The extremists were thus excluded from the party.

Strong Nationalist Reaction. While the moderates thus ruled the Congress in splendid isolation for nine years, the national aspirations goaded impatient patriotism to extremes. The policy of repression adopted by the Government, especially after the partition of Bengal, gave rise to a new party, later on known as the Revolutionary Party, whose declared object was the independence of the motherland, for the attainment of which they would not hesitate to use arms. Secret societies and physical culture centres had already been established in the latter half of the 19th century in some parts of the country, especially in Bengal and Bihār, on the model of Carbonari organizations in Italy. Most important of these was the secret organization of Vasudeo Bālwant Phadke in Mahārāshtra, who gathered around him a band of Ramosis and Dhangars to wage war against the British Government. He was, however, arrested and sentenced to transportation for life and died in prison at Aden in 1883. There is also a reference to a secret society founded by the two brothers, Damodar Chapekar and Balkrishna Chapekar.

The next phase of the secret revolutionary movement was developed through the efforts of Aurobindo, who sent Jatindranath Bandopadhyaya to Calcutta for organizing revolutionary activities in Bengal. Soon a network of these societies was set up throughout Bengal, and at some places in Orissa. Most prominent among them was the *Anusilan Samiti* or the 'Society for the Promotion of Culture and Training' which was established by Barindra Kumar Ghose (brother of Aurobindo Ghose) and his friends in 1906. The anti-partition agitation, with its insistence on enforcing a boycott of foreign goods and supplanting them entirely by *swadeshi* products, as also its enlistment of school and college students in picketing operations gave ample opportunity for the preaching of revolutionary doctrines. The rout of the Greeks by the Turks, the massacre of Christians in West Asia and the resounding victories of Japan over Russia further emboldened the nationalists. Arms were collected and bombs manufactured. Revolutionary doctrines spread rapidly among the

CHAPTER II

INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

1. Early Resistance Movements

The national movement in India actually started during the second half of the 19th century. However, isolated attempts in various parts of the country for driving out the British from India had started about a century earlier. After the battle of Plassey in 1757, the real power in Northern India passed into the hands of the British. The loss of independence itself provided the motive force for the struggle for freedom and, henceforward, Indians in various parts of the country commenced their efforts to throw off the yoke of alien rule. It took over a hundred years for this struggle to gain full momentum.

There were several factors which accelerated the pace of the national movement in India. The unscrupulous methods adopted by the British traders and their deliberate attempts to destroy Indian industry and handicrafts generated hatred towards them. After the grant of *Dīwānī* in 1765 by emperor Shāh-Ālam, the officers of the East India Company extorted revenue from the cultivators with utmost severity. This aggravated agrarian misery and discontent. Moreover, the idea of domination which is inherent in foreign rule, imposes some basic hardships on the free development of the subject nations and builds up stresses and strains which no policy, however enlightened, can palliate. A vein of sentiment against the English runs throughout even in *Siyār-ul-Mutākhkhirīn* of Ghulām Ḥusain Khān which was completed in 1783, only twenty-six years after the battle of Plassey. The manifestation of this anti-foreign mood even at the beginning of British rule was not, however, unfounded and bears a relation to the civil disturbances of the early period. Very seldom, during the period from 1757 to 1857, was the country free from either civil or military disturbances and there was plenty of opposition, often from substantial sections of the common people.

The paradoxical feature of the freedom movement was that the people of Bengal—where the transference of authority to the British was effected—generally showed no hostility against the British. The effect of centuries of misrule by a medieval theocracy had sapped the vitality of the Hindus in Bengal, which explained their indifference to the foreign conquerors. The address presented by the pundits of Bengal to Warren Hastings reflected in a certain measure the sense of happiness of the Hindus. Dwarka Nath Tagore expressed his conviction that the happiness of India lay in the hands of England. The liberal character of British administration and

the way in which the Company's affairs came in for criticism in England by Edmund Burke and Richard Sheridan made a profound impression upon the upper classes and the intelligentsia among the Hindus. By 1857, the people of Bengal had grown friendly, even devoted, to their British rulers, which accounts for their passive attitude to the Government during the Revolt of 1857.

Strange as it may appear, there was open acceptance of the British rule by the Hindu intelligentsia of Bengal. Eventually, it led to the ushering in of a period of renaissance in India. Several factors produced this result. It was initiated by the fall of Muslim power and the establishment of direct administration by the East India Company in Bengal as early as 1765. An educated middle class and a vigorous press began to flourish as a concomitant factor of British rule. Bengal also had an early start in the matter of direct impact of western ideas on its intelligentsia through English education. This period synchronized with the epoch of the French Revolution and the revolutionary era that followed it in Europe. Tremendous impact was felt in all fields of social, religious and political activity. With the spread of English education, there was a distinct yearning for freedom and a desire for political reforms as a first step towards this goal. This was followed by the development of that sense of nationality and patriotism and conceptions of social justice and political rights which were imported from the West along with English education. The new urge for freedom in all fields began with Raja Rammohun Roy, (1772-1833) who introduced what is now known as the constitutional agitation to secure political rights and social reforms. The Raja had a passionate love of liberty and longed to see it restored to all the nations, particularly those of Asia. His famous memorial, drawn up in a spirit of protest against the Press Ordinance of 1823, constitutes a great landmark in the development of political ideas of the time. Several other communications, sent by Rammohun Roy to the Board of Control in 1831 sufficiently indicate the breadth of his vision and the wide field of administrative reforms which engaged the attention of the educated Hindus in the first half of the 19th century. The subjects included the fixation of a maximum rent to be paid by the cultivator, trial by jury, separation of the office of judge and magistrate, codification of law and many other subjects which anticipated the demands made by the Indian National Congress at a later time.

Growth of Political Consciousness. The agitation of the Europeans against the attempt to extend the jurisdiction of the Company's criminal courts to British nationals, who were then subject only to the Supreme Court of Calcutta, had great effect on the development of an intense political sense. The violent attitude of the European community against the so-called 'Black Acts' generated a feeling of alarm. Consequently, the need was keenly felt for a strong political association not only as a defensive measure against European challenges, but also to represent Indian

views to Parliament, speciallly on the eve of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1853. This resulted in the setting up of a new political association in Bengal named the British Indian Association (1851). A branch of the same organization founded in Madras developed into an independent organization and a similar political association was set up in Bombay.

The petition sent to Parliament in the name of the British Indian Association represented the grievances of Indians and suggested administrative reforms at the time of the renewal of the Charter in 1853. It reflects the extent to which political ideas had developed in India at that time. The Association asked for the establishment of a legislature of popular character and on the same footing as those of most of the colonies of Her Majesty's Government. The petitioners accordingly proposed that the legislature of British India should be constituted with 17 members, including three representatives of the people and one nominated official from each of the Presidencies. The petition also pleaded for the reduotion of salaries of the higher officers, abolition of taxes, such as the salt levy and stamp duties. Occasionally, the Association also stressed the need for throwing open all offices to Indians, introduction of trial by jury, abolition of discrimination between Indians and Europeans before the law and many other such demands which anticipated those made by the Indian National Congress half a century later. Thus, the British Indian Association played a great part in the development of a sense of solidarity among Indians during the second half of the 19th oentury. It suggested various measures of reform and tried to rouse the interest of the masses in political questions by framing questionnaires on important topics of the day. It was served by distinguished publicists and leaders like Peary Chandra Mitra, Ram Gopal Ghose, Kisori Chand Mitra, Govinda Chandra Dutta, Dakhinaranjan Mukerji and, above all, by Debendranath Tagore, the founder-Secretary of the Association. The latter stated for the first time that the Indians had not profited by their connection with Great Britain to the extent they had a right to look for. He pleaded for spread of education, relief from the East India Company's monopolies, encouragement of indigenous industries and other measures of sooial and polltioal progress.

The activities of the British Indian Assooiation may justly be regarded as a pioneering effort towards the political awakening of India in the pre-1857 period. Two broad ideas—one for a united stand by all Indians and the other for demanding political rights and administrative reforms—worked simultaneously to produce a feeling of oneness.

The freedom movement in India in the pre-1857 period was an expression of two contradictory ideas, one anti-British and the other pro-British. The latter related to the birth of nationalism and patriotism as a reaotion to the devotion of the people to the principles of British administration and English education. The anti-British movement of this period was

reflected in a series of political and civil commotions, which originated from hostile reactions against the British conquests. It gained momentum with the actual experience of the evils of British rule. Though apparently contradictory, the two attitudes were but two aspects of the same movement for freedom. The many sources of affliction under British rule reinforced the ideas of political awakening stemming from the impact of western culture in the same way as the demand for social justice and political rights—notions imported from the West—offered justifications for and were illustrated in the civil distrubances of the period.

During the early 19th century, circumstances favoured the growth of the Company's rule in India. The British were advancing their power steadily, not so much by a policy of war and conquest carried out in the name of the British Crown, as by a process of slow penetration. In the early stages, they were careful not to challenge the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor nor to claim sovereignty over areas which they were virtually ruling over. The curious situation of the merchants exercising ruling power over the country and yet following the conventions of other *ṣūbadārs* in describing themselves as servants of the Mughal emperor, offering *nazr* to him and getting *khil'at* or titles in return, tended to create confusion in the minds of the people. It was, therefore, not clear to them if any help rendered to the British in their wars and conquests would go against the interests of their country. When, however, it was realized that the British had established their grip over India, they began to react in a different way. This realization that they had been enslaved by a foreign race came gradually, first when the rule of the Company had expanded upto the Sutlej and Lord Hastings showed a tendency to disown the Mughal emperor, but more pointedly in 1835 when the Company felt strong enough to strike coins without the emperor's name. During the same year, Persian was replaced by English as the language of the court. The cumulative effect of all these changes was a sense of awareness of the political subjugation of the country. It affected the minds not only of the civil population, but also of the members of the armed forces. It is evident, therefore, that the detestation of British rule and the accompanying unrest, as testified to by the British officers themselves, was not due to any pre-planned organization or a plot or conspiracy of a few individuals or groups. It was something which flowed spontaneously from the natural reaction of the people to the open manifestation of British policies.

Some British officials found in this unrest an eager desire for emancipation from the British yoke. That it was regarded as such is evident from what Lord Amherst, Lord William Bentinck and others spoke regarding widespread hatred and detestation of British rule and of a constant danger to the English in India. As yet, however, there had not been any combination between the different disaffected elements of the country. The growing discontent of the people was further aggravated by two measures in parti-

cular, namely, the land revenue settlements of James Thomason and others and the annexation of Avadh by Dalhousie. These actions made the union of civil rebellion and military revolt inevitable. The former measure created a class of dispossessed nobles and landlords and the dissolution of the kigndom of Avadh gave a rude shock to the Indian soldiers in the Bengal Army who were recruited mostly from that area. The power of the Company had been rendered strong by the service of the sepoys and then utilized to overthrow their king. This created a rebellious mood which was so clearly in evidence in the feelings of the sepoys during the Revolt of 1857.

The history of the early rebellions shows that the discontent of the sepoys could be attributed either to an impolitic or unjust cutting of pay or an interference with the religious beliefs of the soldiers. The most singular episode of the sepoy revolt having a definite bearing on the future is the mutiny which took place at Barrackpore in 1824. The 47th Native Infantry refused to embark for Burma unless the government allowed two rupees to each soldier per month as travelling expense. They were ordered to communicate their willingness to march on pain of death. On November 2, they mustered as usual when on their refusal to obey the command, Sir Edward Paget, Commander-in-Chief, gave orders to fire. In a moment, grape shot and cannon bullets rained upon them. This military revolt was a disastrous event remotely forecasting the spirit of 1857. Barrackpore thus became the historic site where so many sepoys had died. Many other similar rebellions took place after that, exhibiting the same motivations and feelings, and showing that 'a revolt became a mere question of time and opportunity'. It will, therefore, be realized that the earlier disturbances, both civil and military, formed the background and culminated in the Revolt of 1857.

2. Revolt of 1857

In the early months of 1857, the sepoys at Barrackpore exhibited the same rebellious spirit. On March 29, the Adjutant of the 34th Native Infantry was wounded by a sepoy on the parade ground which gave the sepoy movement a new turn, but there was a lull for a considerable period. On May 10, the sepoys at Meerut rose in revolt and killed their British officers. A call was issued for a march to Delhi. The decision to 'March to Delhi' was an event of outstanding importance because it invested the movement with a political purpose. This step of turning to Delhi and proclaiming allegiance to the Mughal emperor, it appears, was a spontaneous reaction of the common soldier as it happened in the case of many other regiments similarly situated during the revolt of 1857. For nearly four months, Delhi remained the centre of the revolt. At Delhi resided

Bahadur Shah, the Mughal emperor, who gave the movement a traditional country-wide basis. The political theory of the Revolt as reflected in this particular attitude of the sepoys tended to highlight the fact that Bahadur Shah was still regarded as a source of political authority. Correspondingly, it implied that the source of the Company's authority in India lay not in the Charters of the Kings of England, nor in the Acts of the British Parliament, but in the *farmāns* of the Mughal emperor. The only legal title of the East India Company was to act as the *Dīwān* or agent of the Mughal emperor. But, by and large, the trading Company was fast becoming the potential ruler of the country. The British attitude became increasingly firm with the rapid extension of the Company's territory in India. Pressure was brought to bear upon Bahadur Shah, in the form of an increased pension, to surrender his imperial title in favour of an innocuous one, 'King of Delhi', but to no effect. Next, the Company planned to end Mughal rule in Delhi and, in 1849, Dalhousie actually proposed the removal of the house of Tīmūr from Delhi, for it was believed that the strength of the dynasty lay in its association with the city. Eight years later, the revolt flared up. Viewed in this light, the revolt of the Indian army was not a challenge to the legitimate government of the country. The army attempted to destroy the power of the Company with the purpose of helping the emperor, the suzerain *de jure*, to resume his sway. 'What began as a fight for religion ended as a war of independence, for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the king of Delhi was the rightful representative'.

The most important thing about the Revolt of 1857 was that it was a conjunction of a spirit of disaffection of the earlier age and the anticipation of freedom which the intial successes of the military 'mutinies' tended to excite. The famous Azamgarh proclamation which sets forth the views of the rebels in a convincing manner for the purpose of winning over the *zamīndārs*, merchants, public servants, and pundits and fakirs to their cause, proves the adequacy of the thesis of 'Civil Disturbances' of the earlier period and links up the mutiny and civil rebellion of 1857 in the eventual composition of a revolt. The sepoys were fighting for their castes, the chiefs for their kingdoms, the landed classes for their estates, the masses for fear of conversion to Christianity and the Muslims in particular for the restoration of their old sway. Yet, all in their own way were fighting against their common enemy—the British. This fact gave the uprising of 1857 its sweep and depth unlike any of the wars the Indians fought against the English. Few circumstances are perhaps more in evidence throughout the sepoy 'mutinies' and, indeed, the broad fact which stands on official admission is that the Indian 'mutiny' was actually a rebellion. The sepoys became the spearheads, the instruments and means of an upsurge in various parts of the country.

Thus the Revolt of 1857 was more than a military and feudal insurrection. The uprising may not have conformed to the character of a nationalist movement nor, perhaps, was its course exclusively influenced by patriotic motives. Patriotism was reinforced by an appeal to religious passion before the people rose. Yet, it cannot be denied that it was the first combined attempt by many classes of people to challenge a foreign power*

3. Rising Tide of Nationalism

The failure of the outbreak of 1857 opened a new phase in India's struggle for freedom. The idea of open armed resistance against the British was now at a discount, though it was not altogether discarded as is evident from the Santhal outbreak (1855) in Bihâr and the Indigo disturbances (1859-1861) in Bengal. The Wahābīs too carried on a relentless struggle against the British, which could only be suppressed after the state trials of Ambâla (1864), Patna (1865), Mālda (September 1870) and Râjmahâl (October 1870). Important leaders of the movement—Yahya Ali, Ahmadullah, Amiruddin, Ibrahim Mandal, and Rafique Mandal—were tried, convicted and transported for life. Similarly, the Kūkâs in the Punjab, under their Guru, Ram Singh, put up a stout resistance against the British (1872), resulting in many casualties and the deportation of their Guru to Rangoon where he died in 1885. These were, however, only stray incidents showing that violence was not dead. It was the intellectual movement which now dominated politics. The political ideas and organizations which had taken root before 1857 now flowered into a new national or political consciousness. This was brought about by the sudden revelation of the past glory of India through the works of scholars like William Jones, James Prinsep, Max Muller, James Fergusson, H.H. Wilson, R.G. Bhandarkar and Rajendralal Mitra, and through excavations and explorations carried on under the supervision of Alexander Cunningham. The preachings of the various religious associations as the Ārya Samāj, Theosophical Society and Râmakrishna Mission also helped to foster pride in the country and its glorious past.

To these factors was added the discontent of the intelligentsia against British rule. The economic ruin of the country, caused by the selfish policy of a mercantile England, was emphasized by the chronic poverty of the people and recurrence of famines. Even when millions were dying of famine in the South, a magnificent durbar (January 1, 1877) was held at Delhi and its expenses had to be borne by the famished people of India. Another disconcerting feature was the racial arrogance of the English. Rude behaviour towards Indians, sometimes accompanied by brutal

* For a detailed account of the Great Revolt of 1857 please refer to Chapter I.

assault, striking of servants and ordinary men on the slightest provocation and turning even respectable Indians out of railway compartments, was quite common. While Englishmen were let off with very light punishment even for heinous crimes, Indians were severely punished for the slightest offences or discourtesy to Englishmen. Indians felt deeply humiliated and there was increasing bitterness of feelings between the two. The question of recruitment of Indians to the covenanted civil service was a further source of resentment to the educated classes. Repeated representations were made by Indian leaders for simultaneous examinations in India and England and raising of the age, but the Government remained obdurate. These and other causes of discontent gave rise to vigorous political agitations. As already noticed, organized political associations, such as the British Indian Association and its sister organisations were working in that direction.

Prominent among the individual leaders who advocated such advanced political views were Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee (1844-1906), Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925), Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915), Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1844-1936), Rajnarayan Basu (1826-1899), Anandamohan Bose (1846-1906) and Kristodas Pal (1838-1884). As early as the eighteen-fifties, Rajnarayan thought of India's independence and declared: "Our nationalism could be worth-while only when it was based on a popular sense of independence". The *Jātiya Melā* (national gathering) organized in Calcutta and the Jātiya Sabhā (instituted in 1870) became powerful factors in the growth of common national feeling among the educated classes. Kristodas Pal, a veteran journalist, wrote in 1874 in his famous paper *The Hindoo Patriot:* "Our attention should, therefore, be directed to Home Rule for India".

These advanced ideas led to the establishment on September 25, 1875 of a new political association, the Indian League, which was looked upon as 'the first marked sign of awakening of the people on the side of India to political life'. The Indian League was, however, soon replaced by the Indian Association (July 26, 1876) which aimed at the organization of public opinion on an all-India level and one of its main objectives was the unification of the Indian people on the basis of common political interests and aspirations, the promotion of friendly feelings between Hindus and Muslims and the inclusion of the masses in the great public movements of the day. It was about this time that the Sārvajanik Sabhā was founded in Poona (1870) with M.G. Ranade (1842-1901) as its moving spirit. This organization gave wide publicity to popular grievances against the bureaucracy. In northern India, the working of this spirit was marked by the emergence of the Ārya Samāj, founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883) whose watchwords were 'Back to the Vedas' and 'Āryasthān for Aryans'. "The latter" Sir Valentine Chirol remarked, "has sometimes barely disguised more than a merely Platonic desire to see the British quit India."

The harsh and oppressive measures adopted by Lord Lytton (1876-1880), his Vernacular Press Act, the Arms Act and the abolition of duty on imported cotton goods were bitterly resented by Indians and helped to stimulate their political activities. In 1876, when the age limit of the competitors for the Indian Civil Service examination was lowered from 21 to 19, the Indian Association at once took the opportunity to start an all-India agitation against the measure by 'uniting the provinces through a sense of common grievances and aspirations of common resolve'. Surendranath Banerjea's tours in different parts of India (1877) were rightly acclaimed as 'the first successful attempt of its kind at uniting India on a political basis'. Encouraged by the spontaneous response all over India, and taking advantage of the agitation over the Ilbert Bill and the imprisonment of Surendranath Banerjea in 1883, the Indian Association conceived the idea of an All-India National Conference which was approved by all the branches of the Association in North India as well as by the leading political organizations of Bombay and Madras. Many politically conscious individuals like Tarapada Banerji and Kristodas Pal had also suggested a meeting of the delegates from all parts of India at Caclutta. This conference met in Calcutta in December 1883 and may justly be regarded as the precursor of the Indian National Congress, being conceived on the same lines and having an identical programme.

4. Indian National Congress.

A retired civilian, Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912), son of the founder of the Radical Party in England, had addressed an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University (March 1, 1883) urging them to organize an association for the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India. Hume viewed with deep concern the tremendous unrest during the closing years of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty. He had special means to know about the condition of the country and wrote that failure to counteract this unrest would spell danger to British rule in India. Hume was determined to provide a safety valve for the escape of this 'great and growing force', and enlisted official favour in support of such an organization. The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin (1884-1888), told him that 'he found the greatest difficulty in ascertaining the real wishes of the people and that it would be a public benefit if there existed some responsible organization through which the Government might be kept informed regarding the best Indian public opinion'. The idea of organizing an all-India political body was also mooted at Madras at a private meeting of 17 leaders who assembled after the Theosophical Convention held there in December 1884. Hume expedited his plans and, after consultations with leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji

(1844-1906), Pherozeshah Mehta and others, decided to hold at Bombay a meeting of representatives from all parts of India. This was "expected to form the germ of a native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative Government". The first Indian National Congress which met in Bombay in 1885 under the presidentship of Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee, consisted only of 72 delegates. Henceforth the Congress met every year in some important town of India, the second and third sessions being held, respectively, at Calcutta and Madras under the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji and Badruddin Tyabji. The Congress gradually developed into a powerful political organization with an all-India character. The number of delegates rose steadily and, at the fourth Congress at Allahābād (1888) there were 1,248 delegates. It focussed the political ideas of English-educated Indians and gave them a definite shape and form. It professed unswerving loyalty to the British throne and cherished unbounded faith in the liberalism and sense of justice of British statesmen. It's whole endeavour was to rouse British consciousness to the inherent justice of the Indian claims. Year after year, it pressed for examinations for the Indian Civil Service, simultaneously in India and England, the right to carry arms, grant of Imperial Military Commissions to Indians, appointment of Indians to Executive Councils, and elected representatives in a majority in the Councils. It paid much attention to economic problems and, in particular, pressed steadily for reduction of military expenditure. Though the Congress followed a policy of moderation in its earlier stages, it indirectly helped the political advancement of India in various ways. The annual gatherings of leading representatives from different parts of India gave reality to the ideal of Indian unity, developed patriotic feelings, and awakened political consciousness among the steadily increasing circle of English-educated Indians. Dadabhai Naoroji, even visited England and carried on propaganda there in the name of the Congress and on behalf of the people of India. He was able to win the sympathies of a large number of Englishmen, including William Sproston Caine, M.P. (1842-1903), William Digby (1849-1904), Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1891), George Yule (1829-1892), M.P., Sir Henry Cotton (1845-1915) and Sir William Wilson Hunter (1840-1900). In July 1889, a British Committee of the Congress was established in England and a journal *India* was also brought out. In 1893, Sir William Wedderburn (1838-1918) and W.S. Caine set up an Indian Parliamentary Committee to agitate in the House of Commons for Indian political reforms. 'The growth of the infant Hercules alarmed the officialdom' and even Lord Dufferin, who had played an important role in the foundation of the Indian National Congress, felt sadly disillusioned even before he left India and referred to the educated middle class represented by the Congress as a 'microscopic minority' who had no right to speak on behalf of the people. Gladstone

had already warned his countrymen of the danger of the 'rising aspirations of this great people'. Writers like Theodore Beck (the first Principal of the Muslim Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh) suggested that the time had come to 'use once more that iron in the velvet glove and to put down this kind of agitation'. But officials thought that the best way to kill the Congress was to have countrywide demonstrations against it. There were several associations already in the field. The United Indian Patriotic Association of which Sir Syed Ahmed (1817-1898) was the secretary, and the 'British Association of Oudh' joined hands, with funds placed lavishly at their disposal. In spite of his liberal sympathies, Sir Syed would have nothing to do with the Congress and advised his co-religionists to follow his example. He regarded the Congress struggle as 'a civil war without arms. The ultimate object of the Congress was to rule the country and although they wished to do it in the name of all people of India, the Muslims would be helpless as they would be in a minority'. "The Muslim recoil from Congress nationalism", according to Professor Coupland, "was mainly Ahmad's doing." The Patriotic Association brought out pamphlets and carried on propaganda showing the 'seditious' character of the Indian National Congress. The Central National Mahommedan Association formed in Calcutta by Syed Ameer Ali (1878) and the Muhammadan Literary and Scientific Society founded in 1863 by Abdul Latif Khan refused to send delegates to the second Congress when approached by its Reception Committee. The fear of Hindu majority thus held back the Muslims from joining the Congress in large numbers, though it had such distinguised Muslims as Badruddin Tyabji and Rahamatulla Muhammad Sayani (1847-1902) as its Presidents in 1887 and 1896 respectively.

Despite bitter and unfriendly criticism, the Congress forged ahead. Its appeal to the masses at the Allahābād session (1888) brought forth a severe rejoinder from Sir Auckland Colvin (then Lt. Governor of the North-Western Provinces). Dufferin was, however, an astute statesman. Publicly he denounced the ultimate ambition of the Congress as 'a very big jump into the unknown', and declared that 'in the present condition of India there can be no real or effective representation of the people with their enormous number, their multifarious interests and their tessellated minorities.' But, at the same time, he suggested to the Home Government to take steps for liberalizing the provincial councils which 'is all that reasonable leaders even of the most advanced section of "Young India" dream of'. These recommendations ultimately led to the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 which did not satisfy even the moderates. Their leader, Gopalkrishna Gokhale (1866-1915), delcared: "If the officer who drafts the Rules for Bombay had been asked to sit down with the deliberate purpose of framing a scheme to defeat the object of the Act of 1892, he could not have done better".

While the Congress was thus continuing its agitation on constitutional lines, with a firm faith in the 'providential character' of British rule in India and an equally robust and sincere sentiment of loyalty and devotion to the British Crown, a new wave of nationalism was sweeping over Bengal and Mahārāshtra. The most significant feature of this nationalism was an intense love of the motherland, based on a conception of its past greatness and future potentialities. The life and precepts of Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) and his triumphant tour in the United States (1893) not only raised the prestige of India abroad, but also quickened the sense of national pride and patriotism among Indians. The literature produced in Bengal during the period also increased patriotic fervour and national consciousness.

Resurgent Nationalism The high priest of this new national fervour was Bankimchandra Chatterji (1838-1894), the author of *Ānandamaṭh*. He wielded his mighty pen to ridicule the mendicant policy of the Congress which only put up an annual show for 3 days. The cry was taken up by others and sharp protests were heard against the Congress. Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950) wrote a series of articles against it in the Bombay weekly *Indu Prakash* between August 1893 and March 1894 under the heading 'New Lamps for Old'. The Congress leaders at Bombay felt alarmed at the tone of these articles and pressure was put upon the editor to stop their publication. But soon there appeared a great nationalist leader in Mahārāshtra, Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), who refused to give way.

A great scholar, Tilak, however, chose to become a politician and a man of action, being prompted by the impulse of liberating his country from foreign rule. His message had a special appeal to his people who had lost their independence. The Marāṭhā country, therefore, proved a congenial soil for fostering the new spirit. Valentine Chirol rightly called him the 'Father of Indian Unrest'. Tilak made it the great object of his life to diffuse the spirit of patriotism and nationalism among the masses. For this purpose, he inaugurated the Śivājī festival and transformed the traditional worship of Gaṇapati in Mahārāshtra into an altogether new form. The Sedition Committee appointed in 1918 reported that at the time of celebrations, leaflets were distributed 'urging the Marathas to rebel as Sivaji did', declaring that the danger of subjection to foreign rule penetrated the bosom of all, and urging that a religious outbreak should be made the first step towards the overthrow of the foreign power. Thus, Tilak made full use of the two great forces of religion and history to achieve his objective. Through his journals the *Kesari* (in Marāṭhī) and the *Mahratta* (in English), he called for nationalist fervour and asserted that only strong constitutional means and not the policy of mendicancy followed by the Congress would lead to the goal. In the Punjab, Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) and in Bengal, Bepinchandra Pal (1858-1932) also expressed similar views and criticized the Congress, for 'its propaganda was confined to a few English-

youth and on December 6, 1907, an attempt to blow up the train of Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was made near Midnapore. On 23rd December, B.C. Allen, a former District Magistrate of Dacca, was shot in the back, though not fatally, at a railway station. On April 30, 1908, at Muzaffarpur in Bihâr, a bomb was thrown into a carriage in which two ladies, Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, were driving. Both of them were killed. The bomb was intended for D.H. Kingsford, a judge, who had incurred the displeasure of the revolutionaries. Of the two young men arrested, Khudiram Bose was hanged while Profulla Chaki shot himself dead. The discovery of a secret manufactory of bombs and explosives in the outskirts of Calcutta in 1908 led to the trial of a number of persons in the famous Alipore Conspiracy Case. In August 1908, Kanai Lal Dutt and Satyen Bose, shot dead in jail a comrade who had turned approver. In the Dacca Conspiracy Case, Pulin Behari Das and two of his associates, Ashutoshdas Guptá and Jyotirmoy Roy figured prominently and were awarded heavy sentences. The movement continued and its most spectacular act before 1914-1918 was done in 1912 when the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was riding an elephant in a state procession through Delhi. A bomb was thrown which wounded him and killed the attendant just behind him. Amir Chand, Avadh Behari, Bal Mukand and Basanta Kumar Biswas were arrested in this connection and sentenced to death. Rash Behari Bose, said to be the brain behind the conspiracy, could not be apprehended.

The arrest and deportation of the Punjab leaders, Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, in 1907, and the passing of the unpopular Punjab Colonization Bill led to riots at Lahore, Râwalpindi and Lyallpur. Endeavours were even made to incite the troops at Ferozepore and Lyallpur to revolt. In Madras, disturbances followed after a series of public lectures by Bepinchandra Pal and Chidamabaram Pillai. In June 1911, Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tirunelveli (then Tinnevelly), was shot dead by a young Brâhmaṇa, Vanchi Aiyar. The killing of Sir William Curzon Wyllie by Madan Lal Dhingra (1909) was attributed to the revolutionary activities of Shyamji Krishna Verma and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Shyamji Krishna Verma's Indian Home Rule Society in London brought out the *Indian Sociologist*, a penny monthly. The seditious writings therein became the subject-matter of questions in Parliament. Madam K.R. Cama, a Parsi lady and Har Dayal were the two other revolutionaries who carried on ceaseless propaganda abroad for the liberation of India durin this period (1908-1910).

There was a wave of unrest throughout the country which was f exploited by the revolutionaries. Lord Hardinge II (1910-1916) wr in his book, *My Indian Years:* "..during the three or four years imme tely preceding the Darbar the average had been one political murd every fortnight". The extremist movement also drew its incentive and en urage-

ment from a powerful press, which included the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* of Tilak, the *Vande Mataram* patronized by Aurobindo Ghose, the *New India* of Bepinchandra Pal, the *Sandhya* of Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya and the *Yugantar* of Bhupendranath Dutta (brother of Swami Vivekananda) and Barindrakumar Ghose.

For checking the 'malignant growth' of revolutionary crimes, to quote Montagu, the British Government decided on a policy of 'blended repression and concession'. The Government tried to suppress the extremists with official acts, namely, the Explosives Substances Act (1908), the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act (1907), the Press Act (1908), etc. Aurobindo Ghose was prosecuted for conspiracy to wage war against the King. Tilak was imprisoned for 6 years on a charge of sedition and deported to Mandalay. Lajpat Rai had been exiled and Bepinchandra Pal was already in jail in 1907.

Divide and Rule Policy. While the repression went on, the Government sought to conciliate the moderates, who were also getting impatient at the Government's policy, by a proposal to introduce partial self-government and thus to leave the extremists alone in the wilderness. Gokhale had also warned Minto that the whole younger generation of India was going over to the extremists' side and was attracted by doctrines preached by them of 'getting rid of British rule'. He told the Viceroy that an immediate announcement of reforms could alone save the situation. British writers on Indian affairs, like Walter Lawrence, Private Secretary to Lord Curzon, and Valentine Chirol were alarmed at the growth of the new spirit in India and warned Morley, the Secretary of State for India, that unless some steps were taken immediately, 'the Mohammedans will also throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you'. The British Government now sought to alienate the Muslims from the Hindus by the introduction of separate electorates with weightage, which was virtually a stab in the back of Indian nationalism Some prominent Muslims were encouraged by British officials to meet the Viceroy in a delegation and to urge for representation as a separate community; Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary to the Viceroy and W.A.J. Archbold, Principal, Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, being the prime movers in this intrigue. The delegation, led by the Aga Khan (1875-1958), met Lord Minto on October 1, 1906, and prayed that 'their position should be estimated not merely on their numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of their community and the service it has rendered to the Empire'. The Viceroy expressed full accord with the views and demands of the deputationists. It is noted in Lady Minto's diary (October 1906) that this act was jubilantly hailed by British officialdom as 'nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition'. December 30, 1906, saw the birth of the All India Muslim League whose objective was to 'support, wherever possi-

ble, all measures emanating from the Government and to protect the cause and advance the interests of our co-religionists throughout the country, to controvert the growing influence of the so-called Indian National Congress ... and to enable our youngmen of education, who for want of such an association, have joined the Congress, to find scope, according to their fitness and ability, for public life.' 'Divide and Rule' henceforward became the keynote of British policy in India. As soon as the Minto-Morley Reforms (1909), with provision for separate electrorates were published, the moderates felt quite disillusioned, for the reforms enunciated a doctrine of minority representation by accepting religion as the basis of determining political minority and thus created a rift in the solidarity of Indian nationalism. By strengthening the forces of communalism, they created complications in the struggle for *swarāj*.

The British Government at the same time sought to pacify the Congress by announcing revocation of the Partition of Bengal at the Delhi Durbar (1911). This Presidency, along with Bombay and Madras, was raised to the status of a Governor's province. These measures gave great satisfaction to the people of Bengal. The nationalists claimed it to be the result of their continuous struggle and argued that active agitation rather than passive acquiescence could alone make the Government see reason.

5. Surge Towards Freedom

The extremists did not reconcile themselves to the position created by the Minto-Morley Reforms. In spite of all-round repression on the part of the Government, there were widespread secret activities on the part of the revolutionaries in Bengal, who had dedicated fellow-workers in other parts of India. Some of the Indian revolutionaries tried to work for the liberation of their motherland even from outside India, particularly the members of the *Ghadar* Party organized in America by Har Dayal. On the outbreak of World War I, some of the Indian revolutionaries thought of alliance with Germany against England, and Germany also sought to utilize them against the Allies. A young Tamil named Champakraman Pillai, president of a body in Zurich, called the International Pro-India Committee, went to Berlin to work under the German Foreign Office. He started the Indian National Party which was attached to the German General Staff. It had as its members Har Dayal, Taraknath Das, Barkatullah, Chandra Kanta Chakravarty and Haramba Lal Gupta.

Considerable stir was created in the Punjab by what is known as the '*Komagata Maru* incident'. *Komagata Maru*, a Japanese steamer, was chartered by Gurdit Singh, a public-spirited Sikh who had settled in Singapore along with some other Sikhs. It sailed from Hongkong on April 4, 1914. After it reached Vancouver, the local authorities refused to allow

the passengers to land 'except in a few cases, as the immigrants had not complied with the requirements of the law'. After some resistance, the *Komagata Maru* passengers had to agree to return on July 23. Meanwhile, the First World War broke out and, due to certain circumstances, the vessel had to come to India. It moored at Budge Budge near Calcutta on September 29. The passengers were to be taken to the Punjab in a special train. But 'the Sikhs refused to enter the train and tried to march to Calcutta in a body. They were forcibly turned back by the police and a riot ensued with loss of life on both sides. Both in the Punjab and in Bengal, the situation was rapidly deteriorating. The Government of India passed the Defence of India Act in 1915, which authorized the appointment of special tribunals for the trial of revolutionaries. Severe measures were taken by the Government against them. A Pan-Islâmic Party, guided from Kâbul by Mahendra Pratap and Barkatullah, also tried to foment revolution in the Punjab.

Though the aim of the revolutionaries was to secure the freedom of the country from British rule, their methods did not produce any tangible result. In the meantime, other factors had begun to influence the course of Indian politics. The treatment meted out to the Indians in South Africa by the government there, against which Gandhiji (1869-1948) had launched *satyāgraha*, humiliation of the Indians in other British colonies and the question of Indian emigration to the British colonies had become matters of deep concern for the Indians. Besides, there was growth of a new feeling among the educated Muslims whose outlook was considerably influenced by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 about Persia, the nationalist movements in Turkey and Persia, the war between Italy and Turkey (1911), and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913).

This new consciousness helped the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. The All India Muslim League gave up its exclusive attitude from 1913 onwards. At its annual session, held at Lucknow on March 22, 1913, it declared its aim to be 'the attainment of self-government for India along with the other communities'. Both the Congress and the Muslim League held their annual sessions at Lucknow in December 1916 and concluded the 'Lucknow Pact' by which the Congress agreed to separate electorates. Both the organizations jointly formulated a scheme of reforms known as the 'Congress-League Scheme'. The resolution for self-government demanded that India should be made 'an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing dominions'.

The year 1916 is an important landmark in the history of the national movement in India for two other reasons. From 1908 onwards, the Indian National Congress was under the influence of the moderates. Two great moderate leaders, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta, passed away in February and November, 1915, respectively. In 1916, however, the moderates and the extremists reunited to work together under

the Indian National Congress. Further, Mrs. Annie Besant (1847-1933), who had been working for some years for the moral and cultural regeneration of India which she had adopted as her motherland, joined the Indian national movement in 1914. She started a daily, *New India*, and later a weekly, *Commonweal* and organized a Home Rule League at Madras in September 1916. After his release from Mandalay prison in June 1914, Lokamanya Tilak started another Home Rule League at Poona in April 1916, and carried on vigorous propaganda through his two journals—the daily *Kesari* and the weekly *Mahratta*. The Lucknow session of the Congress in 1916 brought both the Home Rule Leagues together and they co-operated vigorously to push forward the Congress-League scheme. Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) later wrote: "The atmosphere became electric and most of us young men felt exhilarated and expected big things in the near future". The Government's represessive measures to restrict the activities of Lokamanya Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant served to intensify the national discontent. There was a strong demand throughout the country for the release of Mrs. Annie Besant, G.S. Arundale and B.P. Wadia. Mrs. Besant was released in September 1917 and presided over the next session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in December 1917.

6. Constitutional Reforms

World War I (1914-1918) had serious repercussions on India in various ways. The British war effort received from India a large and generous contribution in men, money and munitions. Acknowledging this help, Lord Birkenhead (later Secretary of State for India) observed: "Without India, the War would have been immensely prolonged, if indeed without her help it could have been brought to a victorious conclusion ... India is an incalculable asset to the mother country". At the same time, the War hastened the growth of national consciousness among the people. In a speech, delivered at Karāchi on February 29, 1916, Mahatma Gandhi said, "A new hope has filled the hearts of the people, a hope that something is going to happen which will raise the Motherland to a higher status." The British Government realized the need for rallying further support of India at that moment of grave peril and E.S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, made the following significant announcement on August 20, 1917: "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire".

In the meanwhile an event of profound significance had occurred in the Champāran district of Bihār. In response to the appeal of the ryots of Champāran, who had been groaning under the oppressions of the indigo-planters, Mahatma Gandhi went there in 1917. With the assistance of some leaders of Bihār and by his selfless and undaunted crusade on behalf of the ryots, Gandhiji succeeded in persuading the Government to pass the Champāran Agrarian Act in 1917 which removed age-long abuses and acute miseries of a vast body of men. This mission of Mahatma Gandhi in Champāran was also marked by some noble experiments in the social and educational fields. At the same time, it fostered the cause of nationalism by infusing into the minds of the common people of Champāran a spirit of awakening, which is an indispensable prerequisite for a successful national struggle. "The Champaran struggle was a proof of the fact", wrote Mahatma Gandhi, "that disinterested service of the people in any sphere ultimately helps the country politically". There were agrarian troubles in other parts of India also, particularly at Kaira in Gujarāt, where the ryots organized *satyāgraha* under the advice of Mahātma Gandhi.

In return for her sacrifices during the war, India had naturally high expectations from the British Government, particularly after the Montagu declaration of August 1917. Montagu had also announced that he would proceed to India in order to consult the Viceroy and to give a hearing to all the interests concerned in India's advance towards self-government. The Montagu Mission reached India on November 10, 1917. It formulated a joint scheme of reforms, which was published on July 8, 1918, and embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919. The publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report raised an angry outcry from the extremist organs. Lokamanya Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant denounced it strongly. A special session of the Congress, held at Bombay in 1918 under the presidentship of Hasan Imam, condemned the proposals as 'disappointing and unsatisfactory' and suggested some modifications as absolutely necessary to constitute a substantive step towards responsible government. It also decided to send a deputation to England 'to press the Congress views on the British democracy'. These reforms proved acceptable to the moderates, who formed an organization distinct from the Congress, known as the Indian National Liberal Federation.

Gandhiji was at first in favour of making these reforms work and the Congress decided accordingly in 1919, but certain factors soon caused considerable excitement in India. Economic troubles, due to additional taxation and rise in prices of articles of prime necessity, produced extreme hardships for the people and accentuated discontent against the rulers. Muslim sentiment in India was deeply stirred by the *Khilāfat* Movement on the question of the dismemberment of Turkey after her defeat in World War I. Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali, the two brothers, and Maulana

Abul Kalam Azad organized the *Khilāfat* Movement. India's hopes for a true responsible government were soon belied in the face of unmitigated governmental repression. The Rowlatt Bills were calculated to perpetuate the extraordinary powers given to the Government during the War for suppressing political activities in the country and punishing persons by depriving them of the ordinary rights and privileges of trial and defence provided by law. As a protest against these, Mahatma Gandhi organized a country-wide passive resistance movement.

To put down this movement, the Government began 'a reign of terror', particularly in the Punjab under its Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The blackest act was committed by the Government in connection with a meeting of the citizens of Amritsar held at the Jalliānwāla Bāgh in the afternoon of April 13, 1919. Under the orders of General R.E.H. Dyer, British troops mercilessly fired over 1,600 rounds on the unarmed and defenceless people who had no means of escape from that small park. Even according to official figures, wrung out of the Government some months later, 379 persons were killed, and 1,200 were left wounded on the field about whom, to use Dyer's own words, he 'did not consider it his job to take the slightest thought'. The Jalliānwāla Bāgh massacre was indeed a dark tragedy. Even after this the Government had no hesitation in using third-degree methods of torture on political prisoners. Martial Law was proclaimed in the Punjab within a few days and special tribunals were set up which served as veritable engines of oppression 'to carry out the arbitrary will of the autocrat'. Indiscriminate arrests, confiscations of property, floggings and whippings were freely resorted to. There were shootings, hangings and bombing from the air, while at Amritsar 'innocent men and women were made to crawl like worms on bellies'.

All these outrages naturally shocked the people of India and raised a strong wave of discontent throughout the country. As a protest against the atrocities in the Punjab, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) renounced knighthood.

7. Mass Struggle for Freedom

Under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi the Indian national movement now took a new turn and was transformed into a people's movement for liberty. As Rev. C.F. Andrews said: "Mahatma Gandhi spoke to the heart of India the *mantram*—Be free, Be slaves no more—and the heart of India responded." Mahatma Gandhi wholeheartedly supported the *Khilāfat* cause and there was a happy fraternization between the Hindus and the Muslims who became determined to fight together to achieve the country's freedom from alien control. At a special session of the Congress, held in Calcutta in September 1920 under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat

Rai, the momentous resolution on 'Non-co-operation' was passed by 1,886 votes against 884. This resolution was confirmed almost unanimously at the Nāgpur session, held in December 1920.

There had already been a quick and enthusiastic response to the programme of the Non-cooperation Movement throughout the country. It included surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation of nominated members in the local bodies, boycott of Government educational institutions, law-courts and the legislatures, boycott of foreign goods, adoption of *swadeshi* cloth on a vast scale and revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, besides non-payment of taxes. The Congress now defined its objective as the 'attainment of *swaraj* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.' The terms 'constitutional means' were replaced by the last phrase and *swarāj* was considered to be 'self-rule within the Empire, if possible, without, if necessary'. Discipline and self-sacrifice were emphasized as essential conditions of the movement and non-violence was declared to be its "integral part".

Under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, the Non-cooperation Movement made remarkable progress as a mass struggle. Students left colleges and schools in large numbers. More national educational institutions were established at different places; many lawyers gave up practice, the most distinguished among them being Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu C.R. Das; and about two-thirds of the voters did not participate in the elections held in October 1920.

While carrying out the Non-cooperation Movement, the Congress also laid stress on constructive activities. One resolution passed during its meeting, held at Bezwāda (Vijaywāda) on March 31 and April 1, 1921, asked the people to concentrate on the following three items with a view to their completion by June 30: raising the all-India Tilak *swarājya* fund to one crore of rupees; enlisting one crore of members for the Congress; and introducing twenty lakhs of *charkhās* (spinning wheels) in the cities and villages. At another meeting from July 28-30, the Congress passed a resolution for concentrating attention "upon attaining a complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September next and on manufacture of *Khadar* by stimulating hand-spinning and hand-weaving". One important feature of the movement was the burning of foreign cloth. On July 31, 1921, Mahatma Gandhi made a bonfire of foreign cloth at Bombay and the example was soon emulated in other parts of the country.

To conciliate the Indians, the British Government sent the Prince of Wales to India. He landed at Bombay on November 17, 1921, but India refused to 'welcome a representative of a system' of which she was "sick unto death". As a mark of discontent against the Government, people observed *hartāl* all over the country and when the Prince visited the provincial capitals, the streets were deserted.

There followed a mounting wave of passive resistance and civil disobedience in different parts of the country. Mahatma Gandhi still advised to 'hasten slowly', and asked the people to create a proper atmosphere for civil disobedience. But the growth of Govenment repression and persecution of some leaders, including the Ali brothers, added fuel to the fire. Meeting at Delhi on November 4 and 5, 1921, the All-India Congress Committee authorized 'every province on its own responsibility to undertake Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes'. Mahatma Gandhi was chosen as the supreme leader to guide the movement. Instead of at once launching a country-wide mass movement, he decided to start the experiment at Bārdoli, a small tehsil in the Surat district. He suspended even this after the outbreak of violence at Chauri Chaura, a small village near Gorakhpur in U.P. on February 5, 1922, where an infuriated mob burnt the police station and killed twenty-two police men. Mahatma Gandhi's Bārdoli decision caused some restiveness among some of his followers, but the Congress endorsed it in February 1922. In the tense situation, the Government arrested Mahatma Gandhi and took no steps to withdraw their repressive measures.

There was a new development in the Congress during its 37th annual session held at Gaya in December 1922. Some members, including Deshbandhu C.R. Das, president of that session, and Pandit Motilal Nehru (1861-1931), advocated 'council entry' to follow a plan of 'uniform, consistent and continuous obstruction for mending or ending' the new reforms by entering the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils. However, the majority was not in favour of this policy. The pro-Council group, therefore, formed the Swarāj Party early in 1923 with Deshbandhu C.R. Das as its President and Pandit Motilal Nehru as its Secretary. The new party contested the next elections. The Swarājists had at first some success, but their main objective was not fulfilled and their influence on Indian politics practically disappeared after the premature death of Deshbandhu C.R. Das in June 1925.

Mahatma Gandhi was released from jail in February 1924. In view of some disquieting factors, he wanted to retire from active politics, though his own faith in the Non-cooperation Movement was still strong. Presiding at the thirty-ninth session of the Congress, held at Belgaum on December 20, 1924, he observed: "We are face to face with a situation that compels us to cry halt." Thus, the Non-cooperation Movement was suspended.

In 1923-24 commenced a critical period in the history of Indian nationalism due to progressive deterioration in Hindu-Muslim relations and rise in communal tension leading to riots at some places. The power of the Muslim League increased, but the Congress followed a strictly nationalist attitude and tried to combat the canker of communalism. Many of the Congress Muslims formed themselves into a group called the Nationalist

Muslims. Communal frenzy deeply pained Mahatma Gandhi, who took to fasting for twenty-one days as 'a penace for unity'. Efforts were made to settle the communal problem by the so-called 'Unity Conferences'. The most notable of these were the one convened in September 1924, by Muhammad Ali, then President of the Congress, and the other which met at Calcutta in October 1927. Some resolutions calling for Hindu-Muslim unity were passed at these conferences but they could not cure the deep-rooted malady.

In this period of trial for the country, Mahatma Gandhi devoted himself more to constructive activities and toured different parts to preach the gospel of harmony and to effect a change of heart among the people for eradication of the various internal maladies. "I travel", he said, "because I fancy that the masses want to meet me. I certainly want to meet them. I deliver my simple message to them in a few words and they and I are satisfied. It penetrates the mass mind slowly but surely."

By 1928, there was a turn in the tide and amity was restored among the different communities and political parties in India. "There seemed to be a new impulse moving the people forward, a new stir that was equally present in the most varied groups". The Conservative Government of Stanley Baldwin in England, of which the late Lord Birkenhead was the Secretary of State for India, announced in November 1927 the appointment of a Commission of seven members. This was done earlier than provided in the Act of 1919. This Commission, under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon, was to report on the working of the constitutional reforms in India. The total exclusion of Indians from the membership of this Commission evoked a strong national opposition and it was condemned as 'a negation of the fundamental right of self-determination which is inherent in every nation'. It was boycotted with the cry of "Go back" by the Congresmen the Liberals and important sections of the Muslim community when it reached Bombay on February 3, 1928, and later visited different parts of India.

Besides boycotting the Simon Commission, the Indians sought to frame a constitution for the country. An all-parties conference appointed a committee for this purpose with Pandit Motilal Nehru as its Chairman. The report of the Nehru Committee (published in August 1928) recommended 'Dominion Status' for India. It did not advocate separate electorates, but was in favour of joint or mixed electorates with only one communal safeguard, that is, reservation of seats for the Muslims only where they were in a minority. The All-Parties Conference, meeting at Lucknow in August 1928, accepted the recommendations of the Nehru Report with some amendments. It was rejected by the Muslim League. An all-parties Muslims conference, held at Delhi on January 1, 1929, issued a manifesto of Muslim claims, which formed the basis of the fourteen demands formulated by M.A. Jinnah in the month of March that year.

The Congress at its Madras session held in December 1927, had declared complete independence to be its national goal. A section in it, represented by S. Srinivas Iyengar, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, favoured 'complete independence' as against the 'Dominion Status' of the Nehru Report. This section formed the Independence of India League in November 1928, to further its cause. There was, however, no split in the Congress. Meeting at Calcutta in December 1928, it passed a resolution which, while 'adhering to the resolution relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress (1927)', approved of the constitution drawn up by the Nehru Report if independence was granted on or before December 31, 1929. In the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress was to organise non-violent non-cooperation by advising the country to refuse payment of taxes and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

India was influenced during these years by new socio-economic forces, which caused labour disputes and strikes in the industrial centres. There had also been recrudescence of revolutinary activities in the post-1924 period. A new revolutionary party, called the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army, had become active in different parts of the country. Two of its prominent members, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt, threw two bombs from the visitors' gallery on the floor of the Central Assembly on April 8, 1929 'to make a noise and create a stir, and not to injure' as the accused stated later.

The Government adopted severe measures of repression against the revolutionaries, but the Congress demands led them to make a cautious approach. The Viceroy, Lord Irwin, was sagacious enough to realize that these were 'critical days' when 'matters by which men are duly touched' were at issue. So, after consultation with the Labour Cabinet of Ramsay Macdonald by a personal visit to England, the Viceroy made an announcement on October 31, 1929, that 'the natural issue of India's constitutional progress', implicit in the delcaration of 1917, was 'the attainment of Dominion Status'. He also mentioned in the announcement that, after the reports of the Simon Commission and the Indian Central Committee had been published, a Round Table Conference of British statesmen and representatives of the different parties in India as also of the Indian states would be held in London to determine the constitution of India. The All-Parties Conference, which met at Delhi on November 11, 1929, issued a manifesto expressing its hope 'to be able to tender co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a Dominion Constitution suitable for India's needs' on the fulfilment of certain conditions by the Government.

The Congress soon took a bolder step. At its Lahore session, held on December 29 and 31, 1929, with Jawaharlal Nehru as its President, it reiterated complete independence to be its goal. It resolved upon a com-

plete boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and the Round Table Conference and authorized the All India Congress Committee whenever it deemed fit to launch upon a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary'. At midnight on December 31, Jawaharlal Nehru unfurled the 'Tricolour', the flag of Indian independence, amidst shouts of *'Inqalāb Zindabād'* (Long Live Revolution). January 26, 1930, was celebrated as the 'Independence Day', and this solemn ceremony was repeated year after year.

Prior to launching *satyāgraha* or civil disobedience, Mahatma Gandhi explained in a letter written to Lord Irwin on March 2, 1930, how the evils of British imperialism had ruined this country and expounded the real meaning of freedom for her teeming millions. He started the Civil Disobedience Movement by his historic march to Ḍāṇḍī, a village on the sea-coast about 322 km. from the Sābarmati *Āśrama*, to make salt there on the sea-shore in defiance of Government's salt laws. A mass movement on a large scale, with active participation of women, started in all parts of the country. There were strikes, *hartāls*, boycott of Birtish goods and liquor shops and even violent actions, such as the Chittagong armoury raid, on April 18, 1930, under the leadership of Surya Sen. During this raid, the revolutionaries captured the police and auxiliary force armoury. They even set up a 'Provisional Independent Government of India' at Chittagong. The raid was followed by a long trail of revolutionary incidents in the district of Chittagong and outside.

The Government promulgated various ordinances prohibiting a number of activities and imposing restrictions on the press. Referring to its policy of ruthless repression, Mahatma Gandhi observed: "Even Dyerism pales into insignificance". Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on May 5, and all the other leaders of the movement were thrown into prison. Police brutality rose high and assumed various forms. Men and women were lathi-charged and mercilessly beaten. Even in the face of these atrocities, the people continued the movement with unabated vigour. Efforts of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar to bring about a compromise produced no result.

While using all methods of repression against the Civil Disobedience Movement, the British Government convened the First Round Table Conference on November 12, 1930, without any representative of the Congress, but it was adjourned *sine die* on January 19, 1931, though its work was not completed. In an announcement on that date, the British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald, observed: "His Majesty's Government will strive to secure such an amount of agreement as will enable the new constitution to be passed through the British Parliament and to be put into operation with the active good will of the people of both countries". This was followed by a change of Government policy on India. On January 25, 1931, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, released Mahatma Gandhi

unconditionally and also the members of the Congress Working Committee in order 'to give an opportunity for them to consider the Premier's statement at the Round Table Conference'. This was followed by the signing of an agreement between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin on March 4, 1931. The Congress agreed to discontinue Civil Disobedience and the Government withdrew all its repressive ordinances. All the political prisoners, excepting those who were guilty of acts of violence, were released. Provision was made for the restoration of confiscated, forfeited or attached properties, except in certain circumstances, and administrative concession was to be given to prepare salt in some areas.

The Congress endorsed this 'provisional settlement' at its next annual session held at Karāchi in March 1931. It appointed Mahatma Gandhi as its sole representative at the Second Round Table Conference which sat from September 7 to December 1, 1931. After prolonged discussions, the Round Table Conference formulated a draft constitution for India. Its work was not, on the whole, satisfactory from the point of view of Indian national demand as it evaded consideration of the fundamental questions.

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India on December 28, 1931, to find that the country was again under stringent repressive measures, such as arrests, ordinances and proscriptions. Lord Willingdon had succeeded Lord Irwin as the Viceroy in April 1931, and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact had come to an end. On January 1, 1932, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution for resuming the Civil Disobedience Movement and the boycott of British goods. The country was again astir, particularly after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi on January 4, 1932. The Congress and its committees and other allied or sympathetic bodies, such as the kisân sabhās or peasant unions, youth leagues, students associations, sevā dals and national educational institutions, were declared unlawful. In their zeal, people had no fear of jail and many even courted arrest so that new camp jails had to be erected by the Government. Numerous coercive measures and ordinances followed.

Unfortunately, the canker of communalism proved to be a great impediment to national progress. The question of the so-called 'Depressed Classes' had complicated the situation. The publication of Ramsay Macdonald's Communal Award in August 1932, establishing separate electorates for those called the 'Depressed Classes', greatly shocked Mahatma Gandhi who began a 'fast unto death' from September 20, in disapproval of it. This caused a good deal of agony throughout the country. On September 24, the Poona Pact was signed and it almost doubled the number of seats reserved for the 'Depressed Classes'. These seats were to be filled by joint electorates out of the panel of names originally chosen by them alone. On acceptance of this Pact by the British Prime Minister, Mahatma Gandhi's fast was broken. One remarkable effect of this fast was to create

a new consciousness in the country about the removal of untouchability and uplift of the Harijans.

For certain reasons, the Civil Disobedience Movement slowly declined and it was formally suspended in May 1934. Meanwhile, complex economic factors and agrarian troubles in India had given a new outlook to the Congress. A clear expression of this fact was the resolution on 'Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme' moved at the Karāchi session of the Congress in March 1931. These factors were also responsible for the rise of the Kisan Movement and gave an impetus to the creed of socialism. In May 1934, the socialists formed a separate party within the fold of the Congress, known as the Congress Socialist Party.

The Government of India Act, 1935, brought another instalment of constitutional reforms in India. Though it fell far short of India's national aspirations, the Congress had already decided to give the reforms a trial and to contest the elections to the assemblies at the Centre and in the provinces. In May 1934, the Congress Parliamentary Board had been formed at Patna with Dr. Ansari as its President and Bhulabhai Desai as Secretary. The Congress swept the polls for the general or predominantly Hindu seats. After a deadlock over the question of the exercise of the special powers of interference by the Governor of a province and clarification of the position by the Viceroy in a statement of June 21, 1937, the Congress Working Committee decided at its Wardha meeting, held on July 7, 1937, that 'Congressmen be permitted to accept office where they may be invited thereto'. The real object of the Congress in accepting office was thus stated by the President of the Congress, Jawaharlal Nehru: "Acceptance of office does not mean by an iota acceptance of the slave constitution. It means fighting against the coming of Federation by all means in our power inside as well as outside the Legislatures". The Congress soon formed ministries in several provinces—Bombay, Madras, Bihār, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Orissa and, after some time, in the North-West Frontier Province. In Sind, the ministers and the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly identified themselves with the policy of the Congress.

Unfortunately, communal discord was becoming an acute problem in Indian politics. In pursuance of its own creed, the Congress did not find it possible to agree to the formula of a coalition with the Muslim League in each province. M.A. Jinnah, who had once been an advocate of the theory of one-nation in line with the view of the Congress, now denounced the policies and activities of the Congress ministries and declared that 'the Muslims can expect neither justice nor fairplay under Congress Government'. However, his charges against the latter were never substantiated. Jinnah became the undisputed leader of the Muslim League, which claimed to be recognized as the one authoritative and representative organization of the Muslims in India. Jinnah strongly held

that 'the democratic system of Parliamentary Government on the conception of a homogeneous nation and the method of counting heads' was not possible in India. Under his instructions, the Muslim League observed a 'Day of Deliverance' as a mark of relief after the resignation of the Congress ministries in the provinces.

Though confronted with heavy handicaps, the Congress ministries had to their credit some useful and constructive measures of educational, social and economic reforms. But these were not destined to continue long. India was soon faced with a crisis on the outbreak of World War II. It was a grave ordeal for humanity at large and raised issues which could not but influence the destiny of India in various ways. When Great Britain declared war against Germany on September 3, 1939, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, proclaimed that India also was at war with Germany and asked her to 'play a part worthy of her place among the great nations and the historic civilizations of the world'. India entirely disapproved of Fascist and Nazi ideologies and practices, but taking into consideration her tremendous responsibilities, the Congress Working Committee registered a protest against India being drawn into belligerency 'without the consent of the Indian people'. The Congress issued a statement inviting the British Government 'to declare in unequivocal terms' what their 'War Aims' were in regard to 'Democracy' and 'Imperialism' and how these aims were 'going to apply to India'. The Government were also asked to state if India was going to be treated as 'an independent nation'. In the absence of any satisfactory answer, all the Congress ministries resigned in October-November 1939, and Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, was immediately enforced in these provinces. Under this Section, the Governor, by suspending the legislatures, began to exercise the powers of the provincial governments and the Legislatures. As the war was taking a menacing turn for the Allies, the Congress offered to co-operate in the war effort, if at least a provisional 'National Government' was constituted at the Centre and 'the right of India to complete independence' was acknowledgad by Great Britain. The Government's response was a statement of the Viceroy on August 8, 1940, known afterwards as the 'August Offer'. It said that the British Government 'could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements of India's national life'. The statement held out the prospect of a representative body for framing India's constitution after the war was over. Meanwhile, the British Government, it was mentioned, would welcome the efforts of 'representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement' and they hoped that immediate effect would be given to the enlargement of the Central Executive Council by nominating additional Indian members and to the establishment of a 'War Advisory Council'

composed of representatives of British India and the Indian states.

The 'August Offer' shocked nationalist India and was wholly rejected by the Congress. "It widens the gulf", remarked Mahatma Gandhi, "between India as represented by the Congress, and England". "We want independence and not dominion or any other status", observed Jawaharlal Nehru. As a moral protest against Britain's policy towards India, the *Congress started 'Individual Civil Disobedience' in October 1940*, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, and it continued for over fourteen months.

Two-Nation Theory The Congress continued to be true to its ideal of a *free united India*. While the British Government harped on 'the *issue of minorities*' and some talked of the '*unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League*', Mahatma Gandhi held that it was a *domestic problem* which would disappear if the British withdrew from India. At the Râmgarh (Bihâr) session of the Congress, held in March 1940, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President, emphasized the heritage of a common nationality between the Hindus and the Muslims in India and significantly remarked: "Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible". Various factors fanned communal bitterness and at its annual session, held at Lahore in March 1940, the Muslim League enunciated the theory that the Muslims 'are not a minority' but a 'nation' and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state. It wanted that, 'the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'. Indeed, the influence of the Muslim League over the Muslims in India had increased much by that time.

In the Congress, some Indian nationalists of radical views had constituted themselves into the Forward Bloc under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose. Considering that the policy of the Congress was leaning towards compromise with the Government, they organized an anti-compromise conference during the Congress session at Râmgarh. The Congress Socialist Party also advocated radical views. In spite of some differences in their policy aud methods, all such radicals demanded independence.

The constitutional deadlock continued and the declaration of Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, in the House of Commons on September 9, 1941, that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India increased the dissatisfaction of the Indians. But the international situation was growing more and more ominous. The success of the Japanese in the Pacific, surrender of Singapore to them on February 15, 1942, and their capture of Rangoon and Mandalay on March 7 and April 29, respectively, brought the war peril to the very door of India. The air raids on Colombo, Vishâ-

khapatnam and Kâkinâda, also in the month of April, and the presence of Japanese warships in the Bay of Bengal exposed the whole of the eastern coastline of India to attack.

All this caused great anxiety and excitement throughout India, in the midst of which Winston Churchill made an announcement on March 11, 1942, that the British Cabinet had decided to send a mission to India under Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the Cabinet, for solution of dead-lock with a view to rallying 'all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader'. The Cripps proposals repeated the promise for grant of Dominion Status and a constitution-making body after the war, consisting of representatives of India and Indian states. It was, however, stipulated that, during the war period and until 'the new constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort'. Thus, there was to be no immediate change in the Government of India, though the national leaders felt that to organize what could be a 'people's war' against the Japanese who were advancing towards India with rapid strides, complete transfer of power to Indian hands was necessary.

8. Quit India Movement

National discontent in India continued unappeased. Although restrained by coercive measures, it soon found expression in the popular revolt of 1942–43. Meeting at Bombay on August 8, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee adopted the 'Quit India' resolution, repeating with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of British power from India, and sanctioned 'a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale' under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Government took prompt steps to prevent the outbreak of the movement. In the early hours of the morning of August 9, Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee were arrested and numerous other arrests followed quickly in different parts of the country. The movement soon developed as an unprecedented mass upheaval in which the students played a heroic role. It assumed a violent shape with open outbursts of popular indignation seeking to damage communications, obstruct Government activities and assail all that stood for British imperialism. The Government resorted to ruthless repression, such as indiscriminate arrests, issue of ordinances, gagging of the Press, exaction of collective fines, employment of the military who committed atrocities, and firing on crowds even from aeroplanes. "The disturbances", stated Churchill in September, 1942, "were crushed with all the weight of the Government." L.S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, observed in the House of Commons early in October 1942:

"During the recent disturbances, mobs were five times machine-gunned from the air..."

The movement seems to have been crushed by November 1942, but this was something like the lull before the storm. The harsh measures drove the discontent underground and secret activities to uproot British authority were continued in the next year by the Āzād Dasta and some other revolutionary groups. The gospel of the new phase of the revolution was conveyed to the people by Jayaprakash Narayan at the end of December 1942, in a circular addressed by him to 'All Fighters for Freedom'.

The movement of Subhas Chandra Bose, a selfless patriot with unflinching determination, proved to be an additional cause of anxiety to the British Government. After his escape from India in 1941, he established contacts with the Governments of Germany and Japan. On the conquest of the Malay Peninsula by the Japanese, thousands of Indian soldiers were made prisoners by them. By an understanding with the Japanese Government, Subhas Chandra Bose, hailed as Netājī, organized these Indians into an Āzād Hind Fauj or Indian National Army. He proclaimed the establishment of a 'Provisional Government of Free India' at Singapore and, in 1943, his soldiers, along with a Japanese army, marched upto the eastern frontier of India.

By this time, the war in the West had taken a somewhat favourable turn for the Allies, but the Eastern theatre was still full of risks and dangers. Indian affairs were extremely complicated and there was agony and anxiety in the country due to Mahatma Gandhi's twenty-one-day fast as a moral protest against the Government's excesses. C. Rajagopalachari proposed in a pamphlet, entitled 'The Way Out', a solution for the constitutional deadlock through his doctrine of 'Back to Cripps'. He suggested giving concession to the principle of self-determination for minorities and states 'in a plan for a free and independent constitution'. Lord Wavell, who had reached India in October 1943 as its Governor-General, also pleaded in vain for co-operation of all with the existing Government during war time.

Political Dead-lock. The communal question had become a baffling one as the Muslim League stiffened its demand for Pākistān. Against the Congress demand of 'Quit India', the Muslim League's new slogan was 'Divide and Quit'. Released from prison on May 6, 1944, Mahatma Gandhi made earnest efforts for communal harmony—which he regarded as his life's mission—and held discussions with Jinnah. Instead of accepting his proposals, Jinnah observed in March, 1945: "Pakistan is our irrevocable and unalterable national demand... We shall never accept any constitution on the basis of a united India".

Lord Wavell flew to London in March 1945. On his return to India after consultations with his Government, he made a proposal for the solution of the constitutional deadlock in June 1945, suggesting therein the reconsti-

tution of the Central Executive Council in such a way that all its members, except the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, should be 'leaders of Indian political life', there being 'a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Muslims and Caste Hindus'. Members of the Congress Working Committee were released and the ban upon the party was removed. To consider the constitutional question, Lord Wavell summoned a conference at Simla on June 25, 1945, which, after a short adjournment, met again on July 14. In spite of earnest deliberations, the Conference failed in its objective as there could be no agreement regarding the interim arrangement.

The quick march of events hastened the termination of the constitutional deadlock in India. Britain was faced with the legacies of the war and, in India, the urge for national independence had become irresistible. The Labour Government, which had come to power in England in 1945, with Clement Attlee as the Prime Minister, realized the gravity of the situation and took prompt steps to solve the Indian problem. On September 19, the British Prime Minister and Lord Wavell made simultaneous statements to the effect that fresh elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures would be held during the winter of 1945–46, that the Viceroy's Executive Council would be reconstituted in consultation with the principal Indian parties immediately after the elections, and that a constitution-making body would be convened as soon as possible. The elections were held early in 1946 and resulted in a sweeping victory of the Congress for the general seats and of the Muslim League for the Muslim seats.

National enthusiasm in India received much impetus on the occasion of the trial of a number of officers of the Indian National Army which had surrendered to the British after the fall of Japan. The revolt by the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy in February 1946 was a matter of grave concern for the British Government. "The temperature of India", observed Clement Attlee on March 15, 1946, "is not the temperature of 1920 or of 1930 or even of 1942. .. .. .. I am quite certain that at the present time the tide of nationalism is running very fast in India and, indeed, all over Asia."

9. Dawn of Independence

Already on February 19, 1946, the British Prime Minister had announced that a mission of three Cabinet members—Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A.V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty—would soon visit India. The Cabinet Mission reached India in March 1946. They had a series of discussions and conferences with the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, but there was no agreement about the formation

of an interim government and the machinery for constitution-making. Thereupon, the Cabinet Mission issued a statement, on May 16, 1946, formulating in it a plan for the future government of India. According to it, there was to be a Union of India embracing both British India and the Indian States, with control over Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and power to raise the money required for such purposes. All other subjects were to be vested in the provinces and the states but the provinces were to be free to form Groups for common action. India was to be divided into three Groups of provinces—Group 'A' consisting of Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihār and Orissa; Group 'B' of the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistān, and Group 'C' comprising Bengal and Assam.

The Cabinet Mission also recommended a scheme for constitution-making, which provided that the Union Constitution was to be framed by a Constituent Assembly, the members of which were to be elected on a communal basis by the Provincial Legislative Assemblies and the representatives of the states joining the Union. The constitution of the provinces in each Group was to be drawn up by the representatives of the three Groups of provinces meeting separately. The Cabinet Mission further suggested the establishment of an interim Government having the support of the major political parties by re-constitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council 'in which all the portfolios including that of War Member' were to be held by Indian leaders enjoying full confidence of the people.

The Cabinet Mission Plan was not considered satisfactory by any section of the Indian people, but all sought to utilize it for their own interests. The Muslim League accepted it on June 6, 1946, 'inasmuch as the basis and the foundation of Pakistan' were inherent in the Mission's plan by virtue of the compulsory grouping of the six Muslim majority provinces in Groups B and C. The Congress decided on June 25 to join the proposed Constituent Assembly with a view to framing the constitution, but did not agree to the proposal for interim Government. The Cabinet Mission left India on June 29 and the Viceroy formed a caretaker Government of nine officials.

The elections to the Constituent Assembly held in the month of July 1946, resulted in the return of an overwhelming majority of the Congress members which Jinnah described as 'brute majority'. The Muslim League withdrew its assent to the Cabinet Mission's plan and expressed determination 'to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan' as and when necessary. This was not long delayed. On August 16, which was fixed as the day of 'Direct Action' by the Muslim League, Calcutta became the scene of an appalling carnage marked by the massacre of a large number of Hindus by a rowdy section of the Muslims and looting and burning of their houses and shops. *The Statesman* described it as the 'Great Calcutta

Killing'. Neither the League Ministry in Bengal, nor the Governor and the Viceroy of India, took adequate steps to prevent the 'bloody shambles to which the country's largest city' was reduced. Meanwhile the Viceroy was busy in trying to form the interim Government. On the Muslim League's refusal to co-operate, the interim Government of 12 members, with Jawaharlal Nehru as Vice-President, took office on September 2, 1946. At this time, communal frenzy rose to fever pitch at many places, causing most dreadful outrages. The Hindus of a number of villages in the district of Noākhāli and the adjoining district of Comilla (both in Bānglādesh now) were subjected to atrocious tortures by the followers of the Muslim League. As a reaction against these, there were soon communal disturbances in different parts of Bihār in which the Muslims of this province suffered terribly through loss of lives and property. Jawaharlal Nehru at once flew to Bihār and Dr. Rajendra Prasad also rushed there. Their efforts and influence and some vigorous steps on the part of the Congress Ministry served to put a stop to the tragic events.

By a subtle move, the Viceroy made a change in the interim Government. After his discussions with Jinnah, he told Jawaharlal Nehru that the Muslim League had agreed to join the Constituent Assembly, and five Muslim League nominees entered the interim Government on October 26, 1946. The new Government lacked team-spirit and the attitude of the Muslim League made it 'bipartisan rather than a real coalition'. The political situation in India was becoming more and more complicated. The London talks of the Viceroy, early in December 1946, failed to effect any improvement and Jinnah's declaration that the Muslim League would not join the Constituent Assembly, and that it had never agreed to do so, made matters worse. The British Government issued a statement on December 6 declaring that "should the Constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population has not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a Constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country".

The Congress was anxious that the constitution of free India should be framed 'with the goodwill of all parties concerned'. The Constituent Assembly met on December 9, 1946, the elected members of the Muslim League absenting themselves from it though representatives of different provinces and communities participated in its work. The Constituent Assembly met again in the third week of January 1947, with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as its President, when it passed Jawaharlal Nehru's resolution on the declaration of objectives and appointed committees to draft several parts of the constitution. Meeting at Karāchi on January 31, 1947, the Working Committee of the Muslim League, however, repudiated the proceedings and decisions of the Constituent Assembly. At this extremely tense and uncertain situation,

the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, made a momentous declaration on February 20, 1947, stating therein the intention of the British Government for transfer of power into 'responsible Indian hands' not later than June 1948. This announcement was received with enthusiasm in all circles, except in the Muslim League. It once again started 'Direct Action', as a result of which communal riots with arson, lootings, murders and violence broke out in the Punjab and the North–West Frontier Province.

The irresistible force of circumstances accelerated India's march to a new status. Gifted with keen political sagacity and statesmanship of a high order, the new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, who had assumed office on March 24, 1947, issued a plan on June 3, 1947, containing 'the method by which power will be transferred from British to Indian hands'. This plan suggested India's partition and expressed a desire on the part of the British Government to anticipate the date and month of June 1948 for 'transference of power' that year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement. The plan of June 3, 1947, had certain obvious limitations. Its proposal regarding partition shattered the ideal of a united and free India, which had been cherished by her poets, philosophers and statesmen since the days of remote antiquity and had been emphasized in modern times by her scholars and patriots. This was, indeed, a heavy price which India had to pay for her freedom. The plan was accepted by the Congress leaders due to some very practical considerations. The Muslim League also agreed to it. Two Commissions, appointed by the British Government, with Sir Cyril Radcliffe as Chairman of both, arranged the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. According to the Indian Independence Act, passed by the British Parliament in July 1947, without any dissent, two independent dominions of India and Pākistān came into existence on August 15, 1947. Lord Mountbatten continued as the Governor-General of India and Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pākistān. The first Indian Governor-General of free India was C. Rajagopalachari who took over from Lord Mountbatten.

August 15, 1947 is indeed a memorable day in the history of India as it marked her deliverance from alien domination by the mutual consent of the British nation and the Indian statesmen. "It fills one with a feeling of gladness", observed Ernest Bevin, a member of the British Cabinet, "to live in this generation and see the fate of 400 million people handled by discussion, by reason, by agreement and not by gun".

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC LIFE (1761-1947)

1. Government and Administration

The nature of the state and the Government of India under the British Crown was that of a dependency in the 'British Commonwealth of Nations', slowly and steadily rising to and finally acquiring the status of a sovereign republic in the Commonwealth.

The basic question is: 'How did Britain secure a title to rule India?'. Legally, her title was found, as the lawyers say, in the conditions preceding it, namely the dissolution of the Mughal empire and the cessions by and the conquests from the Marāṭhās, the Sikhs and the other territorial sovereigns from 1757 till 1857. But this is only a partial truth. Sovereignty in India involved, under the British constitutional law and under the 'law of Nations' as expounded in Europe, the authority of the British Parliament and the recognition of all civilized nations. The grant of a charter carried sovereign status to the East India Company, and the treaties of Paris and Versailles and the Congress of Vienna conveyed international recognition to this status. So far as the sovereignty of the British Parliament over Indian affairs was concerned, it was enunciated by Lord Chatham in 1767 thus: "No subjects could acquire the sovereignty of any territory for themselves, but only for the nation to which they belonged". This position continued until challenged in India after 1938 by the nationalists who demanded a 'Constituent Assembly' of Indians to frame a new constitution, and this right was conceded in 1946. Both the political and legal sovereignties were thereby transferred to India. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 placed a legal stamp on it.

Sovereignty of the British Crown. With the establishment of British rule, the mantle of sovereignty was transferred from the Mughal emperor and the Indian princes to the British Crown. For political and diplomatic reasons, there was considerable delay in the public assertion of this right. It was only after Napoleon was vanquished and the Marāṭhās were enfeebled that the Charter Act of 1813 referred to 'the undoubted sovereignty of the Crown of the United Kingdom' over its Indian possessions and the claim was recognized by the Treaty of Paris (1814). About the same time, the phrase proclaiming the Governor-General to be 'the servant of the emperor' was also omitted from his official seal. This delay did not, however, come in the way of the exercise of *de facto* power and authority.

Parliament and Indian Affairs. Throughout the British rule it was the British Parliament—the King, the House of Lords and the House of

Commons—that possessed unrestricted power of legislation. But this legal sovereignty of Parliament over British India was expressly declared nowhere as an enactment. This power was absorbed imperceptibly and indirectly until 1853, as stated in the Charter Act of that year. The affairs of a vast, alien and distant dominion could not, however, be attended to in any great detail by Parliament with similar if not more arduous responsibilities in the colonies and possessions all over the world. Hence it confined itself to laying down the general constitution of the country and the principles by which it was to be governed.

Moreover, there were aspects of the Government in India which lay beyond the interference of the British Parliament, such as the relations with Indian states and the right to land revenue, which related to purely administrative duties. Naturally, Parliament could do nothing about them. Until 1853, however, there was a general, comprehensive Parliamentary inquiry every twenty years, i.e., when the East India Company applied for the renewal of its charter. The absence of such inquiries in the subsequent period was responsible, according to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918), for the British failure, "in the face of a growing nationalist feeling in India, to think out and work at a policy of continuous advance". As a matter of fact, the irresponsible behavior of Parliament in all debates for constitutional reforms in India was so unpardonable that the Government of India had ceased to be an organism with elements of self-growth and became by July 1918 a mechanism or tool 'too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian to be of any use for the modern purposes which we have in view.' One such purpose was obviously 'in the face of a growing nationalist feeling in India to think out and work at a policy of continuous advance', as announced in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India, Edwin S. Montagu, on August 20, 1917 and the introduction of diarchy in 1921 in all provinces.

But it is ironical that this revival of Parliament's interest in Indian affairs after 1917 led logically and ultimately to Independence in 1947, and stood in contrast with its interest in the days of the East India Company. In 1858 the Act 'for the better government of India' was passed, but in 1947 a dominion was lost, as a result of Parliament's direct action.

(a) 1761–1919

It was implicit in the theory of British sovereignty and the Parliament's supremacy in Indian questions that an India Office was a *sine quo non* in Whitehall. The establishment of this office was a matter of slow growth, and in course of time it was spoken of in the Indian political system as 'Home Government'.

At first, the East India Company claimed its territorial acquisitions to

be its private property, since they had been acquired in the course of its commercial activities. Such a view could hardly be sustained. Initially Parliament was not disposed to challenge the claim seriously but contented itself with exacting an annual tribute of £4,00,000. It was, however, clearly unsafe to leave the administration of a growing empire entirely in the hands of the merchants of Leadenhall Street. But, at the same time, the British Government was afraid of assuming direct control over the administration owing to the danger that the vast Indian patronage, whether vested in the Crown or the Ministers, might jeopardize the smooth functioning of democracy in the country. It remodelled the governing body of the Company and established a Governor-General and Council and also a Supreme Court. It left the question of ownership unsettled. All these measures were seriously defective though valuable in principle. As Pitt remarked, supreme power in this respect 'could not, with safety or propriety, be placed in any other hands than those of the genuine and legitimate executive power of the constitution', namely, the British Cabinet. The India Act of 1784 allowed the Company to administer India and make appointments to offices as before, but its Court of Directors was placed, except in respect of patronage and trade, under a Board of Control, which had a Minister of the Crown for its President. In practice, the Board had only a nominal existence and all the power was wielded by the President. There was a natural shift in the centre of power from the Court to the Board, but the Company's Directors continued to have 'no unsubstantial share in the home direction of Indian affairs'. Pitt's India Act of 1784 thus created 'the double government' system, the essence of which was the passing of the substance of authority from the Company to the Crown, with the Company deemed to be 'the trustees for the Crown' after the renewal of the Charter in 1833.

This system continued till 1858 when the Crown assumed the direct Government of India. The change was in spirit but in structure it was the visible sign of the incorporation of India into the British empire, without disturbing the unity of Indian Government.

Under the Act of 1858, a Secretary of State for India took the place of the President of the Board of Control, assisted by a Council which took the place of the Court of Directors. This raised a controversy about the character of the Council and the status of the Secretary of State in relation to the Governor-General of India.

This Council, known as the Council of India, was composed largely of persons having experience of Indian affairs and enjoying an independent tenure. It was attached to the Secretary of State largely as an advisory and, in some measure, a controlling body. He was empowered to act independently of his Council in the Secret Department as well as in making war or peace, in laying the policy respecting the Indian states and in proceeding with matters

for which a majority in Council was not necessary. He had also a general overriding authority. But the concurrence of the body was made obligatory before any expenditure out of Indian revenues was incurred or loans could be raised on their security. Some strong Secretaries of State complained that it had too much power, while others held that it was weak-kneed and did not display much energy or independence in vital matters. The acid test of the importance of the Council as against its own President was whether it could help to bypass the House of Commons and subordinate or even sacrifice the interests of India which was not represented in Parliament, to the British or Imperial exigencies or interests. It was the right arm of the British Cabinet in administering India. Indian nationalists, therefore, considered it to be a reactionary body and a burden on the exchequer and were not satisfied until it was abolished by the Act of 1935.

Although certain statutory provisions gave rise at times to doubts and difficulties in the legislative sphere, the authority of the 'Home Government' to supervise, direct and control the authorities in India in all matters was unquestioned. But it was realized from the beginning that the Government of India must, on the whole, be carried on in India itself, and for this purpose there must be a wise delegation of authority.

In practice, Dundas, Argyll and Salisbury tried to exercise strict control, but Governors-General like Ellenborough and Curzon sought to have their own way in every matter. Minto and Morley, Montagu and Chelmsford, Irwin and Samuel Hoare, and Pethick-Lawrence and Mountbatten were models of co-operative, constitutional rulers. The initiative of the Governor-General of India was respected, the Home Government 'revised' and 'approved' or 'vetoed', and the Parliament 'passed', generally speaking, in the stormy days of unrest and agitation from 1907 till 1947.

Growth of Unitary System. The system of government which emerged by the interaction of historical events with the political ideas of the British statesmen for over two and a half centuries was unitary. The Government of India was supreme with undivided authority in spite of appearances to the contrary. The provincial governments in India were, of course, historically of an earlier origin and were more important from the citizens' point of view than the Central Government. The presidency system died out in 1833. Later, when the provincial governments were revived, it was based on 'devolution' and 'decentralization' which helped to make them autonomous in 1935. By that date government work had increased enormously, decentralization had proved a great success and the voice and share of the people of India in the government had been recognised.

The story of the evolution of this system of supreme and subordinate governments runs as follows:

The administrative system which developed in India began with the trade

centres of the East India Company attached to one or the other of the three presidencies located at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. The term 'Presidency' gained currency, because it was the headquarters of the President (or Governor) and his Council. There was no central authority within India and every presidency was directly responsible to the Company's Directors in London in all matters. Following the victory at Plassey, the Presidency at Calcutta was the first to emerge as a big province. The Regulating Act of 1773 designated its chief as 'Governor-General of Bengal' and placed the Governors and their Councils in the other two presidencies under his authority in matters relating to war and peace and transactions with Indian princes. Thus began a Central Government in India. While the authority of the Bengal Government was further strengthened by the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1813, the presidencies continued for a few more decades to be practically independent of each other and directly answerable to the authorities in England in all other matters.

A change in the system was necessitated by the further expansion of the British dominion in India. With the acquisition of the Carnatic and Mysore, the Presidency of Madras grew into a big province, and so also that of Bombay on account of the overthrow of the Marāṭhās. The growth of the Presidency of Bengal was phenomenal and in course of time the whole of north India was brought within its jurisdiction. At the same time, the need for a strong central authority was increasingly felt, owing to the growing responsibility attached to the administration of a vast dominion, the fast mounting complexity of government, lack of uniform principles in the administration of the different presidencies, and frequent complaints of wasteful expenditure. The impracticability of the administration of the three presidencies being effectively co-ordinated and controlled from London was soon evident. Therefore, the Charter Act of 1833 invested the central authority in Calcutta with comprehensive powers of control and reduced the local Governments to the position of mere agents. The significance of the change was made quite clear by changing the designation 'Governor-General of Bengal' to 'Governor-General of India.'

With the increase in the responsibilities of the Governor-General in Council, in respect of the Central Government, it was essential to relieve him of the burden of 'Local' charges. The province of Bengal, in which was located the headquarters of the presidency, was first placed in charge of the senior most member of the Governor-General's Council, and later, in 1854, a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed. The other areas were placed from time to time under Lieutenant-Governors or Chief Commissioners. Until 1919, British India was divided into provinces, each with its own 'Local Government': the three presidencies, each with a Governor and Council; the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihār with Orissa, and Burma under Lieutenant-Governors; the Central Provinces, Assam and the North West Frontier Province under Chief Commissioners.

Certain minor charges, such as British Baluchistān, Coorg, Ajmer, the Andaman and the small enclave of Delhi were administered directly under the Governor-General in Council. Later, the Lieutenant-Governorships were abolished and raised to Governorships, leaving only two categories of local governments viz. the provinces each with a Governor at their head and those under Chief Commissioners. The different types of local governments differed much in status and power, the old presidency governments enjoying greater prestige and power than the others.

The centralized system of administration set up in 1833 was in operation until 1919. The assent of the Government of India was necessary for the legislative and taxation measures and annual budgets of the local governments. Permission was also to be obtained before expenditure above a certain minimum was incurred or appointments to high offices were made. Detailed instructions were issued from time to time, indicating the policy and procedure to be adopted in different fields. This led to increase in business at the Centre, clamour for funds in the provinces and deterioration in the sense of responsibility among the subordinate Governments, involving wasteful expenditure, and ultimately a feeling of frustration. The first attempt to depart from this central control of all administrative matters was made in the sphere of 'Finance' by Lord Mayo, and the principle continued with various enlargements upto 1918. There were, however, limits beyond which any relaxation of control could not go in view of the constitutional responsibility of the Government of India to Parliament for the supervision, direction and control for efficient administration and welfare of the country.

Executive Authorities. The administrative mechanism in India included the Crown at the apex and the village *pañchāyats* at its bottom. 'One' will prevailed throughout all its movements, that of the Secretary of State for India, constitutionally. He could issue an order directly to any officer or upon any subject. It followed that the Viceroy had a personal responsibility to him and in their turn the heads of provinces obeyed the Viceroy. In actual practice, however, there was 'give and take' making way for 'man on the spot' theory. This principle of 'one' was introduced by the Regulating Act of 1773. Strangely, this individual responsibility of the Governor-General was put into 'Commission' by the Whigs who came into power after the Revolution of 1688. The 'Councils' which came into existence in 1773 did not cease to exist. In course of the 19th and 20th centuries they led on to the development of a cabinet-like government all over but with departmentalization and centralization progressing alternately within it to accommodate the principles of autocracy and democracy.

From the beginning of the Company's history, the Governor-General and the Governors had Councils attached to them; the Lieutenant-Gover-

nors and Chief Commissioners had no such associates. By the Government of India Act, 1919, the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, Bomaby, and the provinces known as the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihār and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam were declared as 'Governor's Provinces'. Each province had thus a Governor with an Executive Council to assist him. Prior to the Regulating Act, the Councils were rather large. This Act reduced their size to a mere handful. Thus in 1919, the Governor-General's Council had only six members besides the Commander-in-Chief, and those of the Governors three members each. Normally, leading public men of England were appointed as Governors-General and Governors. The Law Members at the Centre came from the legal profession, and sometimes, experts were appointed as Finance Members. The heads of the local governments and members of the Council, however, were selected from the Covenanted or Indian Civil Service. From 1909, Indians were also invited to hold office as Councillors.

In the early years of British rule, all decisions of the Councils were taken by a majority of votes, their chiefs having no special powers. However good the arrangement might have been when it concerned merely trade matters, it was far from satisfactory in dealing with problems of war and the administration of a growing empire. Nevertheless, the Whig fear of concentration of power in a single individual was so great that even the historic struggle for supremacy between the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and the members of his Council and the breadkdown of governmental machinery did not lead them to make any change in the system. In 1786, at the instance of Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General and the Governors were empowered to overrule their Councils and act on their own responsibility, except with regard to enactment of laws and imposition of taxes, or when the Councils acted in a judicial capacity. Although the power was rarely exercised, it prevented rise of factions in the Councils and induced unity, discipline and strength in their daily working.

Further, throughout the period of the East India Company, the Councils sat as Boards, transacting business collectively. The procedure was cumbrous and dilatory. After 1861, under Canning's 'Rules of Business', the work of Government in the Secretariat was carried on under 'portfolio system', i.e., the ordinary work of the departments was distributed among and disposed of by the concerned members of the Executive Council, only the more important cases being referred to the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, or dealt with at a full meeting of the Council, for final orders.

Legislative Councils. Law-making in India from 1833 till 1947 was based upon three principles. First, the British Parliament was the supreme law-maker for India, but it confined itself to settling the framework or

organic laws of government. Second, the executive control over all legislature in practice was thorough and complete, whatever be the concessions to the people's representatives in form. Third, the Governor-General in his own person could make ordinances, but with the approval of his Council he could make regulations for provinces. The law, further, gave immunity to the Executive in India.

Until 1773, the presidency governments enacted laws by virtue of the authority derived from the Royal Charter. With a view to imposing a constitutional check in India on the authority of the Governor-General in Council, the Regulating Act of 1773 required all regulations to be registered with the Supreme Court at Calcutta. This had the effect of making the Supreme Court the final arbiter in legislative matters, which was clearly unsatisfactory and dangerous. Hence, the Statute of 1781 exempted from such registration laws applicable to areas outside the presidency town. But, within Calcutta, the anomalous provision, which had no precedent, continued to be in force until it was repealed by the Charter Act of 1833. This dual system of legislation was extended to the other presidencies in later years.

Generally, the Executive was responsible for legislation in all the provinces. In the early years, there was no clearcut legislative process and it was difficult to distiguish 'laws' from 'executive orders'. In 1793, Lord Cornwallis laid down a set procedure for enactment of regulations, which were to be framed into regular codes and made easily available to the public. When the Company's Charter came up for renewal in 1833, the condition of laws was in such a confused state and the legislative machinery so unsatisfactory that drastic reforms were underaken and legislation was centralized. The Charter Act of that year made the Governor-General in Council the sole legislator for the whole of British India. Macaulay, a lawyer outside the Company's service, was appointed as an additional member of the Council to assist only in law-making. Existing vexatious limitations on legislative authority were removed, and, without prejudice to the supremacy of Parliament and the specific limitations imposed by statute, the Governor-General in Council, functioning as a legislature, was invested with "plenary powers of legislation, as large, and of the same nature, as those of Parliament itself". The authority of the Governor-General in Council now extended over the Supreme Courts and the areas and persons within their jurisdiction, as over the rest of the country. The legislative procedure underwent a marked change, effective provision being made for due deliberation in Council and wide consultation of officials and non-officials in respect of legislative projects. A Law Commission was also constituted to effect major improvements in the legal system. Macaulay was appointed the President of this Commission. But legislation continued to be a privilege of the executive authority and there was no trace of popular representation or control.

The failure of the project of codification by the Law Commission and the dissatisfaction voiced by the subordinate presidencies led to reorganization of the legislative machinery in 1853. Two judges of the Calcutta Supreme Court and a representative each of the Governments of Bombay, Madras, Bengal and N. W. Provinces were made members of the Governor-General's Council for purposes of legislation. The Law Member, who was hitherto the only additional member for purposes of legislation, became part of the government. The assent of the Governor-General was no longer required for all laws. This 'official' legislature threw open its proceedings to the press and the public, a step quite revolutionary for the times. A second Law Commission, with its office in England, was also constituted.

The legislature of 1853 had an impressive record of legislation to its credit and there was great improvement in standards. But it claimed controlling powers *vis-a-vis* the executive government and the authorities in England, and consequently it was accused of becoming a 'petty Parliament', and a clipping of its wings was considered essential. Besides, the Revolt of 1857 had also brought home the dangers of excluding Indians from the law-making body. The Indian Councils Act of 1861, therefore, decentralized legislative authority by establishing, in addition to the existing legislature at the centre, local legislatures in the presidencies and the Lieutenant-Governors' provinces. Not less than one-half of the additional members were to be non-officials (Indian and European) nominated by the executive heads. The judges could no longer be members. The powers of central and local legislatures were co-extensive but the latter exercised them only in respect of the territories made subject to their laws. A few subjects were reserved for the central council and, certain matters were barred from consideration by the local legislatures without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. All local and central measures also required his assent to become laws. To prevent the legislatures from developing into 'petty Parliaments', it was expressly provided in section 19 of the Councils Act of 1861 that they should attend only to the business in hand. Further, a majority of official members was studiously maintained to secure the authority of the government in the proceedings of the councils.

However, constitutional progress without rightful place and rights for the representatives of the people duly elected on a parliamentary franchise could not be halted with increasing contacts with the West and growing political consciousness. In 1892, in response to the demands of the Indian National Congress, the legislative councils were enlarged and provision was made for filling a number of seats reserved for non-officials on the basis of 'recommendations' by local legislatures for the council at the centre and by district boards, municipalities, and other corporate institutions for provincial councils, the expression 'election' being avoided

to satisfy the British conservative sentiment. This method secured representation of certain interests. Further, questions could be put and budgets discussed without being voted upon. These were certainly elements of progress.

The national pride awakened by the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 and the rebellious spirit sparked off by the partition of Bengal, among other cumulative causes, led to further reforms (associated with Morley and Minto) in 1909. The councils were further enlarged. Since the presence of nominated non-officials was considered to be an adequate safeguard for the smooth passage of government measures and as the maintenance of a statutory official majority was no longer considered necessary, a 'nominated' majority, composed of officials and non-officials, was provided for and maintained: in Bengal, the elected element was even allowed to have a narrow majority. While the old system of indirect election through local self-governing and such other bodies was maintained generally, direct elections were introduced in respect of Muslim and land-holders constituencies. These measures marked further progress by introducing element of representation for important sections of people. However, the creation of special constituencies for Muslims in addition to their representation through the general constituencies was a dangerous step, destined to have a far-reaching socio-political consequence in the years to come, viz. the bitter struggle for the partition of India and the creation of Pākistān. As regards the powers of the councils, they were permitted to vote upon budgets after discussion.

While law-making bodies developed in the presidencies on the lines sketched above, newly acquired provinces (i.e. territories not brought within the regular administration of British courts and British laws) were administered by executive orders and regulations of the Governor-General in Council, modified to suit local circumstances. This distinction between the 'Regulation' and 'Non-Regulation' provinces was maintained for some time but practically vanished with the introduction of legislative councils in every one of them. However, the need for administration on paternalistic rather than on legal principles was felt in respect of 'backward' tribal areas, and special powers were conferred for the purpose on the local governments by the Government of India Act of 1870, and subsequent statutes.

Judiciary. At the commercial stage of its career, the East India Company had its own courts of law for administering justice among its servants. The local inhabitants of the factories were generally required to settle their disputes among themselves. In 1772, Warren Hastings took the first great step in providing a well-organized judicial system. *Dīwānī* (civil) and *nizāmat* (criminal) courts were set up in each district, with *ṣadr* (chief) courts at the apex. This system did not prevent the scandalous and oppressive conduct of the Company's servants. So, the Parliament set up, without

any reference to the changes effected locally by the Regulating Act of 1773, a Supreme Court at Calcutta with unlimited jurisdiction over the Company and its possessions and over all British subjects. It was also vested with the power to veto laws enacted by the Bengal Government. This plan of controlling the Company's government through this Court failed completely. Therefore, the Act of 1781 limited its jurisdiction to Calcutta and made it essentially an 'English Court' administering 'English law' to natural-born British subjects who were resident in the city. The Act recognized also the courts set up by Warren Hastings, which covered and had jurisdiction over the whole of Bengal except Calcutta. In course of time, the system of supreme and *ṣadr* courts was introduced into the other presidencies. This parallel system of courts, one subservient to the Company's government and the other independent of it, gave rise to many anomalies and complications, and by 1833 it was generally agreed that these should be amalgamated. But the opposition of the British residents, who were unwilling to accept the jurisdiction of the Company's courts, came in the way of early reform. However, after three decades of acute controversy, the Indian High Courts Act of 1861 provided for a common system of High Courts in all presidencies under Royal Charter. In the provinces which could have no such High Courts, Chief Courts and Judicial Commissioners' Courts were established by the Government of India under its own authority.

From the earliest times, appeals from the courts in India lay with the King-in-Council at London. But the improper exercise of their own powers, guarded against in the Regulating Act of 1773, could not be checked or punished until the constitution of a permanent Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1833; and the judges of the High Courts under the Crown came within the purview of this Committee so far as their judicial conduct was concerned. It was also the highest court of appeal from India.

Reference may be made to two recurring problems of constitutional importance in judicial administration. The first was the aversion of European British subjects residing in India to being tried by Indian judges, though the spirit of the Charter Act of 1833 was clearly against any form of racial discrimination. Beginning with Act XI of 1836, which removed distinctions based on birth or descent in civil proceedings, many important steps were taken to place Indians and Europeans on the same footing. But the opposition to this was so strong that reforms were slow in coming, and an element of discrimination in favour of the European community continued to the very end of British rule. The second problem referred to executive officers exercising judicial authority. In the beginning, members of the executive government served as judges of the *ṣadr* courts, but this practice stopped at the beginning of the 19th century. In subsequent years these courts were presided over by members of the Covenanted Civil Service and remained amenable to the control of the executive

government in a general way; they maintained, however, a high tradition of judicial independence. It is only with the constitution of the High Courts under Royal Charters in 1862 that the independence of the highest judiciary in the country was fully secured. The problem was more practical but thorny and complicated in respect of the lower judiciary. While generally separate cadres of judicial officers were maintained and their independence was secured, opinion was sharply divided on the wisdom of making the Collector, who was a purely revenue officer, a judicial magistrate as well while being the head of police under his authority. In the background of India's paternalistic tradition, it was felt that the power and prestige of the Collector would greatly suffer if he was not also a magistrate responsible for the maintenance of law and order. So, the system of Collector-Magistrate prevailed most of the time. Again, separate revenue courts manned by revenue officers were maintained to ensure greater speed and efficiency in revenue collection, and the intervention of the civil courts was limited in various ways.

Concomitantly with the evolution of one state and one law analysed in the preceding sections, there was the establishment of one exchequer and the preparation of one budget as a means to it. If constitutionalism is the idea in any administration, the budgets are the method by which the idea is realized. Between 1700 and 1947 the Parliament was the ultimate sovereign in respect of all revenue and the ultimate authority for all expenditure incurred by the Government of India. But in actual practice there has been delegation of powers which slowly and steadily served as the solid foundation of autonomous states from 1919. This delegation of powers was converted into a constitutional, democratic right. Even so, the 'budget' statement of the Secretary of State like those of the Governor-General and the Governors related only to an integrated budget and a single account, and the theory was that while any of these authorities could incur and control expenditure, the taxes could be imposed only by a single authority namely Parliament. No provincial government could raise a public loan; no legislative council could of its own right introduce a bill for taxation or discuss fiscal questions except under rules prescribed therefor; no debate on finance could make the finances better or worse in the current year. But provincial governments were allowed a large margin of practical autonomy from 1870, by which the Government of India made over to them a fixed sum out of their own revenues for the internal administration of provinces and it was in their interest to develop their own resources and to expend them to the best advantage.

While free use was made of Indian forms and institutions inherited from earlier times, the administrative system under the British was largely determined by the ideas and practices then prevailing in England. A pyramidal structure with a chain of commands was developed, with local and subordinate authorities at the base, with the local governments, the

Government of India and the Home government in the middle and with the Crown and Parliament at the apex. There was a broad uniformity in institutions throughout British India, and this had no inconsiderable influence over the Indian states. Another outstanding feature of the system was the growth of district administration.

Administrative Organisation. In the initial stages of British rule, the major governmental activity concerned the collection of revenue (largely land revenue), administration of justice and maintenance of law and order. The 'district' was the administrative unit, and each province was divided into a number of districts. These were in charge of Collectors (Deputy Commissioners in the Non-Regulation Provinces) who were directly responsible to the local government. At times, in some provinces, the divisional Commissioners intervened, but these were generally considered to be a fifth wheel of the coach.

In the early stages the Collectors were in charge of all government work at the district level, exercising executive and judicial functions. To the British people nurtured in ideas of personal freedom and limited governmental authority, the spectacle of an administrative officer being a judge of his own actions was surprising and even revolting. But to the British officers with Indian experience, there was nothing sacrosanct in it. Moreover, throughout Indian history local officers usually collected revenue, maintained peace and administered justice, their authority was supreme in all matters and they were considered to be *mā-bāp* of the people. The system was thus wholly in consonance with Indian tradition, and the people held that it was just and proper. A change, to satisfy English sentiments, they argued, would only make the government less strong and effective. Throughout the British rule, these two schools of thought battled for predominance. Cornwallis who belonged to the 'English' school, separated revenue from judicial and police functions and placed them in different hands. Munro, Elphinstone and Lawrence who belonged to the 'Indian' school persuaded the Parliament to accept their views, one of which was the restoration of the Collector-Magistrate. Consequently, there were frequent changes in policy in the subsequent years until after the Revolt of 1857 the system of Collector-Magistrate was firmly established. The District Collector became responsible for collection of revenue, magisterial and police functions, while the District Judge took over major tasks pertaining to criminal justice.

Another significant development tended later to reduce the responsibilities of the Collector. With the expansion of the welfare activities of the government after the first World War, the other district officers responsible to their respective departmental heads at the provincial headquarters emerged such as the District Superintendent of Police, the District Engineer, the District Medical Officer, the District Education Officer etc. The growth of local self-governing bodies also imposed limitations on

the authority of the Collector. Despite these developments, however, the District Collector continued to be the principal officer to whom both the government and the people looked for getting things done, and he was expected to co-ordinate and regulate the work of other district officers as well. Thus, until recent years, he was not merely the principal officer of the government in the district with his own duties, but also the government personified to meet emergencies.

The third significant institutional development was the growth of local self-government. Before the British rule, India had a well-developed system of village *pañcāyats;* but these vanished or lost much of their vitality with the strong centralizing tendencies of the British rulers. With their tradition of local self-government at home, the British set up municipal bodies even in the mercantile stage, and there were also incipient efforts to develop such institutions here and there in the fifties of the last century. But the movement got its fillip with the reforms of Ripon, which were intended to be not merely a means of improving administration but also as measures of political education. The institutions set up were true to English models, but the collective spirit behind them was not foreign to the country. Much depended upon the wish of the government, whether the scheme was to succeed or whether it was to fall short of expectations. Prior to 1914 the growth of a genuine democratic spirit in these bodies was greatly retarded by too much interference under the pretext of supervision and by unwarranted official domination in the guise of control.

Rule of Law. On the procedural side, the most important contribution of the British was the accent on personal rights as understood in the West, and the extension of the principle of the rule of law. Although there was a very influential school of thought which believed that grant of maximum discretionary authority to the governors and their officers was essential for sound and successful administration, there was a steady, and progressive growth of public law on western lines. The rights and obligations of the citizens were being clearly defined and enforced from stage to stage and there was a more or less independent judiciary to enforce them in proper spirit.

The administration set up by the British was, on the whole, more vigorous, more powerful and more comprehensive than any before. In evaluating its success, it has to be remembered that they had a number of advantages over their predecessors, such as printing press and wider diffusion of knowledge, epoch-making developments in science and technology, growth of more rational and systematic ideas in respect of government and public administration and the spirit of adventure.

Indian States. About three-fifth of the country came directly under British rule, while the rest continued to be ruled by the Indian princes, subject to the suzerainty of the British Crown. There were 562 States scattered throughout the country. They cut across boundaries set by

geography, ethnography and culture, and were in most cases medieval feudal units. They varied greatly in size, population and revenue, ranging from the great state of Hyderābād to *zamīndārīs* extending only over a few hectares. In the Chamber of Princes established in 1921, only 109 states were represented individually, 127 had twelve seats in common, and the rest were too small and inconsequential to be represented.

When the states came fully under British protection, they lost whatever international status and personality they might have had. When Britain transferred sovereignty to India in 1947, the princes were refused admission into the Commonwealth on their own rights. The British Government represented the whole of India in the comity of nations, and the princes and their subjects were 'British subjects' under international law. But, within the empire, their position was determined by the peculiarities of the British constitution. Paramountcy over the princes was vested exclusively in the Crown i.e., Parliament having nothing to do in the matter. Within India, the Indian states were not part of 'British India', and their subjects were not 'British subjects'. While the administration of British India was vested in the Governor-General in Council in subordination to the authority of Parliament, it was the Governor-General acting in his capacity as 'Viceroy' that exercised the powers of paramountcy on behalf of the Crown. Despite this lack of legal authority, Parliament's control was complete in matters pertaining to the states, because of its omnipotence under the British constitution. In 1858 and 1947 when revolutionary changes were made by Parliament in Indian political system, the states were considered as an integral part of India under the British Parliament.

Paramountcy originated in treaties concluded by the British Government with the princes, at first as between sovereign rulers but later modified by convention and practice as between a superior power and a subordinate or subsidiary or semi-sovereign power, and later still as between a paramount power and an autonomous power. In most cases, there was on the part of the princes only a transfer of allegiance to the British power and the British Government recognized in return the existing rights by granting *sanads* in the traditional form. Subsequently, owing to a variety of circumstances, the authority wielded by the paramount power greatly increased; the princes became too weak to resist; and they could not get legal redress in the courts of law, since the subject came within the Crown's prerogative and fell outside the Indian judicial system. In its fully developed form, paramountcy was no contractual relationship; its scope and authority knew no limitations, except those which the Crown was itself willing to recognize. Hence the dictum of the experts in constitutional law: 'Paramountcy must remain paramount'. At the last stage of India's struggle with Britain for independence, the states had no comparable national personality with British India, their position was one of complete

subordination to the paramount power and their relationship with British India was fundamentally political and insecure.

The actual relationship with the states was regulated by the Political Department of the Government of India, under the direct charge of the Viceroy. The bigger states had local Residents, and the smaller ones were grouped together and placed under Agents. In a few cases, the local governments acted as Agents. Broadly, inter-state relations had been under the Government of India, and the states had not been permitted to have any direct dealings with one another. Lord Lytton had suggested the institution of an 'Indian Privy Council' of the great chiefs for consultations but his move came to nothing. But the whole matter of 'isolation' of this type disappeared from 1919 when the principle of 'union' of the princes was adopted. The Government of India Act, 1935, used the word 'relationship' for 'alliance' and 'instrument' for 'treaty'. Within the states, the general form of administration was benevolent despotism as conceived by their rulers; the standards varied from state to state. In eight of them, by 1919, there were legislative councils or 'Representative Assemblies', but they acted mostly as advisory bodies and, only in a few cases, had any influence upon their governments.

The autonomy of the states as against the paramount powers of the Viceroy was subject to two important qualifications or restrictions. First, the scope and extent of autonomy varied from state to state. While the big states like Hyderābād, Travancore and Kashmīr exercised almost sovereign powers, the petty ones like those in the Himālayan region or the Bombay Presidency were not trusted with any substantial power. There were, however, regardless of status, a number of subjects of all-India importance which had to be administered by a central authority, e.g., railways, posts and telegraphs, coinage and currency, and customs and excise. While a few big states retained for some time their authority in respect of these subjects, the others were persuaded to surrender their rights to the Government of India at one stage or the other.

Secondly, while the paramount power recognized the right of the princes to autonomy in internal administration, it claimed a right to intervene in certain circumstances. In the first decades of British rule, the states were only looked upon as a ring-fence for providing security to the British territories. By 1818, the British supremacy was firmly established, and until 1858 the Government of India evinced little interest in the internal affairs of the states, except perhaps to find an excuse to annex them. As a reward for the loyalty of the princes during the Revolt of 1857 and also as a measure of reconciliation, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 gave an assurance that the integrity of the states would be maintained. At the same time, the indifference of the paramount power towards the internal conditions of the states gave place to an active interest in the general well-being of the people of the states which took the form of advice and remon-

strance, deputation of officers from British India, and occasional supersession of the authority of the princes for short periods.

The basic change in policy in respect of British India entailed re-examination of the position of the Indian states. The British Government felt that sooner or later the princes would have to fall in line with British India and introduce democratic reforms; but the change was to come by permeation of ideas and not through the exercise of the powers of paramountcy. The princes would have a place in any federation that might eventually be set up. Meanwhile, in order to break their unnatural isolation, promote in them a sense of belonging to a wider community, and give them an opportunity to consider matters of common interest and have a voice in all-India affairs, a Chamber of Princes, with the Viceroy as president, was constituted in 1921. Although a purely advisory body, its establishment marked a significant break with the past.

(b) 1919-1947

On August 20, 1917, Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, made the historic announcement that 'progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire' would be the basis of future Indian policy.

Reforms of 1919. In fulfilment of this policy the Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1919. On the basis of the existing practice, it demarcated in two separate lists the respective functions of the central and provincial governments. A diarchic administration was introduced in the latter. The provincial subjects were divided into two groups: 'Reserved' and 'Transferred'. Broadly, the reserved included subjects on which the peace, security and financial stability of the provinces depended, e.g., land revenue, justice, police and jails. The transferred included nation-building departments such as agriculture, industry, co-operation, education, public health and local self-government and were placed in charge of ministers responsible to their respective legislatures, while the reserved subjects were left with the Governor and his Council to be administered as before. The supervision and control by the Government of India and the authorities in England was withdrawn from the transferred subjects and limited to the reserved subjects. But the Governor as the head of both the wings of the government was required to co-ordinate their activities and resolve conflicts. Besides, he was vested with special powers to protect the minorities, the backward classes and the public services and to secure peace and tranquillity. The provisions of the enactment were so elastic that it was within the powers of the Governor to administer the transferred subjects as if they were reserved or to place obstacles in the way of the ministers. The Lieutenant-Governorships were raised

to Governorships and diarchic constitution was introduced in them as in all other provinces. The Chief Commissioners' provinces were administered as before, subject to minor changes. There was no change in the form of the executive government at the centre. Only a convention was established under which the Home Government refrained from interfering in matters on which the Government of India and the central legislature were in agreement.

On the legislative side, there were to be the Legislative Assembly and the Council of States at the centre, the latter being created to act as a check on the former. The legislatures, both central and provincial, were enlarged with elected members, returned on the basis of a relatively wider franchise. The nominated official and non-official element, though much reduced in strength, was still large enough to affect decisions when there was cleavage within the body of elected members. To maintain the authority of the British Government in essential matters, sole reliance was placed on the special powers vested in the Governor-General and the Governors. Communal representation, hitherto confined to Muslims, was extended to many other communities.

Reforms of 1935. Under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919, a statutory commission of Parliament under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon was appointed in 1927 to review the working of the earlier reforms and recommend necessary changes, if any. Although there were two Indians in Parliament, the Commission was composed only of Englishmen. It made extensive enquiries and submitted a voluminous report. But it was clear that its recommendations, made by such an exclusive group and against nation-wide protests within India, would not meet with general acceptance. To assuage this national sentiment, the British Government summoned a Round Table Conference of British and Indian leaders, and the princes. The moderates rallied round. But the Congress insisted that the Conference should discuss only the immediate grant of full responsible government. Since the demand was not conceded, it launched a non-cooperation movement and boycotted the Conference, except for a short period when it was prevailed upon to participate. There were further enquiries by a joint Parliamentary Committee, and the Government of India Act, 1935, was passed on the basis of its recommendations.

The enactment provided for the establishment of a 'Federation of India' comprising both British Indian provinces and Indian states. Burma was separated from India. The scheme drawn up was extemely complicated and had no parallel in any other federal system on a number of vital points. The Indian leaders had been intent on having full-fledged responsible government, both at the centre and in the provinces. They had also been keen on federating in respect of nearly all subjects hitherto administered by the Government of India, so that the benefits of a strong centre might

not be lost. The Act provided for a simple diarchy at the centre, with responsible government limited to a small area of administration. The princes had expressed, on the other hand, willingness to federate only with respect to the few subjects already in the hands of the paramount power and opposed injection of democratic ideas into the internal administration of their states. Their conditions were accepted and incorporated.

Moreover, no provision was made for the internal administration of the federating princely states, since it was accepted that the power to tackle that subject lay within the sole discretion of the individual rulers. But the Act made it clear that the federation was to come into being only on the accession of the rulers of states having not less than half the aggregate population of princely India and entitled to at least half the seats allotted to it in the 'Federal Upper Chamber'. The British Government had always been firm on keeping in its own hands the key departments relating to Defence, External Affairs and Tribal Areas. The Act provided for this too. Diverse minority communities, backward classes and other interests had put forward in the Round Table Conference and at other meetings demands in conflict with each other's claims and made the communal problem almost an insoluble riddle. The Act went a long way in meeting these sectional and group interests. Besides these impediments to a national self-government, the checks and balances, and the restrictions and limitations, which were included in the Act, were so many that the establishment of democratic, responsible government at the centre was indeed a farce.

As regards the units of the federation, diarchy was abandoned, and a full responsible government was established in the Governors' provinces of British India, subject to the special powers vested in the Governors in their individual capacity in respect of matters relating to minorities, backward classes, public services and special responsibilities. The Chief Commissioners' provinces came under the federal government to be administered as a central subject.

In view of the transfer of most domestic subjects into Indian hands, the 'Council of India' in England was abolished and its place was taken by a small body of 'Advisers'. The Secretary of State for India continued to be responsible to the Parliament in respect of matters still remaining within the sole discretion of the Governor-General or the Governors.

The reforms of 1935 worked much less satisfactorily than those of 1919. As regards the federal part, the two great political parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, were opposed to its being brought into force, because there was no real transfer of power and the scheme was designed only "to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the people of India" by the British. The princes too had second thoughts. While negotiations with them were still proceeding, second World War broke out in 1939. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, announced that there would be no federation for the time being and the federal scheme would

be suitably amended after the cessation of hostilities. The Government of India continued to function in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1919. However, since the provinces had already become autonomous and the federation had only been postponed until the end of the war, a number of federal institutions such as the Federal Court, the Fderal Railway Authority, the Reserve Bank of India and the Federal Public Services Commission were established.

The provisions of the Act for provincial autonomy came into force in 1937. The Congress formed ministries in seven provinces and only Bengal, the Punjab and Sind had non-Congress ministries. The constitution worked smoothly. Only the Muslim League felt bitter, because the Congress would not share power with it. Under the leadership of M.A. Jinnah, it started a virulent anti-Congress tirade and emerged a strong, well-disciplined and militant party. The association of the Congress with provincial administration was, however, short-lived; because of differences over larger political issues on the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, it resigned. During the war non-Congress ministries were in power, and where even this was not possible, the Governor's rule prevailed. Popular Ministries were restored only when the war had ended in 1945.

The outbreak of second World War in 1939 changed the whole complexion of the Indian Government. The Congress was opposed to the maintenance of the *status quo*. If the British Government was sincere about its war aims, namely, freedom and democracy in the world, India should have been granted independence immediately and allowed to frame a constitution through her own constituent assembly. Since the response was not satisfactory, the Congress withdrew from the provincial ministries, boycotted the legislatures, and launched the 'individual' civil disobedience movement, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in October 1940. The Muslim League became more militant and uncompromising. In March 1940, it had formally adopted Pâkistân as the goal of Muslim India and demanded that it should be granted sovereignty at the same time as India was given independence. It claimed status as the sole representative of Muslims in India and also equal representation with the Congress in any provisional government that was formed. Since its demands too were not conceded, it declined to co-operate with the government; but unlike the Congress, it did not actively oppose the government or prevent individual members of the League from co-operating.

The Congress-League differences apart, the British Government was not at all willing to part with the substance of power at this critical juncture and weaken its own hands. However, to rally round the moderate elements, on July 21, 1941, it constituted the National Defence Council and also expanded the Governor-General's Council to comprise eight Indians and three Englishmen as against the existing strength of three Indians and

three Englishmen. Even the moderates were not impressed with this concession, since no new or important portfolio was entrusted to Indians i.e. they were being still excluded from the key departments of Defence, Home, Finance and Communications.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, and the invasion of Burma created a grave national crisis. Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British War Cabinet, came to India to reach a settlement with its leaders and enlist popular support for the war effort. His plan contained a categorical assurance that India would be granted independence, with the right to secede from the Commonwealth, after the war and that she would also be free to frame her own constitution through a constituent assembly. At the same time, the Muslims and the princes were assured that no solution unacceptable to them would be forced upon them. For the interim period, there would be *de facto* full transfer of responsibility except in the field of defence. The Congress felt strongly that in the face of the impending invasion of the country by the Japanese, a mass psychology of resistance should be built up, and this could only be done if defence was in Indian hands, without prejudice to the freedom of the operational command. Owing to this hitch, a settlement which appeared to be almost within reach, failed to come through. The bitter disappointment at the failure of the Cripps' Mission led to the well-known Quit India Movement of 1942, and a reign of terror by the Government ensued.

After the termination of hostilities in Europe in 1945, Wavell who was then the Viceroy of India, made an attempt to form a provisional government at the Centre on the basis of the Cripps formula, but it failed owing to Congress-League differences over the form and quantum of representation of the respective parties. Soon after, the wai with Japan also ended, and general elections were held. The results confirmed what had become apparent, that communalism had taken deeper roots and the Muslim League was in a very strong position in all Muslim mojority provinces except in the North-West Frontier Province. The Congress likewise, as was expected, swept the polls and retained its claim to represent the nation. In 1945 the Labour Party came to power in England. It sent a Cabinet Mission to India with a firm offer of independence, starting with full responsible government at the centre within the framework of the existing laws until a new constitution was drawn up. The Mission sought to bring all the parties, including the princes, into a constituent assembly, without prejudice to their basic claims, in the hope that a solution, generally acceptable, would ultimately be found. An Interim Government was formed on September 2, 1946, and the Constituent Assembly was inaugurated on December 9. While the Congress co-operated, the Muslim League joined the Interim Government but declined to enter the Constituent Assembly since it felt that it could not achieve its basic objective, namely, Pākistān, through its deliberations.

The resulting political deadlock and mounting communal tension made the Government decide that it was best to effect partition and grant independence immediately and also leave the princes free to decide their own future. The Indian Independence Act, 1947, was accordingly passed and the Dominions of India and Pākistān were inaugurated on August 15 and August 14, 1947, respectively. The objective set forth earlier by the Indian National Congress was finally realized, though not wholly in the manner envisaged.

2. General Administration

Civil Services. As the Parliament was in a position to exercise only occasional or limited control over Indian administration, the Government of India was a bureaucracy or government by officials in the strict sense of the term. Except the Governor-General of India and the Governors of the major provinces, all others exercising governmental authority at high levels and responsible for policy making came from the Indian Civil Service. Hence, the character of the higher civil services under British rule assumed more than usual significance.

In the beginning, at the mercantile stage, the Company's service was just suited to the requirements of trade and commerce. But in view of the conditions under which oceanic trade was carried on, the servants of the Company had to assist in soldiering, administration of justice, municipal affairs and allied tasks. After Plassey i.e., when the Company acquired territorial responsibilities, it was necessary to transform the 'mercantile service' into an 'administrative service'. The credit for creating "a civil service in the modern sense of the word" and providing it "with new standards of honesty and right conduct" goes to Lord Cornwallis, and in his time the Covenanted Civil Service of India was constituted with its three units, the Bengal Civil Service, the Madras Civil Service and the Bombay Civil Service. Under the Charter Act of 1793, initial appointment of Writers to the service was left with the Directors of the Company, but, as a precaution against jobbery, it was expressly laid down that all promotions within it should be based strictly on seniority. To make the service attractive and to ensure a high degree of honesty and integrity, adequate salaries were provided. Further, all civil posts below the rank of a member of the Council of the Governor-General or Governor were reserved to members of the service. Lord Wellesley recognized the need for providing proper training to the civil servants, who were no longer traders but 'administrators and proconsuls', and founded the Fort William College at Calcutta in 1800. It was reduced to a mere school for languages by the Court of Directors, but Wellesley's main object was realized when the Haileybury College was established in England in 1806.

In the subsequent period, a large number of military and uncovenanted officers were appointed to posts reserved for members of the Covenanted Civil Service under the Statute of 1793, mostly in the newly conquered and unsettled areas such as Sind, the Punjab and Burma. The mixed system proved its worth in practice, and the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 condoned the past illegality and accorded legal sanction also to such future appointments. After 1875, this practice was gradually discontinued, but occasional appointments were made in some provinces in the forties of the present century.

There was another significant development during the period. As a result of the French Revolution with its democratic and rational approach to problems, the system of patronage in respect of public appointments was considered to be thoroughly unsatisfactory and recruitment through open competitive examinations was generally recognized to be both democratically correct and administratively sound. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1833, the Company adopted this principle in respect of the Covenanted Civil Service of India under the provisions of the Charter Act of 1853. In the subsequent years, the competitive system was extended to other superior and subordinate services with necessary modifications and adjustments.

The Covenanted Civil Service of India or the I.C.S., has ever constituted the steel-frame of the British administrative machinery in the country. For many decades, "there were practically no duties which were outside the scope of the I.C.S., except those of the sailor, the soldier, the physician and the padre, and even of these duties the civilian occasionally performed some, in an amateur way". With the political settlement of the country, the organization of government from the centre to the districts and the extension of welfare activities, many specialized and technical services were constituted from the latter half of the 19th cenutry. Besides the I.C.S., the former comprised services in respect of Police, Forest, Education (separate for men and women), Agriculture, Veterinary, Medical (Civil) and Engineering, with a special status, standard of service privileges and rights and remuneration. Appointments to these were made by the Secretary of State for India on the basis of selection both in India and England. In 1924, the superior services consisted of the All-India Services and the Central Services. On January 1, 1924, their sanctioned strength was 4,379 of which only 1,350 belonged to the Indian Civil Service. Each of these services formed a unit. On recruitment, its officers were assigned to one of the provinces and normally expected to serve their whole career there. The Government of India got them on deputation to serve at the centre according to a schedule or set schemes, but it had also its own services for administering central subjects such as Customs, Railways, and Posts and Telegraphs. The Central Class I Services were comparable in status to the All-India Services, and the Secretary of State

for India in Council exercised control over them. Besides these superior services, there were after 1890, provincial and subordinate services organized and maintained by the provincial governments. The members of the former were placed in the 'middle' grades and those of the latter in the 'lower' grades, of their administrations.

In the elaborate administrative mechinery thus constituted, it was only natural for the British Government to have as large a number as possible of its own 'nationals' in the higher rungs to secure and safeguard their authority in India. In the beginning, under Clive and Warren Hastings, the Company's administration even at the top was entirely in the hands of Indians, except for a few key posts. With its authority taking deeper roots, under Cornwallis, the Company's services were reorganized and positions of any importance were entrusted only to the Europeans. The exclusion of Indians was often justified on the ground that they as a community were venal and corrupt, but the underlying motive was to keep a complete and firm grip over the administration. However, the limitations of this policy became apparent during the next three decades. A large country like India could not be administered efficiently by a handful of European officers, who did not have intimate local knowledge or who did not stay in India long enough like Munro and Malcolm to acquire it. Delegation of greater and greater authority to Indian subordinates was, therefore, inevitable; and it started in 1834 with Bentinck, particularly in the field of judicial administration. Thereafter, 'Native agency and European superintendence' became the general policy in all departments and was in force upto 1921.

The liberal spirit of Bentinck's age was reflected also in the well-known provision in the Charter Act of 1833 that no Indian should 'by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company'. The only object of this clause was to ensure that Indians seeking employment with adequate qualifications were not edged out of lower subordinate posts by the Europeans who were to be freely admitted into India under the Charter. The Revolt of 1857 brought home the need for reconciling the nobility and enlisting the support of the intelligentsia. The assurance of 1833 was, therefore, reiterated but with a very wide application in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 which became the *magna carta* of the educated Indians seeking unrestricted entry into the superior services.

The chances of Indians were, however, bleak as long as recruitment to the services was made in England. In 1868, a scholarship scheme was initiated to help talented Indian students to proceed to England, but it proved to be a limited success. In 1879, provision was, therefore, made for filling one-fifth of the vacancies in the Covenanted Service (I.C.S.) through nomination of young Indians of respectable families and sound

education. This scheme (of 'Statutory Civilians') was abandoned after a time. The demand for Indianization of the higher services, however, continued to grow. Hence the government appointed a Public Services Commission in 1886, presided over by Sir Charles Aitchison. Instead of seeking ways and means of admitting more Indians into it, the Commission proposed 'to reduce the Indian Civil Service to a *corps d'elite* by limiting its numbers to what was necessary to fill the chief administrative appointments to the Government' and to transfer the remaining posts to a wholly Indian Provincial Service to be constituted in each of the provinces. The measures taken to implement this policy brought quite a few educated Indians into the middle ranks of public service, but by its nature it was too meagre to satisfy the general expectation and hence could not silence the public demand. The nationalist sentiment could hardly be satisfied with the virtual exclusion of Indians from the 'heaven-born' I.C.S. The agitation for holding examinations for it simultaneously in England and India was revived and continued unabated. There could, however, be no substantial progress in the Indianization of the superior services as long as the British Government was wedded to the concept of imperialism and the progress in this sphere was limited till 1947.

It was, however, essential that if India was to have full responsible government, it was necessary to Indianize the superior services as rapidly as possible. The nationalist demand for holding examinations for the I.C.S. in India also was conceded in 1922. Further, as recommended by the Lee Commission in 1924, recruitment to services which primarily concerned the subjects transferred to popular control was stopped, and the pace of Indianization was accelerated in the other services. A fifty-fifty ratio of Europeans and Indians was to be reached in fifteen years in the case of the I.C.S., and in twenty years in the case of the Indian Police Service. Indianization of the other services was to be more rapid. As a general indicator of the progress made, it may be mentioned that in 1939 there were 540 Indians out of a total of 1,299 in the Indian Civil Service. Another significant development was the reservation of seats in the public services for minority communities and backward classes. Further, in accordance with democratic tradition and practice, a Public Service Commission was set up at the centre in 1926, and the local governments followed suit in later years.

3. Trade, Commerce and Industry

The battle of Plassey stands as an important landmark in the economic history of India. The foreign conquest of the country started the process which culminated in the transformation of India's economy into a colonial economy. In its first phase, the impact of foreign rule on India's trade and

industry was both violent and destructive. The trade and industry of the country, more particularly that of Bengal, received a severe jolt as a result of the policies of the East India Company and corrupt practices of its officials. This was, of course, a short-lived phase. By the end of the 18th century, British rule had been established in large parts of the country and had come to stay. Britain, therefore, came to look upon India as her colony which had to be developed in the imperial interest. The overriding constraint on the process of development was to be the interest of the British manufacturers. India was to be turned into a market for British goods and exporter of raw materials and food stuffs to feed Britain's industries and her people. This policy thwarted economic growth and resulted in economic stagnation. The cottage and small scale industries which were the pride of the country in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century languished as a result of foreign competition and want of support from the government. New large scale industries were late to come but even when they began to be established in the second half of the 19th century, far from encouragement, the governments' attitude towards them was one of open hostility. Till the beginning of the World War in 1914, the government vigorously pursued the free trade policy and refused to accord fiscal protection to India's infant industries. The war produced far reaching changes in the world's economy and circumstances forced Britain to change her industrial and commercial policies in India. Fiscal autonomy to India was conceded by the Secretary of State in 1919 and the principle of discriminating protection accepted in 1923. This helped the industrial growth, and a number of new large scale consumer goods industries, such as sugar, matches, cement and paper came to be established in the country under the impetus of 'Protection'. But the 'Great Depression' intervened meanwhile and prevented industrial growth from being as rapid as it otherwise might have been expected. The result of the British rule in India was the aborted growth of her economy.

The British rule also produced important structural changes in the Indian economy. The new land laws gave India a new concept of 'property' and 'ownership' in land which was alien to her. The principle of joint-stock in business units was for the first time introduced by the British. A unified currency system for the whole country, monetization of India's rural economy, substitution of commercial for food crops in agriculture, a network of railways and telegraphs all over the country, an enormous increase in India's export trade and emergence of a new class structure were some of the more important contributions of the British rule to India's economy. Britain destroyed the medieval economic structure in India and laid the foundation of modern economy which for its development had, however, to wait till independence.

It is with this story of the transformation of the Indian economy during the British rule and its effect on incomes and standard of living of the

people that we are concerned in this review of trade, commerce and industry of India from 1761 to 1947. First we shall study changes in trade, commerce and industry and later we shall review trends in the agricultural sector of India's economy, national income, prices, wages and standard of living.

Ruin of Indian Industry. Even before the acquisition of *Dīwānī* of Bengal in 1765, the East India Company had begun to exercise considerable political influence in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa. From the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar the Company had obtained, in 1717, exemption from payment of transit duties on the inland movement of goods. This privilege proved to be a source of venal corruption and resulted in defrauding the Indian treasury. The servants of the Company not only claimed the same privileges for their private trade but also began to sell *dastaks* or permits, certifying their ownership of goods in transit; and these permits were used for goods belonging to any party to pass duty-free. The Indian merchants freely purchased these *dastaks* to escape payment of duties to the state.

Oppression of Weavers. The Company was also responsible for oppression of the weavers who supplied it with cotton fabrics for export. The purchase agents of the Company went into the interior, forced orders on weavers for supply of cloth at very low prices arbitrarily fixed by the former, prohibited them from entertaining orders from other purchasers and, in the event of disobedience of their commands, thrashed and flogged the weavers. The purchase agents arrogated to themselves the magisterial powers and in dealing with the weavers, combined in themselves the functions of the prosecutor and the judge. The unremunerative prices offered by the *gumāshtās* together with other measures of oppression adopted by them ruined the weavers, who deserted their profession in large numbers.

Monopolies. In the first few years of the Company's rule the trends mentioned above grew stronger. The foreign trade of Bengal which, at that time was the richest part of India, became the monopoly of the Company, while internal trade in more important commodities like raw cotton was monopolized by superior servants of the Company in their personal capacity. The monopoly of trade in raw materials helped to raise prices to the manufacturer, while monopoly of purchase (monopsony) of finished products tended to lower the prices of manufactures. These restrictive practices together with the method of providing the Company's investments or purchasing goods in the interior through the agency of *gumāshtās* ruined the weavers and other artisans. As a contemporary witness, William Bolts, testified in 1767: "The whole inland trade of the country, as at present conducted, and that of the country's investment for Europe in a more peculiar degree, has long been one continued scene of oppression; the baneful effects of which are severely felt by every weaver and manufacturer in the country, every article produced being made a monopoly; in which the English with the *baniyās* and black *gumāshtās* arbitrarily decide

what quantity of goods each manufacturer shall deliver and the prices he shall receive for them." Commenting on the system of making purchases through the *gumāshtās*, the same writer says: "The assent of the poor weavers is in general not deemed necessary; for the *gumāshtās* when employed on the Company's investment frequently make them sign what they please; and upon the weavers refusing to take the money offered, it has been known that they had had it tied to the girdles and they have been sent away with flogging"; and that "the roguery practised in this department is beyond imagination, but all terminates in the defrauding of the poor weaver; for the price which the Company's *gumāshtās*, and in confederacy with them, the *fachendārs* fix upon the goods, are in all places, at least fifteen per cent and in some, forty per cent less than the goods manufactured would sell for in the public bazar or market upon a free sale".

Transit Duties. All this would have been enough to ruin the Indian industries, and, in fact, it spelt disaster to important manufacturing centres. As early as 1769 it was stated about Murshidābād : "This fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary Government, is verging towards its ruin." But things did not stop there. The scales were heavily weighed against the Indian producer in two other ways. The first was the system of inland duties which afforded protection to foreign products in their competition with Indian manufactures. The practice of levying these duties had been inherited by the Company from the earlier rulers. The Company, on assuming administration of the country, raised the rates of these duties, multiplied toll and tariff barriers and brought, on the tariff list, many goods which previously had been exempt from duty. Thus, whereas the aggregate duty on cotton piece-goods manufactured in India worked out in 1813 at 17 per cent *ad valorem*, the duty on the imported cloth fixed under the Charter Act of 1813 was only 2½ per cent *ad valorem*.

Duties on Foreign Trade. England imposed prohibitory duties on cotton imports from India. The import of cotton fabrics from India for domestic use was prohibited in England, while those imported for re-export to European markets were subjected to a total *ad valorem* duty of over 71 per cent. Commenting on these heavy imposts on the manufactures of India, the British historian Wilson remarked, "It was stated in evidence (before the Select Committee in 1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India could be sold for a profit in British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 to 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this been not the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped at the outset and could not have again been set in motion, by the power of steam. They were created by the

sacrifice of the Indian manufacturers. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods, and would have thus preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying duty and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

Colonial Economy. Two events of great significance to Britain occured just at the time when India was being conquered by her. The first was the industrial revolution which increased the country's demand for raw materials and food stuffs, and second her loss of North American colonies as a result of their declaration of independence in 1776. The latter event made England search for an alternative source of supply of raw cotton and foodstuffs that American colonies had supplied earlier while the former increased the need for market for the products of her newly established industries. Under the circumstances, the conquest of India came to acquire a special significance for England. For here was a country of the size and population of a sub-continent which offered an unlimited market for her rapidly growing industries and an inexhaustible source for the supply of raw materials and foodstuffs. From the beginning of political contact with this country, British policies in India came to be shaped by the needs and desires of the industrial interests of the imperial power. Left to itself, the East India Company might have promoted the export of manufactures from this country to increase its commercial profits. But powerful interests at Home led the Parliament to intervene in Indian affairs as early as 1773 when the Regulating Act was passed. Henceforth, it was the British Parliament that ultimately decided and laid down policies to be pursued by the East India Company in India. The successive Charter Acts placed more and more restrictions on the Company's commerical activities till 1833, when the Company was completely divested of its trading rights. By then, England had almost achieved her object of turning Indian economy into a colonial economy—a market for her manufactures and a source for the supply of raw materials to her industries. The change wrought by England in the industrial position of India, by 1835, may be seen from the following table of trade in cotton textiles between England and India:

Year	*Imports of cotton manufactures from Britain into India (metres)*	*Export of Indian cotton piece-goods to Britain (metres)*
1814	7,48,169	1,158,186
1821	1,75,00,451	4,88,742
1828	3,91,56,507	3,86,338
1835	4,73,45,142	2,79,869

India was mainly an exporter of cotton fabrics in the 18th century. Even as late as 1814, she was a net exporter of cotton manufactures but, within 22 years from that date, the exports of Indian cloth to Britain had dwindled to the insignificant figure of a little less than three lakh metres, while imports had swelled to about 47 million metres. From a manufacturing country India had been reduced to the position of an importer of foreign manufactures for the consumption of her people.

Export of Capital from India. The industrialization of Great Britain was helped not only by India's imports but also by the latter's capital. The Company's purchases of goods for export from India, or investments as they were called, were financed from the revenue proceeds of the Company. The sale proceeds of these goods in Great Britain were utilized for payment of dividends to the shareholders of the Company. A large part of India's exports, therefore, were unrequited as nothing was returned to India in exchange. To that extent the export surplus constituted a drain of wealth from the country. This surplus together with the private fortunes made by the servants of the Company in the early days of British rule in India, and carried to Britain, constituted a valuable addition to the capital resources of Great Britain in the initial period of her industrialization.

Foreign Investments in India. With the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, Indian colonial economy entered the second phase of its career. By 1833 the East India Company had reached the stage of mature capitalism which, apart from markets for industrial products, had begun to seek profitable investments of surplus funds abroad. The Act of 1833 threw open the door to expansion of trade and investment of British capital in India. The settlement of Europeans in the interior of the country, which at first was not looked upon with favour by the East India Company, was now permitted, and flow of private capital from England into trade and industry of India was encouraged.

But though upto the middle of 19th century British citizens were in possession of plantations, shares in commerical and banking enterprises and rupee loans of the Government of India, the actual flow of British capital into India till the Revolt of 1857 remained very small. Most of these shares and property rights were acquired by the British officers, while they were in the service of the Company in India, out of their personal accumulations and were taken to England by them on retirement from service, to maintain themselves and to educate their children there with the incomes that these assets yielded. "These interests", says Leyland Jenks, "represented simply portions of Indian spoil and revenue reinvested in India. They did not constitute an export of British capital." But later, the construction of irrigation works and railways afforded almost an unlimited field for profitable investment of capital in India, but the Company, interested as it mainly was in exploiting and not in improving the

resources of the country, showed little interest in the matter. The private investor was hesitant and was not willing to risk his funds in an unfamiliar land without assurance about the safety of invested capital and the state guarantee of reasonable returns on investment. Several schemes of construction of railway in India were put forward in 1845, and in 1848 two companies, namely, the East India Railway Company and the Great Indian Peninsular Company, were given guarantee of interest of 5 per cent per annum on capital invested by them in the railway construction in India. But it was not till 1853 that the first railway line in India was opened to traffic. By April 1857, there were only 439.35 km. of railway line in India, and the total capital raised from the British investor for investment in Indian railways amounted to £ 13.39 millions.

The Revolt of 1857 was a landmark in the flow of British capital to India. The attention of both English businessmen and statesmen was, for the first time, focussed on India. India was the principal unit of the British empire and, now that the sub-continent had been retaken, no effort was to be spared in making it a secure possession of Britain. The major movement of British capital between 1857 and 1865 was towards India. Railways received special attention because their extension served the imperial interests in more than one way. They facilitated rapid movement of troops from one place to another. They also provided profitable investment for British capital, promoted export of locomotives, rolling stock, steel, machinery and other equipment from England, brought about extension of market for British manufactures in the interior of India and facilitated collection of foodgrains, raw cotton and other agricultural produce from the markets of India for export to Great Britain.

Plantation industries, banking, shipping and trade were some of the other fields of investment of British capital. The total British investment in India between 1854 and 1869 is estimated at £ 150 millions. Of this amount, one half went into the railways, 55 millions into Government loans and 20 millions in tea plantations, jute mills, shipping and mercantile establishments. India continued to receive an annual investment of £ 5 million of foreign capital in the seventies of the 19th century. But this was a period of depression in England when flow of capital from Britain to other countries of the world had been considerably reduced. There was a great increase in the rate of British investments in India in the nineties. In 1909, the net investments for the year amounted to £ 14.3 millions. The total investments of British capital made in India upto 1910 were estimated at 547 crores of rupees as against 441 crores in 1896 and 225 crores in 1870. England derived an annual income of £ 8 to 9 millions at the beginning of the present century from her investments in India.

The investment of foreign capital, especially in the railways, helped to bring about a commercial revolution in India which may be said to have

started near about 1860. With the help of the foreign capital there was a rapid increase in the length of railways which from 2,573.33 km. in 1861 rose to 5,428.31 km. in 1865; 8,170.64 km. in 1871; 11,783.62 km. in 1877; 32,523.23 km. in 1896; 49,207.30 km. in 1908 and 55,773.44 km. in 1914. These figures are inclusive of the length of railways in British Burma and princely states. Meanwhile a revolution was also caused in the sea transport between India and Europe by the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), which shortened the distance of the sea voyage between the Indian and the European ports by about 4,830 km., and by the large scale replacement, in the seventies of the last century, of sailing vessels by steam ships for carrying cargo. As a result of these developments foreign trade of the country showed an impressive increase. In 1859–60 the total value of India's foreign trade was 69.6 crores of rupees; it rose to 100.4 crores in 1869–70; 122 crores in 1879–80; 195.7 crores in 1891–92; 266.49 crores in 1908–9 and 441 crores in 1913–14. In terms of statistics of ship clearings, there was a ninefold increase in the sea-borne import trade of the country in less than 25 years, ship clearings in Indian ports rising from 2,29,776 tonnes in 1871–72 to 20,12,674 tonnes in 1894–95.

There was an impressive increase in other forms of business activity after 1890, the index of which rose from 100 in the period 1890–1894 to 110 in 1895; 136 in 1901; 188 in 1907; and 202 in 1909. Between 1890 and 1909, the volume of inland trade increased by 108 per cent, and the capital of joint-stock companies by 94 per cent. Paid-up capital and reserves of Indian banks rose from 5.17 crores of rupees in 1895 to 9.78 crores in 1908. Private deposites of all banks including Presidency Exchange Banks, increased from 34.94 crores in 1895 to 64.39 crores in 1908. Banks other than the Presidency Banks increased their deposits during the same period from 5.56 to 16.26 crores of rupees. The total amount of currency notes and rupee coins in circulation rose from 127 crores of rupees in 1896 to 181 crores in 1908. These statistics indicate that, though continuing to be backward in agriculture and industry, India had, by 1914, achieved remarkable progress in the commercial field. Judging from her world-wide commercial relations, growth of joint-stock business development of banking and monetization of the larger portion of her economy, India had, before the first World War, acquired a place among the most advanced commercial nations of the world.

Industrial Development. The commercial revolution failed to bring in its wake large scale industrialization. Despite the great strides in the development of the means of communication and transport, banking and insurance and foreign and inland trade, the country continued to suffer from arrested growth of industries till the end of World War I.

A beginning in the establishment of factory industries in India was made in the middle of the 19th century. The first cotton mill was started at Broach in the Bombay Presidency in 1853, and the first jute mill

was established by George Auckland at Rishra in Bengal in 1855. The construction of East India Railway which passed through the Rāniganj coal-fields led to the development of coal-mining. Till the end of the 19th century, these three were the only modern industries developed in the country, but the progress made even in these was not very encouraging. Thus in cotton textile, which incidentally was the only industry owned and run principally by the Indians, by 1900, there were 194 mills in the country with 5 million spindles and 40,000 looms. In the jute industry which was mostly foreign owned, there were 36 mills with over 16,000 looms at work in 1901–2. The production of coal was a little over 6 million tonnes in 1900.

The *Swadeshi* movement launched by the Indian nationalists in the first decade of the present century gave a great fillip to industrial development in India, and the existing industries registered an impressive progress during the first fourteen years of the century. Thus the number of cotton mills operating in the country in 1914 stood at 273 with 6.8 million spindles and 1,04,000 looms. Similarly, jute mills increased from 36 in 1900 to 64 in 1914 and the number of looms employed therein from 16,000 to 36,000. The output of coal rose to a little over 16 million tonnes in 1914. Meanwhile two new mining industries, viz., manganese and mica came into existence. The iron and steel industry may be said to have really come into existence with the establishment of Tata Iron and Steel Company in 1907. The company started working in 1911, while steel was first produced in 1913. All these industries put together provided employment to one million labourers out of a total population of 315 millions. The jute and mining industries belonged mostly to the foreigners and profits from them went to the nationals of other countries. Before World War I, therefore, the development of modern industry in India had a negligible effect both on the volume of employment and the level of national income.

It was neither lack of enterprise nor absence of capital that was responsible for the slow growth of industries in India. On account of low levels of incomes, the rate of capital accumulation in the country was no doubt slow but that, given profitable channels of investment, money could be found for industrial investments, is proved by the flow of capital into money-lending, banking, investments in landed property, mercantile activity and import of bullion from abroad. The *laissez-faire* philosophy, to which the Government of India remained wedded right upto 1919, stood in the way of the state taking the initiative in promoting industrialization, while the jealousy of the manufacturing interests in Britain against the growth of rival manufactures in India led to adoption by the Indian Government of such commercial and fiscal policies as were detrimental to the development of industries in this country. The history of cotton textile industry affords an instructive illustration of the way economic

policies were influenced by imperial considerations. A small import duty of 5 per cent *ad valorem* on cotton piece-goods was objected to by Lancashire interests on the ground that it afforded protection to the Indian manufacturer in his domestic market and the British House of of Commons passed a resolution in 1877 directing the Government of India to take steps, as soon as its finances permitted, to remove this duty on imported cloth. The orders were duly carried out by the obliging Finance Member, Sir John Stratchey. Till the grant of fiscal autonomy in 1919, Indian fiscal policy continued to be dictated from Lancashire. Thus when in 1894 the revenue considerations forced the Government of India to levy an import duty of 5 per cent on all imports including cotton piece-goods, a countervailing excise duty at the same rate was imposed on cotton fabrics and yarns manufactured in India, to remove the "unfair advantage" that the latter would otherwise enjoy in the domestic market, as a result of the imposition of import duty. Even this did not satisfy Lancashire and as a result of its opposition, the import duty on cotton piece-goods was lowered to 3½ per cent and a countervailing excise duty at the same rate was imposed on Indian mill-made cloth. Again when the Industries Department of Madras, which was organized in the first decade of the present century, showed enthusiasm in initiating and promoting development of modern industry in the Madras Presidency, the then Secretary of State, Lord Morley, ordered in 1910 virtual stoppage of all activities on the part of that department on the ground that it was none of the government's business to actively encourage industrial development in India. "The policy, which he was prepared to sanction" he wrote in his despatch "was that State funds might be expended upon familiarizing the people with such improvements in the methods of production as modern science and the practice of European countries would suggest. Further than this State should not go, and it must be left to private enterprise to demonstrate that these improvements could be adopted with commercial advantage".

Industries in Inter-War Period. World War I led to considerable relaxation of the imperialistic hold on India's economy. The industrial commission appointed during the war made a strong plea for state encouragement and promotion of Indian industries. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on constitutional reforms and the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee Report on the Government of India Bill of 1919, brought out clearly the injury done to Indo-British political relations by the widespread feeling in India that this country's commercial and fiscal policies were dictated from Manchester. Following these pronouncements, the Secretary of State announced to a delegation from Lancashire that it was his intention, henceforth, to leave the Government of India free to decide its own commercial policy and not to interfere in its formulation any more. The 'Fiscal Autonomy Convention', as this authoritative pronouncement of the Secretary of State came to be called, paved the way to the adoption of the policy

of 'Protection' of Indian industries in place of free trade that had been the rule earlier. A fiscal commission under the presidentship of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola was appointed in October, 1921. The commission recommended the adoption of the scheme of 'discriminating protection' under which protection was to be granted after proper enquiry into each individual case to those industries which applied for it and which satisfied certain minimum conditions laid down by the commission. The Government of India accepted these recommendations and protection was granted, in the inter-war period, to iron and steel, cotton textiles, paper, matches, sugar and heavy chemical industries.

The effect of this change in policy was soon visible in the increase in industrial production of the country. Between 1922 and 1939, the production of steel ingots increased from 1.32 lakh tonnes to 10.49 lakh tonnes or an increase of 800%; cotton piece-goods from 1,567.3 million to 3,672.2 million metres, a 250% increase; match boxes from 16 million gross to 22 million gross, a 38% increase; paper and paper-board from 24,384 to 68,075 tonnes, an increase of 180% and cane-sugar from 24,384 to 946,000 tonnes or an increase of 3,779 per cent. Several new industries grew up in the country during the period. Thus the output of cement which was negligible before the war (960 tonnes in 1913) rose to 2,40,543 tonnes in 1924; 6,02,512 tonnes in 1932–33 and 10,12,992 tonnes in 1936–37 when the country's production satisfied 95% of the demand in the domestic market. In consequence of expansion of production in the existing industries and starting of new industries the number of workmen employed in Indian factories rose from 869,643 in 1912 to 15,33,387 in 1927 and 16,10,921 in 1935. In terms of statistics of industrial production and employment, India had begun to be counted among the first eight industrial nations of the world.

Encouraging as this progress was, it was not commensurate with the resources available in the country or with the needs of her economy. The level of industrialization attained during the inter-war years failed to make perceptible impression on the unemployment situation, national income or standard of living of the mass of population. The country remained, as before, predominantly agricultural, with over 70 per cent of the population deriving its livelihood from cultivation of land. India presented, in 1939, all the familiar characteristics of an under-developed economy, namely, predominance of agriculture, low levels of income and saving, export of agricultural and import of manufactured articles and backward techniques and skills in production of manufactured commodities.

Foreign Trade in Inter-War Period. There was a notable increase in the foreign trade of the country during the first World War and in the post-war years. The total value of the foreign trade rose from Rs. 440 crores in 1913–14 to Rs. 558 crores in 1919–20, and Rs. 654 crores in 1924–25. Thereafter there was a slight fall till 1929–30 when on account

of world depression a precipitate fall in trade took place. In 1929–30, which was the first year of the world depression the value of trade stood at Rs. 602 crores; the figure dropped down to as low as Rs. 344 crores in 1938–39, which was less by about 100 crores over the pre-war figure of Rs. 440 crores. On the whole, therefore, there was no increase in the total trade of the country in the inter-war period. But a considerable change in the geographical distribution of trade took pace during this period. Trade with the United States of America, Germany and Japan expanded considerably while that with the United Kingdom showed considerable decrease. The share of U.K. in our imports of merchandize worked out at 61.8 per cent in 1913–14, 41.2 per cent in 1929–30 and 32 per cent in 1938–39. On the other hand, the share of Germany went up from 6.9 per cent in 1913–14 to 9.7 per cent in 1936–37, Japan from 2.6 per cent to 17 per cent and the U.S.A. from 2.6 per cent to 6.5 per cent during the same period. Among other countries whose shares improved in our total trade were: Kenya and Zanzibar from 0.3 per cent in 1913–14 to 2.8 per cent in 1936–37; Irān, Iraq, etc. from 1.5 per cent to 2.9 per cent and Ceylon from 0.4 to 1.4 per cent. On the export side, the share of U.K. improved from 23.4 per cent in 1913–14 to 32.2 per cent in 1936–37, of Japan from 9.1 per cent in 1913–14 to 15.0 per cent in 1936–37; and of the U.S.A. from 8.7 to 9.5 per cent during the same period. On the other hand, there was a decline in the case of Germany from 10.6 to 4.7 per cent; France from 7.1 to 3.9 per cent; Italy from 3.1 to 2.4 per cent; China from 2.3 to 0.6 per cent; and Russia from 0.9 to 0.2 per cent. While the trend in the import trade was thus towards diversification, that in the export trade was towards concentration of trade in fewer countries. These changes in the direction of trade were the result of a variety of factors. The changes implied a loosening of the hold of imperialism on Indian economy. The Indian market was no more the exclusive monopoly of Great Britain. As in other parts of the world, British industries had to face stiff competition from Japan and the United States of America in the Indian market and the scheme of 'Imperial Preference' that India joined in 1932 by becoming a signatory to the Ottawa Trade Agreement was a device to help Britain against her powerful rivals.

A feature of Indian foreign trade during British rule was that the country normally had an excess of exports over imports. The surplus exports were utilized partly in meeting 'charges' in England arising out of the fact of India being a colony of Great Britain and partly to meet payments of interests and dividends on British capital invested in India. The early Indian economists and political leaders called these unrequited exports a 'tribute' paid by the subject nation to the ruling country, which, according to them, constituted a drain of wealth from India.

Towards the end of the 18th century the annual amount of this 'tribute' had risen to about £2 million and by the middle of the 19th century to

£3.5 million. There was a steady rise in these payments after the transfer of the government of the country from the East India Company to the British Crown in 1858. In the eighties of the last century the excess of exports over imports averaged 16 crores of rupees per annum; in 1913–14 it had risen to 28.39 crores and in 1919–20 to 49.76 crores. There was an excess of imports over exports during the next two years but the pre-war trend reappeared during 1922–23 and 1929–30 and the export surplus had again risen to Rs. 46.59 crores. For the ten years ending 1938–39, the average worked out at Rs. 62 crores.

It is not necessary to go into the question of justness or otherwise of these payments for that raises several political and moral issues. But all those charges which did not arise out of British investments in India, constituted a drain of the productive resources of the country and reduced the power of the nation to accumulate capital. The unrequited exports represented a drain of wealth and were responsible for slowing down the rate of economic progress.

Banking. Banking institutions modelled on European lines were first established in Bengal by the Europen merchants to finance European trade in 1780's. The General Bank was started in 1786; the Bengal Bank was in existence in 1784 but when it was first established is not known; Hindustan Bank, which was a branch of the trading business of Messrs. Alexander & Co., was the earliest among them in the field. These banks had European officials of the East India Company as their directors and thus enjoyed considerable degree of government patronage. Even so, they faced a tough competition from the well-established indigenous bankers and shroffs till about the end of the 18th century. But the competition between the two was unequal. The indigenous bankers lost the treasury business which had been conducted by them under the Indian rule. Financing of trade which had been another important function performed by the indigenous bankers was also taken over by the European banks because the European traders naturally preferred to deal with European banks as compared to the indigenous financing agencies. As the European banking developed, and these banks opened their branches outside the towns of their headquarters, the business of transfer of funds from one place to another also came to be done much more cheaply than by the idigenous bankers. From the early years of the 19th century, indigenous banking lost the ground almost completely to European banking in financing trade and industry. The indigenous banker was relegated to the unprofitable business of rural money-lending and financing of inland trade in agricultural produce.

The earlier European banks also failed to survive recurrent crises which they faced almost from the very start. The Bank of Bengal disappeared before the close of the century and was replaced by a new Bank of Bengal established in Calcutta in 1806 as the first of the three Presidency Banks.

The Hindustan Bank crashed in the crisis of 1829–32 and was replaced by Union Bank which also disappeared in 1848. Meanwhile, the second Presidency Bank was established in Bombay, called Bank of Bombay, in 1840 and the third in Madras in 1843. The Presidency Banks from their very start had official connections and were given treasury business. Meanwhile English banks began to open their branches in India to finance foreign trade in this country. The presidency banks and foreign exchange banks divided between themselves almost the entire banking business in this country throughout the 19th century.

The principle of limited liability was first established in this country in 1860. The first Indian enterprize in the field of banking based on the joint-stock limited liability principle was the Oudh Commercial Bank started in 1881. This was, however, a feeble affair. The beginning of the modern Indian joint-stock banking may, therefore, be traced back to the establishment of the Punjab National Bank in 1894 and the Peoples' Bank in 1901, both started by Lala Harkishan Lal Gauba. At first these banks made slow progress and many of them including the Peoples' Bank failed in the crisis of 1913. There were 38 Indian joint stock banks in 1935 with a capital of over Rs. 5 lakh each, having a paid-up capital of Rs. 8.17 crores and deposits of Rs. 84.45 crores. In the same year, there were 67 Indian joint stock banks with a capital and reserve between Rs. 1 lakh and Rs. 5 lakhs each with a paid-up capital of Rs. 94 lakhs and deposits of Rs. 5.11 crores. As against this the foreign exchange banks which were 17 in number in 1935 claimed deposits in India amounting to Rs. 76 crores.

The Indian joint-stock banks made rapid progress after the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India in 1935. The World War II helped considerably the growth of Indian joint-stock banking. In 1945–46, there were 91 scheduled banks (i.e. banks with capital and reserve of over Rs. 5 lakhs each) with a total deposit of Rs. 914 crores or more than ten times the combined deposits of scheduled and non-scheduled banks ten years earlier.

4. General Economic Conditions

Land Tenures. The effect of the revolution in India's economic status during the Company's regime was not confined to industrial and commercial sectors; agricultural production and organization too underwent even more fundamental and far-reaching changes. The British, partly with a view to securing stability in land revenue receipts of the state and partly because of their ignorance of the Indian land system, introduced new forms of land tenures which, for the first time in the history of the country, created on a large scale private property and individual ownership rights in land. In Bengal and parts of present Uttar Pradesh, they

created a class of landlords patterned on the European model. The existing revenue farmers, who were mainly collectors of land revenue in the Mughal times, were recognized as the absolute owners of their estates with all the privileges associated with the ownership of land that were enjoyed by the landlords in Europe. The rights and privileges of the cultivator were ignored in making a permanent settlement of revenue with the *zamīndārs* of Bengal in 1793. The arrangements did not prove of immediate advantage to the landlords, because the revenue demand fixed under the revenue settlement of 1793 was pitched so high that many old *zamīndārs* failed to meet it punctually every year and had to surrender their estates. These were put to public auction, and rich men from Calcutta, who had suffered loss of employment of their capital in trade and industry because of European competition, eagerly purchased them. A new class of landlords was thus created in the country. There was very little in common between the old ryots and the new *zamīndārs* who were mere speculators. Concerned as the latter were mainly with returns on their investments in land, they screwed up rents and did not hesitate to eject those cultivators who refused or failed to pay the enhanced rates. Thus began a long period of exploitation of the peasantry by landlords who were themselves a creation of the British rule. Over a period of about 100 years or so following the permanent settlement, rents continued to rise; ejectments of hereditary tenants became a common feature of agrarian relations until legislative action was taken to protect their rights and save them from rack-renting; and, while the profits of the landlord multiplied, the peasant was reduced to a life of misery and destitution. He was exposed to chronic hunger, and fell an easy victim to starvation during periods of famine, the visitations of which in the country showed a disconcerting increase in the 19th century.

Ryotwari Tenures. In the *ryotwari* areas of Madras and Bombay presidencies, the mistake made in Bengal of creating a class of landlords was avoided and settlements were made either with individual cultivators or collectively with the village bodies consisting of cultivating proprietors. But here also the English ideas of private property in land were introduced, and the cultivator with whom the land revenue was settled was recognized as the proprietor of the piece of land for which he assumed the responsibility of paying land revenue. The proprietor could motgage, sell or transfer these rights to anyone he pleased. The sale and mortgage deeds could be registered with the Revenue Department. These came to be recognized as legal documents with all the sanctity of law behind them. These rights made land a valuable asset on the security of which the cultivator could easily raise loans in time of need, and the money-lender was only too willing to lend.

The high revenue rates and the strict punctuality with which revenue was collected, irrespective of the conditions of the season, a crops and

income of the cultivator, led to the latter resorting more frequently to money-lender's credit for payment of government dues. Money was also borrowed by the cultivator for meeting his extraordinary domestic and business expenses, like those on marriages and other social ceremonies, and puchase of seeds and bullocks, foodgrains and other necessaries of life during the period of drought when his farm did not yield enough income to sustain him and his family through the year. A class of urban money-lenders, whose main interest lay in appropriating the crops and expropriating the cultivator from land, sprang up in the country. The exactions of the money-lender virtually ruined the peasantry. The agrarian riots in certain districts of Bombay in the early seventies of the 19th century showed the extent to which relations between the money-lender and the peasant had become strained. The Deccan Agriculturist Relief Act and the Punjab Land Alienation Act were the administrator's answer to the problem of rural indebtedness. But the solution did not go far in alleviating the sufferings of the peasantry.

One very important effect of these changes in land tenures was that improvements in land, both in the *zamīndārī* and *ryotwari* areas, came to be sadly neglected by the separation of capital from labour in agriculture. The landlord and the money-lender were interested in maximizing profits on investments by squeezing the agriculturist instead of increasing the productivity of land. The peasant, on the other hand, had neither the means to make improvements nor any security of tenure or assurance of compensation. Agricultural production was thus condemned permanently to backward techniques.

Agricultural Distress and Famines. The commercial revolution brought about a rapid rise in prices, and produced far-reaching effects on the rural economy of the country. Taking 1868 as the base (100) the index number of wholesale prices rose from 105 in 1870 to 162 in 1907 and 174 in 1908. There was a greater rise in the prices of cereals and other foodstuffs, the price index of which rose from 104 in 1870 to 178 in 1907 and 202 in 1908.

The rise in the prices of agricultural produce together with the great increase, after 1860, in the export of foodgrains and other agricultural products was interpreted by the British officials at the time as a sign of increasing prosperity of the agriculturist. But paradoxically enough, the period of commercial revolution from 1860 to 1914 was really one of great distress for the agricultural population. Beginning with the one in the then North-Western Provinces (now called Uttar Pradesh) in 1860, famines and scarcities followed in quick succession till the beginning of World War I. Among the major calamities during this period, mention may be made of the famine in Orissa and Bengal in 1865–66; North-Western Provinces, Rājputāna (Rājasthān) and the Punjab in 1868–69; Bengal in 1873; Madras and Bombay presidencies in 1876–77; North-Westrn Provinces and the Punjab in 1878; Madras, Bombay, Central

Provinces (Madhya Pradesh), North-Western Provinces, the Punjab and Berār, in 1896; Central Provinces, Berār, Bombay, the Punjab and Ajmer in 1899–1900; and United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), Central Provinces, Bengal, Bombay and Madras in 1907–8. Over a span of fifty years from 1860 to 1909, the country experienced 20 famines and scarcities—an average of one famine or scarcity every 2½ years.

There is no greater proof needed of the conditions of extreme poverty and want under which the people of India, especially the agricultural classes, lived in the latter half of the 19th century, than the figures of mortality caused by these famines. The famine of 1896 cost 4.5 million lives, while about 2 million people died in the famine of 1899–1900. The principal victims of the famines were agricultural labourers, artizans, particularly the weavers, and small cultivators.

Condition of Agriculturists. A study of family budgets and farm accounts of these classes at the time reveals that they all lived from hand to mouth. Not to speak of the scantiness of their clothes and unhygenic condition of their dwellings, a large portion of the population could not afford even two square meals a day. Though we do not, and in such matters possibly cannot, have any statistical measure of the proportion of population that may be said to have been under-nourished at the time, we have it on the authority of such experienced officers as Sir William Hunter who observed in 1880 that '40 millions of population go through life on insufficient food', and Sir Charles Elliot who wrote in 1887 that 'half of our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied'. A country-wide economic enquiry ordered by Lord Dufferin in 1887 to 'ascertain the truth behind the general assertion that the greater proportion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food', confirmed the correctness of the views expressed by the two officers.

Causes of Poverty. Several causes account for the poverty of the peasantry, the more important among them being the scarcity of cultivable land in the country and consequently small size of holdings, backward techniques, and low agricultural productivity, rack-renting in *zamīndārī* areas and high revenue charges in *ryotwarī* provinces, under-employment and the general state of indebtedness of the agricultural population. All these, in turn, were the product of the colonial nature of Indian economy, which drove almost the entire population to land for livelihood, prevented growth of capital in the country, and checked industrialization which, before World War I, proceeded at a painfully slow rate.

Prices, Wages and National Income. Before the introduction of British rule the monetized sector of Indian economy was small, most of the transactions, in the rural areas especially, being carried on through barter. A considerable portion of receipts and disbursements of the government

was also in kind, not in cash. The limited money supply was thus called upon to do only a limited amount of work and prices were generally high. The monetization of government transactions together with the spread of trade consequent upon the introduction of East India Company's rule resulted in greater demand for money. The money supply could not be increased proportionately on account of difficulties of import of sufficient amount of silver for coinage. This led to a general fall in prices. Till about the middle of the 19th century, there was a downward trend in prices. But prices began to rise thereafter, more particularly after 1860. This trend was reversed temporarily during the great depression of 1929–38. With the beginning of the war in 1939, prices resumed their upward trend once again. The following table gives the index number of wholesale prices from 1857 to 1948, a period of 102 years, with 1948–49 as the base=100.

Changes in Price Level from 1857 to 1948
(1948–49=100)

Year	*Index*	*Year*	*Index*
1857	10.2	1903	18.0
58	11.0	4	18.5
59	11.8	5	20.1
1860	12.6	6	23.6
61	13.7	7	23.6
62	13.7	8	25.2
63	14.5	9	22.5
64	15.5	1910	22.3
65	16.1	11	23.6
66	18.5	12	24.9
67	17.4	13	26.0
68	15.8	14	26.8
69	17.4	15	30.0
1870	15.8	16	34.3
71	13.7	17	38.9
72	14.5	18	47.2
73	14.7	19	52.5
74	16.1	1920	54.2
75	14.2	21	48.0
76	14.7	22	47.2
77	19.0	23	46.1
78	20.4	24	46.4
79	18.8	25	42.6

Year	*Index*	*Year*	*Index*
1880	16.1	1926	39.7
81	14.7	27	39.7
82	14.5	28	38.9
83	14.7	29	37.8
84	15.8	1930	31.1
85	15.8	31	25.7
86	15.3	32	24.4
87	15.3	33	23.3
88	16.4	34	23.9
89	17.4	35	24.4
1890	17.4	36	24.4
91	17.7	37	27.3
92	19.5	38	25.5
93	19.0	39	29.0
94	18.0	1940	32.2
95	17.7	41	35.7
96	19.3	42	43.4
97	22.8	43	59.5
98	18.5	44	65.7
99	18.0	45	66.5
1900	21.2	46	72.7
1	20.1	47	81.0
2	19.3	48	100.0

Several factors contributed to the rise of prices during this period. Of these the great increase in India's export trade consequent upon the opening of the Suez Canal and spread of railways, growing scarcity of food stuffs and other necessaries of life because of the failure of the output to keep pace with increase in external and domestic demand for it, the growth of towns, rapid increase in money supply and continuous fall in the international price of silver after 1873 were the most important.

The rise in prices brought prosperity to commercial and industrial classes. The landlord and the substantial peasant also benefitted from this rise. But the landless labourers in the rural areas as also the urban proletariat were hit hard. In the rural areas customary wages that had hitherto continued to be paid in kind began to be commuted in cash. There was some rise in money wages but real wages appear to have fallen in the last four decades of the 19th century. The general index of wages rose from 100 in 1879 to 114 in 1887 and 116 in 1896 but in terms of foodgrains purchased with the prevailing money rates of wages, real wages in 1895

were lower than those in 1885 as will be seen from the following table:

Quinquennium ending
Money and 'Corn' Wages of Agricultural Labour

	Bengal (Rice)		NWP (Wheat)		Central Provinces (Gram)		Madras (Bajra)		Mysore (Ragi)	
	Money Wages (Rs.)	Corn Wages (Seers)	Money Wages (Rs.)	Corn Wages (Seers)	Money Wages (Rs.)	Corn Wages (Seers)	Money Wages (Rs.)	Corn Wages (Seers)	Money Wages (Rs.)	Corn Wages (Seers)
1885	5.8	122.96	3.9	77.2	4.3	125.3	4.4	120.56	6.75	185
1890	6.3	115.29	4.4	70.84	4.2	84.0	4.8	116.64	6.09	210
1895	6.6	98.34	4.6	68.84	4.4	77.84	5.2	100.32	7.01	169

There was a steady rise in wages after 1900. The index number of money wages of the agricultural labourers (with the average of 1890-95 as the base=100) stood at 105 in 1895, 125 in 1900, 147 in 1905 and 170 in 1910. The index number of real wages of the same class of labourers was 103 in the five years ending 1899, 120 during the next five years and 123 in the quinquennium ending 1909. In the next ten years there was a further improvment in wage rates caused first by war and later by the heavy mortality caused by the influenza epidemic of 1919, which resulted in decrease in the supply of labour. Wages began to fall again after 1925 and a steep fall occurred during the world depression of 1929-38.

Per Capita Income. Beginning with Dadabhai Naoroji who computed the per capita income of British India at Rs. 23.5 in 1867-68, several attempts at estimation of national and per capita incomes were made by various persons from time to time. Some of the earlier estimates are given in the table below. The per capita income estimates given in column 2 are in terms of current prices. For purpose of comparison all of these have been adjusted to prices in 1948-49. The adjusted estimates are given in cloumn 5.

Adjusted per Capita Income

Author	*Year*	*Per Capita Income in terms of Current Prices (Rs.)*	*Price Index 1948–49 Base=100*	*Per Capita Income in terms of 1948–49 Prices*
1	2	3	4	5
Naoroji	1867–68	23.5	16.6	142
Atkinson	1875	24.4	14.2	172
Baring	1881	27.0	14.7	184
Horne	1891	28.0	17.7	158
Atkinson	1895	31.5	17.7	178
Curzon	1901	30.0	20.1	149
Giffen	1903	30.0	18.0	167

The estimates show wide variations. But all of them show unmistakeably that India in the latter half of 19th century presented a picture of extreme poverty and very low standard of living. There was a gradual growth of per capita real income after 1900 which continued upto 1925. There was once again a slight decline duc to the world depression. It was not till the independence that a noticeable rise occured in the per capita income. This will be seen from the following time series.

Average per capita Income of India at 1948–49 Prices for overlapping Nine Year Periods

Period	*Centering*	*Per Capita Income in terms of 1948–49 Prices (Rs.)*
1857–1863 (7 yrs.)	1860	169
1861–1869	1865	169
1866–1874	1870	172
1871–1879	1875	177
1876–1884	1880	197
1881–1889	1885	216
1886–1894	1890	204
1891–1899	1895	201

Period	*Centering*	*Per Capita Income in terms of 1948–49 Prices (Rs.)*
1896–1904	1900	199
1901–1909	1905	203
1906–1914	1910	220
1911–1919	1915	241
1916–1924	1920	253
1921–1929	1925	261
1926–1934	1930	260
1931–1939	1935	260
1936–1944	1940	265
1941–1949	1945	255
1946–1954	1950	253

Source: Mukherji, M., *Asian Studies in Income and Wealth*, p. 103.

From Rs. 169 around 1860, the per capita income had moved upto about Rs. 200 by 1900 and Rs. 220 before the beginning of the first World War. Even if these estimates were accepted as correct, though the state of available Indian statistics make them no better than intelligent guesses, these show the existence of extreme poverty of the country right upto the end of the British rule. Even the small improvement in the average per capita income over the last 90 years of the British rule shown in the table does not reflect an improvement in the general standard of living of the people. A small section of the population consisting of industrialists, traders, merchants, landlords, money-lenders and the educated middle class prospered as a result of British laws, administration and policies. On the other hand, the vast majority of the people consiting of agricultural labour, artizans, and industrial workers remained steeped in poverty, ignorance and disease. The growth of cities and progress of education, the expansion of foreign trade and rise of prices, the construction of railways and establishment of a few modern large scale industries did not reflect growing prosperity of the country as was made out at the time in official quarters. At best it was a proof of growth of a limited sector of the national economy which benefitted only a small section of the country's population.

The British left India an under-developed country. They brought about far-reaching structural changes and created a vast infra-structure, thus preparing ground for industrialization. But they neglected agriculture and thwarted development of heavy and basic industries without which rapid economic progress was not possible. It was to the development of these that the national government had to turn first of all after the attainment of independence.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND LITERATURE

1. Survey of Social Life

Since continuity is the keynote of Indian life and thought, the division into historical periods is largely a matter of convenience. This is especially true of the country's social life. The political vicissitudes of empires and states made little difference to the social system which was grounded in village communities and virtually frozen into castes. "The main principles of government", observed Rapson, "have remained unchanged throughout the ages..... All governments have been obliged to recognize an infinite variety among the governed of social customs and religious beliefs, too firmly grounded to admit of interference". "The day when the Government attempts to interfere with any of the more important religious and civil usages of the Hindus" warned L' Abbe Dubois, "will be the last of its existence as a political power".

Whether interference was possible or not, only a few Muslim rulers attempted it. Those who had grown up under the prevailing social system, conformed to the main usages; the rulers were impressed by the rigidity of the social customs of a people who politically were so indifferent to change. These rulers were too few and the environment was too powerful to permit interference except occasionally and for a limited and temporary purpose. The Mughal rulers were not generally interested in conversion as a means of social change. One of the most powerful and assertive emperors, Akbar projected the concept of a state religion, a synthesis as it were.

A synthesis was in process, moreover, and it could be seen at all levels in Bengal. There one Muslim power after another had imposed its will and later the entry into trade of a number of western powers resulted in increased tension. Islam at the lower social levels was transformed beyond recognition. "In manners and customs and in the daily routine of religious duties", summed up Prosanto Kumar Sen, " the bulk of the Muslims in the villages followed pretty much the same lines as Hindus with only this difference that certain other customary religious duties... were supposed to justify their existence as followers of the Prophet. The Hindus... followed their ordinary routine of social and religious duties, more or less mechanically, indulging in forms and rituals that... had long ceased to convey any meaning except that they had come to be regarded as the hallmark of Hinduism. They would never scruple to pay semi-divine honours to Muslim saints, thereby adding some more quasi-deities to the already overcrowded pantheon of the ignorant and the unlettered".

In the courts of Hindu Râjâs and Muslim kings, knowledge of religious and mythological subjects was diffused in a fashion by poetic and musical competitions. At the higher level, the reform movements of Caitanya, Kabir and Nânak were deeply influenced by the spirit of Islam, while recognized Muslim poets sang the praises of Râdhâ-Kṛṣṇa or of Kâlî without having to leave their community.

In the South, the Muslims as rulers were either subordinate to the central administration at Delhi or they made adjustments with the neighbouring Hindu states. Where Muslims formed communities under other regimes, as in Calicut, they adjusted themselves and gained positions of power.

The advent of European traders created a new situation. The Portuguese had political ambitions, and also a policy of conversion to Christianity. But by the middle of the 18th century, the Portuguese smitten by their own policies, wrote themselves off as an influence in India. The others, beginning with trading interests, offered little encouragement to Christian missionaries and were indifferent to Christianizing till much later—and then it was more by economic inducements than by force. "In my last journey to Madras", recorded L' Abbe Dubois, "I became acquainted with many converts who regularly changed their religion twice a year and who, for a long while, were in the habit of being six months Catholics and six months Protestants."

Social Legislation. Of the indigenous governments, only the Marâṭhâs exercised the right of the state to interfere in the customs of the people. The Peśwâs had legislated about marriage and the sale of girls, temperance, excommunication and readmission into a caste. "The Peshwas issued orders", observed Mahadev Govind Ranade, "prohibiting alliances by way of marriage between second cousins... As between caste and caste, they held the balance evenly, even when the interests of Brahmin priests were affected".

Social Structure. Around 1761, India presented a state of anarchy with the power of the Mughal emperor greatly diminished and several indigenous and foreign elements contending for the right to govern in his name. There were numerous people in military service; linked with the military establishment and providing employment in the civil services were an array of clerks, revenue assessors, etc. At one end, there were the high officials, military chiefs and courtiers; at the other, professional and religious men who were maintained by the courts. A notable feature of the economy was the employment of large number of persons in domestic service. It was only along the coast where a thriving merchant class existed that some independence could be found, and this was mostly on the western coast where political conditions were rather more or less stable. In the interior, the merchants were forced to live simply, just as the courtiers had to indulge in ostentation.

Impact of the West. The influence of modern ideas worked through

three different instruments–the British Government, Christian missions, and English education. The first of these had a direct effect since, in time, the administration took on more and more the characteristics of foreign rule and shed those of an indigenous power. Between the missionaries and the educationists, there was always the conflict whether conversion would bring progress and broader outlook or that education would lead Indians to Christianity.

A less direct factor, and one that operated differently in different parts of India, was the influence of the British community itself on Indian communities. Sir Thomas Munro, speaking of Madras and South India generally, did not believe that the Indian with his meagre wants could be tempted to emulate western ways of living. Lord William Bentinck, coming to Bengal after a term as Governor of Madras, was impressed by the change he noted. Indians in the cities, he observed, were spending their money not on ceremonies and religious rites alone but more and more on entertaining the British and entertaining like the British.

In western India, however, the impact was much stronger. The centre of activity was the city of Bombay which, because of its isolation and the heterogeneous society it held, developed a life of its own. It is a curious fact that the city which was valued as a refuge against the political upheavals that disturbed the mainland of Mahārāshtra and was regarded till 1818 as beyond their pale, should have developed into the powerful centre of progressive movements which extended throughout western India.

The existence of an outside authority which could hold the balance helped at the outset the progressive elements in society. For a spell the ties between English radicalism and enlightened India were strong. Between 1830 and 1893, 'Protestant Hinduism' carried every thing before it, though it had been forced to accept progressive legislation as permissive. From the British, Indians learnt first the value of organization and then the importance of agitation. There was a difference in approach on political and social questions which manifested itself in time. The Indian National Congress, which first met in 1885, in its early sessions dealt with practical questions. But it was not brought into being to remedy the evils. Out of the all India forum that it provided arose better appreciation of a national platform for social reformers which the Indian National Social Conference created two years later. The political movement soon found its theoretical basis in the demand for freedom, assuming practical form only when confronted by the acts of the government. In contrast, the social movement arose out of difficulties that were being felt at that time. It assumed theoretical importance only when confronted by the opposition of orthodoxy and of the government.

National Consciousness. With these two organizations meeting regularly every year and developing closely together, whether in harmony or conflict, the national outlook gained prominence. The English language

press which was under Indian ownership pursued national policies and stressed the same trend; while the British-controlled press in India contributed greatly to widening public interest. A great deal was contributed by members of the services who took the initiative in forming cultural, literary and research institutions and, while opening up the outside world to Indians, encouraged regional and language studies in India. By these exertions were fostered interests beyond the immediate environment and the coming together of men with similar tastes and pursuits. The growth of newspapers in Indian languages helped to develop simpler literary forms to reduce the gap between the spoken and written language, which in all Indian languages was a common feature.

While the political movement threw off splinter groups and provoked other parties, the social movement gave rise to the women's movement, to trade union activities, to scheduled castes associations and to a temperance movement which later championed the prohibition of alcoholic drinks. It was also the precursor of the social welfare organizations which came into being in the second decade of the 20th century. It must be added that it was C. Sankaran Nair, a social reformer, who speaking as Congress president in 1897, first called for a strictly "secular government in thorough sympathy with liberal thought and progress". Out of sustained attempts to have a women's section of the Social Conference grew the All India Women's Conference (January, 1927), which steered clear of politics and concentrated mainly on educational and social work.

Mahatma Gandhi's political work brought women out into public life. The second World War with its introduction of rationing and increased secretarial work opened up employment opportunities to the women of the middle classes and their response was quick enough. Mahatma Gandhi in his programme of social reform picked out the outcastes of Hindu society and concentrated attention on their disabilities. This approach differed from the one adopted by the earlier reformers who had held that the solution of the outcastes problem lay in the destruction of caste system.

Though by undertaking social legislation several princely states had demonstrated that Hindu society could acquire a central authority to regulate customs and pass laws, in British India the government hovered for nearly a decade on the verge of codification of Hindu law. The need, however, had been demonstrated in many ways and it was felt for three reasons. First, the selection of texts from various commentaries on the code of Manu had not always been enlightened. Secondly, the reliance of the law courts on interpretation had resulted in greater conservatism. Thirdly, on matters of women's inheritance, marriage and the rights of married women, the law as applied by the law courts and British judges was a combination of ancient Hindu and Victorian English conservatism. To give an instance, Hindu law nowhere recognized the enforcement of a husband's conjugal rights; but when the principle of "restitution" was

brought up, Hindu orthodoxy instantly absorbed it, even though it was an intrusion of Anglo-Saxon practice.

In contrast to the readiness with which legislation improving the status of women was enacted, the attempt to secure for individual members of the Hindu joint family as personal property the earnings they made when specially trained for a profession, took nearly forty years to succeed—first mooted in 1891, the idea was not accepted before 1928. The move to give women property rights was likewise resisted on the ground that it would destroy the Hindu joint family which, with caste, is the distinctive feature of Hindu society. The Government of India, on the other hand, demonstrated how quickly it could act when it was interested in a measure even affecting the joint family by the passing of a law which secured for the convert from Hinduism his share in the family property.

The exigencies of politics and the strivings after a modern industrial economy have worked during the period under review to lessen prejudices, to make desirable many things that had not been tolerated before, and to effect the close inter-relation between groups and regions. However, while this process can be seen at work almost continuously, another element leading to a different direction is also discernible. Muslim reform movements, when anti-British in character, tended to reinforce orthodoxy, and if pro-British, to promote isolation from the majority community. In spite of all that truly nationalist Muslims could do, the Indian Muslims became as it were a third force, the ultimate consequence of which was the partition of India.

2. Social Institutions and Reforms

If the British had withdrawn from India in the early 19th century, their rule, short-lived and precarious, would have hardly left any perceptible social and cultural influence on Indian society. After the battle of Kirkee in 1817, British rule became politically steadier than ever before and there opened, in the words of the contemporary historian, Henry T. Prinsep, 'an era of peace' which inaugurated a series of reforms of which the most vital and controversial was the abolition of Sati

Sati. In the early years of 19th century, Satī was mainly confined to Bengal. In Hooghly, Nadia and Burdwān which formed a part of the Calcutta division, the largest number of Satīs took place; in Ghāzīpur (now in Uttar Pradesh) and Shāhābād (now in Bihār) the practice was by no means uncommon and from the twenties of the 19th century it began to show an uptrend. In western India, with the exception of southern Konkan where the number of Satīs varied annually between 27 and 40 upto 1827, the practice was rare. In southern India, only Ganjām, Masulipatam and Thanjāvūr (Tanjore) had fairly large Sati occurrences. In

Rājputāna, the Punjab and Kashmir the practice was confined mainly to women of high caste. In Delhi, where Charles Metcalfe had the Mughal tradition to back him, the practice was stopped. In Alīgarh and Āgra Satī seldom occurred. In foreign settlements like Goa, Serampore, Chinsura and Chandernagore the rite was prohibited and only a few cases occurred. In the six divisions of Bengal, the number of Satīs approximated more than three-fourths of the total in British India, the annual variation from the year 1815 to 1828 being between 378 and 839. The practice was found among all castes, though in districts like Nadia, Vārānasi (Benares) and Shāhābād most of the Satis were confined to the Brāhmaṇas and Rājpūts. Among the princely families, the sense of pride and heroism elevated the Satī into a noble act. But, on the whole, the rite was practised by women whose husbands belonged to the middle and lower middle classes. The position of women in the Hindu system, the plurality of wives in some cases (especially among the *Kulīn* Brāhmaṇas), the prospect of enforced austerity after the husband's demise, social convention, strong local feeling in favour of the rite, the malevolent intentions of the Brāhamaṇas, the antiquity and adoration of the practice were factors contributing to the the continuance of Satī.

It took the British authorities more than thirty years to abolish Satī. A regulation framed in 1812 laid down that the government did not think it desirable to abolish the rite but had decided to 'allow practices in those cases in which it is countenanced by their religion and prevent in others in which it is by the same authority prohibited'. Girls under sixteen, women pregnant or under the influence of drugs or with infants in arms were to be restrained from performing Satī.

The checking of the practice, the presence of a police officer on the spot and his dissuasive efforts, mild punishments in cases of irregularity, and the preparation of Satī lists every year formed the main elements of the official policy. Certain clauses for the prevention of 'illegal satis' appeared in the circulars issued to police officers for their guidance. But the number of Satīs did not diminish. On the contrary, it was felt that official cognizance of the rite through the presence of a police officer tended to support the practice. In the circumstances, it was thought proper to take less notice of the rite. And though in certain years, for example 1822–24, the number of Satīs diminished, at no time did they reach the figures of 1815.

The Court of Directors would have liked to see the end of the practice, but they left the whole question to discretion of the Governor-General. The Evangelicals in England—Wilberforce and Lord Teignmouth in particular—had evinced interest in the abolition of Satī in 1813 on the basis of the information supplied to them by the Serampore missionaries, William Carey and William Ward who had employed persuasive and propaganda techniques for the prevention of Satī through the *Friend of India* and the *Periodical Accounts*. Rammohun Roy published his tracts in 1818–

20, making the point that the rite of Satī was not enjoined by the Śāstras. This material was used by the Serampore missionaries to shatter the generally accepted view that Satī was an integral part of the Hindu religion. Orthodox Hindu opinion against the abolition was advocated by Radhakanta Deb, and Bhawani Charan Banerji

When Lord William Bentinck took up the question of Satī, he found that the abolition had been recommended by the judges of the criminal courts. To be on the safe side, he addressed letters to 49 officers seeking their views on the possible effect of the suppression—whether it would provoke an adverse reaction in the army. Reassured by the majority view that no harm would ensue, he passed Regulation XVII on December 4, 1829 'declaring the practice of Sati or burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, illegal and punishable by Criminal Courts'. Similar legislative measures were enacted soon after in Bombay and Madras.

The opponents of abolition voiced their protest and took their case to the Privy Council, but the appeal was dismissed in 1832. Rammohun Roy was in England then and he submitted valuable evidence showing that the cause of abolition had behind it the support of the experienced and enlightened officials of the East India Company. Satī was virtually stopped in the princely states through their rulers' cooperation. However, nearly thirty more years had to pass before it could be declared illegal in these states.

Infanticide. Infanticide was mainly confined to the Rājpūts of Vārānasi, Kāthiāwār and Kutch, Jabalpur and Sāgar. Sir John Malcolm noticed it in Mālwa where it was limited to "some Rajput chiefs of higher classes". In Kāthiāwār and Kutch as also in Rājputāna the practice was very common. In the former areas it owed its origin to the Jahreja migrations from Sind. Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota and Būndi were the principal places in Rājputāna where the practice was of frequent occurence; that was because the Rājpūts were too proud to give their daughters in marriage to men of a humbler status. In the Punjab, in districts like Jhelum and Rāwalpindi and in some states like Mandi and Jammu and Kashmīr, the practice was prevalent. Under special circumstances the Sikhs also killed their infant daughters; the act was performed in secrecy through strangulation or starvation of the child or the application of *acoud* (probably juice of the *ak*) to the nipples of the suckling mother.

Infanticide was due primarily to the deplorable position of women in Hindu society, the burdensome dowry system and compulsory lavishness in expenditure on marriages, the exorbitant demands of *cāraṇas* (bards and genealogists), the difficulty of finding suitable husbands, and the Rājpūt sense of honour and pride. For parents to have unmarried daughters was a plain neglect of religious duty and a social shame.

Since infanticide, unlike Satī, had no religious sanction behind it and militated against the laws of nature British policy in this regard was clear

and precise. But its enforcement was indirect, as infanticide was practised largely in the princely states, and was based on reasoning, exhortations, fines, imprisonment, and in certain cases, depositions. Both in Bengal and western India, engagements were entered into with local chieftains and landlords; literature on the criminality of the rite was circulated, prizes offered for anti-infanticide essays, and fines imposed for breaches of the engagements. In 1795, infanticide was declared by Bengal Regulation XXI to be murder, and the Regulation was extended to the 'new provinces' in 1804. In 1813, it was noticed that the practice persisted in secrecy. It was calculated that in Kâthiâwâr in 1834, out of 174 Jahreja infants only 44 were females. In 1837, the proportion was 60 out of 183, and in 1841 it was 232 out of 506. On November 28, 1843, the Government of Bombay informed the Court of Directors that during 1841, not a single instance of infanticide had come to the knowledge of the Political Agent. In 1851, the government was able to claim that there 'is now in Kutch a continued approximation of the sexes'. In the Punjab the same method of persuation, fines and entering into engagements with local rulers was followed. There was, besides, some special legislation. These measures reduced infanticide and relaxation of the rule of hypergamy as also the pressure of public opinion eradicated it entirly.

Slavery. Slavery, recognized both by Hinduism and Islam, was of two kinds, domestic and predial, but to these must be added the *nautch* girls and prostitutes. It was prevalent in Mâlwa, Malabâr, Dacca (Bânglâdesh), the territory of Delhi and the presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Predial slavery was particularly in vogue in Bengal, Madras, Assam, Coorg and southern Bombay. In 1812, it was estimated that one-sixth of the population of Sylhet (Bânglâdesh) consisted of slaves, mostly the descendants of insolvent debtors; in Kâmrûp 12,000 slaves were released after its cession to the British. Large numbers of slaves migrated from Râjputâna as fugitives from Marâṭhâ oppression. Slaves were exported to Poona and the Deccan where they fetched high prices and brought in large profits to the Marâṭhâ Brâhmaṇas. It was calculated that in Dacca the mumber of slaves accounted for one-sixth of the whole population. Sir John Malcolm noticed slavery in Mâlwa, where it was limited mainly to females. T.H. Baber computed the number of domestic slaves in the southern Marâṭhâ country as 15,000. In Cochin the number of slaves was 12,000. While most parts of the Deccan had domestic but no agricultural slavery, Dubois found both the varieties in Malabâr. In 1819, it was estimated that there were 82,000 slaves in Kanara and 1,00,000 slaves in Malabâr. Jacquemont found slavery in northern India, especially in the Punjab and Kashmir. In 1841, Sir Bartle Frere estimated the number of slaves in British India (as then constituted) as eight to nine millions.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the Arabs and "several foreign European seafaring people and traders" purchased and collected children

of both sexes in a clandestine manner and exported them overseas. This traffic in slaves was attacked by Lord Cornwallis (1789) in a proclamation. Another proclamation in smilar terms was issued by the Madras Government in the following year. Through private merchants and commercial houses and the hired agents who were offered rewards, the offenders were convicted, tried before the Supreme Court, Calcutta, and sentenced. In 1811, Regulation X was passed by the Bengal Government for preventing the "importing of slaves, either by land or sea, into any of the territories under the Presidency of Fort William". This Regulation was given wide publicity and a corresponding communication was also made to the local governments of Bombay, Java, the Prince of Wales Islands, Mauritius, and Ceylon and to the Resident of Fort Marlbrough. Local magistrates were satisfied that Regulation X proved effective in preventing the importation of slaves from foreign countries into the districts included within their limits. Traders who imported slaves into British territory were apprehended, especially those from the hill country. In the districts of Bareilly, Morâdâbâḍ, Kānpur, Farrukhâbâd, Etâwah, Âgra, Aligarh and Sahâranpur the traffic in slaves was prohibited.

Regulation III of 1832 laid down that "all slaves removed for the purpose of traffic from any province, British or foreign, into any province subject to the Presidency of Fort William or from one province so subject to another subsequently to the enactment of Regulation X of 1811, should be considered free". Their sale within the district was left untouched. There was open defiance of this rule in Calcutta; children were hawked about in the streets. According to this Regulation the purchase and sale of slaves even from one district to another was made a penal offence. And lastly, Act V of 1843 provided that the civil courts should not take cognizance of claims to slaves, a measure which abolished the right of slavery and ultimately paved the way for the total eradication of this social evil. Similar measures were adopted in the state of Travancore which issued a proclamation in 1855. Slavery now began to disappear in British India, to which alone the Act of 1843 applied, and all trade and possession of slaves was finally prohibited by the Penal Code of 1860.

The British Government followed the policy of non-intervention in regard to caste and family, and the changes that have marked these institutions are attributed for the most part not to any governmental action but to factors of a sociological nature. The missionary zeal for social reforms, western ideas of humanitarianism and equality, religious movements such as the Brâhmo Samâj in Bengal and the Ârya Samâj in the North, and movements of a secular character like the Indian National Social Conference, the Depressed Classes Mission and the Servants of India Society brought about such progressive measures as the prohibition of child marriage and polygamy and removal of the ban on widow remarriage.

Child Marriage. In respect of child marriage, the first step was the Act of 1860 which dealt with the age of consent and consummation and not with the marriage ceremony itself; it raised the age for consummation of marriage in the case of girls to ten. In 1891, the age of consent was raised to twelve for girls and in 1925 to thirteen for married girls and fourteen for unmarried ones. In 1929, the Child Marriage Restraint Act, known as the Sarda Bill after its mover, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, was passed. It penalized parties to a marriage where the girl was below fourteen or the boy below eighteen years of age. The law came into force in 1930. The census of 1931 showed that there was an orgy of infant marriages and the law was regarded as anti-religious. The Act could not be effective because of the lack of machinery for enforcing its provisions, and also because it was in conflict with the opinion of the generality of the people. By the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, the minimum age limit for the bridegroom was fixed at eighteen years and for the bride at fifteen.

The raising of the age of marriage among the educated classes has been effective largely due to education, economic pressures, and the break-up of the joint family system. The lower castes are generally anxious to adapt their usages to those of their superiors as a means of enhancing their own social prestige.

Joint Family. The Gains of Learning Act of 1930 weakened the collectivist basis of the joint family system and the extent of self-acquisition has been widened. The legislative measures on inheritance and the marriage rights of women have exercised a tremendous influence on the joint family and carried forward slowly, though perceptibly, the work of disintegration which had been initiated originally by the judiciary in its administration of Hindu law. Consequently, social barriers are being swept away, though in some areas they remain impregnable. The feeling for collaterals has diminished, though for one's son it may not be so. The woman, at last, has emerged as an individual personality and has thus affected the constitution of the joint family in many ways. In 1951 the Census Commissioner wrote: "Families do not continue to be joint according to the traditional custom of the country and the habit of breaking away from the joint family, and setting up separate households is quite strong". Among the lower castes separation takes place even during a father's lifetime, largely on account of limited accommodation. Due to the force of migrations, the extension of communications and the growth of an individualist spirit the institution of joint family no longer remains inviolate.

Caste. Except for a few years when the caste *cutchery* was maintained as a special court for the adjudication of caste matters, the British, by and large, maintained neutrality in matters of caste, which they regarded as the steel frame of Hinduism. In the early years of the 19th century, under the pressure of western ideas and missionary propaganda, the

transgressions of caste were so numerous, especially among the students of the Hindu College and the Medical College, Calcutta, that the contemporary missionary and legislator anticipated the crumbling of the ancient institution within a measurable time. But their expectations proved wrong. The only legislative enactment which has had a direct bearing on the caste system was the Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850): it laid down that any law of usage which inflicted forfeiture of the rights of property or which might be held to affect any right of inheritance by reason of anyone being deprived of caste should not be enforceable in the courts of law in British India. This Act protected converts either to Christianity or Islam from forfeiting rights in consequence of change of creed. In 1933, an act for removing caste tyranny was passed in Baroda; its object was to impose legal restraints on further divisions of castes and subcastes.

English education, modern civilization, growth of industry, greater mobility, voyages overseas to western countries, and reform movements like the Self-Respect Movement and the Indian National Social Conference have made short work of an ancient institution. Brāhmaṇas have been deprived of their immunity from capital punishment. The judicial system has impaired the caste *pañcayats* and councils. Hindus have become accustomed to wearing leather cross-belts and playing football. The prejudice against biscuits, artificial ice, soda-water and other aerated drinks has weakened and no longer exists in case of water taken from municipal pipes, or during railway travel and voyages overseas. There has been a certain amount of weakening of restrictions against eating, drinking and marrying anyone outside one's caste or subcaste. On the whole, the restrictions of caste have been very substantially relaxed among the educated classes and in cities and towns, while they are still observed by the rural masses and influence the life and character of the people. Recently, attention has been drawn to the increased influence of caste in certain areas of public life i.e., education, selection for posts, promotions, general elections and elections to *pañcayats* and municipalities. However, it is hoped that adult franchise, the industrial revolution which the Five-Year Plans are helping to bring about, education and the legal rights given to the Harijans may remove some of the obnoxious features of the caste system.

The missionaries, the Ārya Samāj by its *śuddhi* activity, the Depressed Classes Missions, the Servants of India Society and the Indian National Conference mobilized public opinion and took various measures for the eradication of untouchability. Mahatma Gandhi undertook a fast in 1932 in order to secure adequate political representation of the untouchables and roused the conscience of his countrymen against the injustice of untouchability. In states like Travancore proclamations were issued to admit untouchables into temples. But subsequently, the Bill for

their entry into temples had to be withdrawn in the face of overwhelming adverse opinion. In Madras, the Civil Disabilities Removal Act (1938 was passed. In Thanjâvûr, temples and shrines were thrown open to all. Under the Constitution the practice of untouchability in any form is forbidden and there is provision of special safeguards for scheduled castes and tribes. Enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability is an offence punishable according to law (Article 17 of the Constitution). There is a reservation of seats for the scheduled castes in the Lok Sabhâ and in the state legislative assemblies. The Constitution has also provided for the reservation of appointments for the scheduled castes in the services of the Union and state governments.

Widow Remarriage and Women's Rights. The agitation for widow remarriage which Rammohun Roy started culminated later in a legislation brought forward by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act was passed in 1856. A Widow Marriage Association was started as early as 1861 in Bombay and the Ârya Samâj put the remarriage of widows on its list of social reforms. The Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment Act) of 1929, the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act of 1937, the Hindu Marriage Disability Removal Act of 1946, the Special Marriage Act of 1954, the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 and the Hindu Succession Act and Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act of 1956 have given equality to Hindu women in matters of marriage, adoption and inheritance. Some enlightened measures, like the Anti-Dowry Act (1939), were passed in Sind and a marriage bill was introduced in Bombay for the prevention of bigamous marriages. By the Special Marriage Act of 1954, which permitted civil marriage to all Indians, the age of marriage was fixed at twenty-one years for the bridegroom and eighteen for the bride. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 enforced monogamy, and introduced judicial separation, nullity and divorce. The main provisions of the Act correspond with those of the Special Marriage Act, except that in Hindu marriage the age limits were kept at eighteen years for the bridegroom and fifteen for the bride. The Hindu Succession Act (1956) introduced inheritance rights for women in equal degree with men, though it withheld from the daughter the right to claim partition of the family dwelling place. The law relating to adoption gave Hindu women the right to adopt and also rights relating to minority and guardianship. Divorce is conditioned by the provision insisting on three years of marriage, and while the civil marriage law contemplates divorce by matual consent, the Hindu marriage law gives no such latitude.

3. Religious Movements

(i) Muslim Religious Movements

From the point of view of their nature and scope the Muslim religious movements of the period may broadly be considered under the following categories: movements that were religious in form but political in content; religious movements with emphasis on educational programmes; religious movements organized mainly in order to combat Christian missionary activities; religious movements concerned chiefly with theological controversies within the fold of Islam; movements for reorientation of religious thought under the impact of western ideas; and movements for purely moral and spiritual uplift.

Before these individual religious trends are discussed, reference should be made to Shāh Walīullah of Delhi (1703–63), a seminal personality in the religious life of the Indian Muslims during the 18th century. He realized the need of reinterpreting Islamic thought in the light of reason. He translated the *Qurān* into Persian and made it available to the Persian-speaking public. His two sons, Shāh 'Abdul Qādir and Shāh Rafī'ud-dīn translated it into *'Hinduvī* and placed the main source of Muslim religion within the reach of all Indian people. Besides, he and his sons encouraged the study of the traditions of the Prophet and prepared commentaries on standard collections of *aḥādīth*. He was thus responsible for that revival of religious learning which found expression in several religious movements of the time.

Wahabi Movement. The Wahābī, the Farā'iḍī and the Khilāfat movements of this period were, in fact, religious in form but political in content. In 1821, Syed Ahmad of Rāe Bareli (1786–1831)—a disciple of Shāh 'Abdul Azīz, eldest son of Shāh Walīullah—visited Mecca and came under the influence of Wahābī ideology. On his return to India he set up a permanent centre at Patna and started a movement for the reform of Muslim religious life and restoration of their political power. His two distinguished disciples–Shah Muhammad Ismail and Maulana Abdul Haiy (both of whom belonged to the house of Shāh Walīullah)-consolidated the religious teachings of their master in a book known as *Sirāt-ul-Mustaqīm*. The successors of Syed Ahmad published a good deal of literature in Arabic, Persian and Urdu in order to propagate their ideology.

Fara'idi Movement. The Farā'iḍī movement was started in Bengal by Ḥājī Sharī'atullah of Faridpur. In Eastern Bengal the movement, particularly in its anti-British content, found ready response. Ḥājī Sharī'atullah suspended the observance of the Friday and 'Id prayers on the ground that India had become *dār-ul-ḥarb* since it was under the political suzerainty of the British. He demanded solemn pledges from his disciples to lead an abstemious life and carry on a struggle against the political

domination and economic exploitation of the foreigners. His son, Dudu Miyan (1819–1860) asserted the equality of mankind and proclaimed that since the earth belonged to God, no one had the right to occupy it as an inheritance or levy taxes upon it. The Farā'idī movement lost much of its vigour after the death of Dudu Miyan in 1860.

Khilafat Movement. The Khilāfat movement, started in 1919, was religious in spirit, but it assumed a political complexion and linked itself with the Indian freedom movement. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the 'Ali Brothers', Hakim Ajmal Khan and the *'ulamā'* of Deoband and Firangi Mahal zealously participated in the movement and used religious terminology in order to propagate their views.

Of the religious movements that turned into educational channels, the movements initiated by the *'ulamā'* of Deoband and the Nadwah-ul-'Ulamā' of Lucknow deserve particular mention.

Deoband. The founders of the Dār-ul-'Ulūm of Deoband considered it necessary "to resuscitate classical Islam" in order to improve the spiritual and moral condition of the Muslims. The failure of the Revolt of 1857 ultimately turned them to seek the uplift of the Muslims through religious education. The leading divines of the Dār-ul-'Ulūm gave a broad and tolerant concept to religion of their followers and created political awakening by means of religious exhortations. Maulana Husain Ahmad held that religion did not constitute any basis for separate national individuality and that the Hindus and Muslims of India were one nation. The views he held were faithfully propagated by Muslim religious organizations like the *Jami 'at-ul-'Ulamā'i-Hind.*

Nadwah-ul-'Ulama'. The Nadwah-ul-'Ulamā' was established at Lucknow in 1894 in order "to recast Muslim educational system, develop religious sciences, reform Muslim morals and put an end to theological controversies within the fold of Islam". Under the guidance of Maulana Shibli, who looked after the affairs of the Nadwah for some time, a new school of religious scholars sprang up and it played an important part in Muslim religious life by developing the study of religious sciences. The Dār-ul-Musannifīn of Azamgarh which has published a number of outstanding religious works is an offshoot of the Nadwah and is run mainly by its alumni.

Other Religious Groups. In the latter half of the 19th century three religious groups appeared–the Ahl-i-Ḥādīth, the Ahl-i-Qurān and the Barelwī. The leaders of these religious trends confined themselves exclusively to theology and theological controversies.

The most outstanding figure amongst the Ahl-i-Ḥādīth was Maulana Syed Nazir Husain (*d.* 1902), whose seminary at Delhi was one of the greatest centres of instruction in *Ḥādīth* in India. He advocated recourse to *Ḥādīth* as the chief source of guidance and discouraged adherence to the juristic schools.

The leading figure among the Ahl-i-Qurān was Maulana Abdullah Chakralwī. He laid greater emphasis on direct recourse to the *Qurān* in all matters than on seeking guidance from the Traditions of the Prophet or the formulations of the jurists.

The founder of the Barelwī school, Maulāna Ahmad Riza Khan, preached revival of many of those religious practices which were trenchently criticized by Maulana Ismail and others of his school of thought. He condemned the Wahābī approach towards religion as heretical. In the latter part of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the conflicts between the Barelwis and the Deobandis divided all religious-minded Muslims into two hostile camps.

Movements against Christian Missionaries. One of the most threatening problems of the period which created a stir in Muslim religious circles was the Christian missionary propaganda which was carried on with the support—open and secret—of the British officials in India. Many eminent scholars turned to production of *munāẓirah* (religious disputations) literature in order to combat the Christian proselytizing activities.

New Scholastic Movements. Apart from the Christian missionary activities, the impact of western ideas and civilization posed a great challenge to Muslim religious thought. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–98) was the first to react to this new situation. He fought medieval obscurantism through his journal *Tahẕīb-ul-Akhlāq* and advocated a rational approach towards religion. He rejected *taqlīd*, or blind adherence to religious law, and asked for a reinterpretation of the *Qurān* in the light of reason to suit the new trends of the time. In his *Lectures on Islam* he rebutted the theories propounded by Christian missionaries. Amongst those who followed Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's example of reconstructing religious thought in Islam, Syed Ameer Ali, author of *The Spirit of Islam*, stands out pre-eminently in the history of Muslim religious thought of the period.

There were others who sought the reorientation of Muslim religious thought in a way different from that of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; in this context the names of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888–1958) and Muhammad Iqbal (1873–1938) are particularly noteworthy. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was deeply influenced by Maulana Jamalud-din Afghani (*d.* 1897), Mufti Abduh (*d.* 1905) and Maulana Rashid Riza (*d.* 1935), and he enthusiastically broadcast through his journals, *al-Hilāl* and *al-Balagh*, the same spirit of religious enquiry and dynamism which the Afghani and his school of thought had tried to infuse in the Middle East. The Maulana's greatest contribution to Muslim religious thought is his incomplete commentary on the *Qurān*, which marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Muslim exegesis. Commending a natural, direct and unsophisticated approach to the study of the *Qurān* he declared all attempts at resolving the conflict between religion and science as irrele-

vant—scientific problems, according to him, were not the real domain of religious scriptures.

Muhammad Iqbal, who had made an intensive study of western and eastern religions and philosophies, emphasized the need for a reconstruction of Muslim religious thought in the light of the problems posed by the modern world. He looked upon religion as a powerful factor in the evolution of a man's personality and the betterment of human society. Criticizing those ascetic elements of religious thought which made man parasitic and indolent, he preached a life of self-assertion and self-realization. "The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation", he declared. Iqbal's thought had a very deep impact on the contemporary Muslim religious attitudes.

The Qadiani Movement. Towards the end of the 19th century a new religious movement was initiated by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (*d.* 1908) from Qādiān, in Gurdāspur district, and it soon took the form of a new sect in Islam. The main thesis of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, apart from the claims he made for himself, was that modern industrial and technological progress ought to be regarded by the Muslims as a part of God's purpose and should he given religious recognition,

Movements for Moral and Spiritual Uplift. The purely religious and spiritual movements of the Indian Muslims during this period centre on three great figures–Shah Ghulam Ali of Delhi, Maulana Ashraf Ali of Thana Bhawan in Sahāranpur district, and Maulana Muhammad Ilyas of Delhi. The influence of Shah Ghulam Ali reached distant parts of the Muslim world and scholars from the Arab countries joined the circle of his followers. Maulana Ashraf Ali contributed materially to the dissemination of religious knowledge. Maulana Muhammad Ilyas set up a centre for moral and spiritual instruction at Delhi, near the tomb of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Āuliyā, and started brisk religious activity. His movement spread to different Arab countries and his followers went far and near in small groups, reviving the religious spirit among Muslims.

(ii) Hindu and other Religious Movements

Ramakrishna Mission The Ramakrishna Mission was inaugurated by Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) in May 1897, with the following objectives: (a) to bring into existence a band of monks dedicated to a life of renunciation and practical spirituality, from among whom teachers and workers would be sent out to spread the universal message of Vedānta as illustrated in the life of Ramakrishna; and (b) in conjunction with lay disciples, to carry on preaching, philanthropic and charitable works, looking upon all men, women and children, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, as veritable manifestations of the Divine.

The first of these objectives finds its embodiment in the Ramakrishna *Math* initiated by Ramakrishna himself, with his young monastic disciples as a nucleus, during the last years of his life; while the second objective finds expression in the Ramakrishna Mission, started by Swami Vivekananda eleven years after the Master's passing away.

The headquarters of the Ramakrishna *Math* and Mission are at Belūr, a small town on the right bank of the Gaṅgā, about five miles from Calcutta. This centre was established in 1898 by Swami Vivakananda after his return from the West. The Ramakrishna *Math* is a registered religious trust dedicated to the nursing of the inner spiritual life of the monastic members of the movement; while the Ramakrishna Mission is a charitable society registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860 and dedicated to the expression of the inner spiritual life in outward collective action in the service of man. Though legally two distinct entities with separate funds and finances, the Ramakrishna *Math* and the Ramakrishna Mission are virtually a single body: the members of the *Math* form the principal workers of the Mission, the trustees of the *Math* form the governing body of the Mission, and the Belūr *Math* is the headquarters of both.

At the back of these principles of the Ramakrishna Mission there are, as their sanction, certain significant spiritual experiences of Ramakrishna, besides the teachings of the Upaniṣads and the *Gītā*, and the great examples of the Buddha and Jesus. The one idea that haunted Vivekananda during his *Parivrājaka* (wandering) days was how to make the Vedānta practical, how to bridge the gulf between *Paramārtha* and *Vyavahāra*, between the claims of spirituality and the practical work-a-day life of the world. The genius of Swami Vivekananda lies in his formulation of the scheme of practical Vedānta through his famous Doctrine of Service—the service of all beings, looking upon them as the Divine or as sparks thereof : the good of self is reconciled with the welfare of the world: *Ātmano mokṣārtham jagaddhitāya ca*. "*Jīva* is Śiva", said Ramakrishna; therefore, the service of *jīva* is the worship of Śiva. Service of man in this spirit uplifts both the giver and the receiver of service; it helps to manifest the Divine within man. This attitude at once removes all distinctions between the sacred and the secular. Work is worship; life itself is religion.

The Ramakrishna Mission has been in existence for over 75 years; starting from very humble beginnings, it has developed into a world-wide organization working in a wide variety of fields of human service. Even though the members of the Ramakrishna Mission are depely religious and steeped in Hinduism, they feel one with the followers of all other religions and prophets. True to the spirit of Hinduism and Ramakrishna, the Ramakrishna Mission is not a proselytizing body, nor is it a sect within Hinduism itself. The Mission's work abroad is simply the propagation of the universal principles of Vedānta and the spreading of true ideas about India and her catholic culture. It does not seek to transplant the

American or the European from his Christian soil to that of Hinduism. It believes that the philosophy of Vedānta will make a Christian a better Christian and a Hindu a better Hindu. The increasing demand from various parts of the world for workers of the Mission is a clear evidence as to the genuineness and need for this kind of missionary enterprise.

The Mission is the pioneer in India of organized voluntary social service activities. Its famine relief works in Murshidābād in 1897, and the relief organized during the first outbreak of plague in Calcutta in 1898–99 form great landmarks. These have been followed up year after year by other relief activities during calamities such as famine, flood, earthquake, fire, and the recent refugee movements.

There were over 138 branches of the movement in 1961; of these, 102 were in India and the rest in foreign countries, including Pākistān, Ceylon, Burma, Singapore, Fiji, Argentina, the United States, England and France. The centres in India, Ceylon, Burma and Singapore run educational, cultural and philanthropic institutions. In 1961, there were 12 indoor hospitals with 1,013 beds and 68 outdoor dispensaries, treating annually 27,816 and 37,02,969 patients respectively. About 43,402 boys and 18,129 girls studied in the Mission's schools and colleges. The *Math* and the Mission have brought out a large number of publications on Vedānta and the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda thought in English and in various Indian languages. They publish three monthlies in English and five in Indian languages from India and one English monthly each from England and America. For its finances, the movement depends mainly on voluntary contributions from the public; this is supplemented by State grants in India, Ceylon, Burma, Singapore and Fiji.

The Brahmo Samaj. The Brāhmo Samāj is the name of the Theistic Society founded by Raja Rammohun Roy (1772–1833) in Calcutta on August 20,1828, and its history is intimately bound up with that of the career of Rammohun Roy.

Rammohun Roy. Rammohun Roy received in his boyhood the traditional education of the country and soon attained remarkable proficiency in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. Later in life he learned English, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. The study of Islamic theology first shook his faith in the popular idolatrous forms of Hindu worship and made him a life-long admirer of the uncompromising monotheism of Islam. Subsequent acquaintance with the Upaniṣads, the *Brahma Sūtras* and the *Gītā* convinced him that the concept of the unity of Godhead constituted the essence of Hinduism, and the current idolatrous worship was an aberration of later growth. He came to have profound respect also for the moral precepts of Jesus Christ.

Rammohun Roy was fully alive to the challenge that had come to India in the form of western civilization and felt strongly the need for a new philosophy, which would, without sacrificing the genuine spiritual

heritage of India, absorb and assimilate the modernism imported from the west. He warmly advocated the introduction of western science and technology into the educational curriculum of India and became a pioneer of English education and enlightened journalism in this country. He laid the foundation of political agitation in India and appeared publicly as a champion of the exploited Indian peasantry. In fact, he conceived of religion not as a narrow personal creed but as an all-comprehensive elevating principle operating in every sphere of individual, social and national life. The creed of the Samāj was declared to be universal theism based on strictly monotheistic principles and its worship could be joined by anyone irrespective of his religious affiliation. Rammohun Roy, however, gave a decidedly Hindu character to the Brāhmo form of worship, which at this stage consisted of readings from the Vedas and the Upaniṣadas, a sermon and devotional music.

Debendranath Tagore The Brāhmo Samāj received a solid organizational machinery from Debendranath Tagore (1817–1905). He established, in 1839, the Tattvabodhinī Sabhā, the declared objective of which was "the extensive propagation of "Brāhmo Dharma". Rituals and ceremonies of the Samāj were now drawn up, the most prominent being the system of initiation and the form of divine service. Upto 1866, Debendranath remained the accredited leader of the Calcutta Brāhmo Samāj, which maintained and carried forward the best traditions of the days of Rammohun Roy. A remarkable doctrinal change that occurred in Brahmoism during this epoch was the abandonment of the belief in the infallibility of scriptures. Debendranath laid a more pronounced emphasis on *Bhakti* or devotion in his exposition of the Śāstras and ultimately came to stand on the ground of qualified monism (*Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda*). While the Brāhmo Samāj may be said to have retained that pisition there are many Brāhmos who take their stand on *Bhedābhedavāda* or *Dvaitādvaitavāda*. Under Debendranath Tagore's inspiring leadership the Samāj played a distinguished role in sponsoring social reforms such as widow remarriage, spreading education, developing the Bengālī literature through its organ the *Tattvabodhinī Patrikā*, and vigorously opposing the efforts of Christian missionaries to gain converts from the ranks of the Hindus.

Keshub Chandra Sen. The next phase of the Brāhmo movement is dominated by the dynamic personality of Keshub Chandra Sen (1838–84), who joined the Samāj in 1857 and became for a few years the right-hand man of Debendranath Tagore in the field of mission-work. Differences arising from a conflict of two radically different temperaments soon led to a parting of the ways. Debendranath Tagore, as a reformer, was for a slow and cautious move. Keshub Chandra Sen, having imbibed more of western culture and Christian influence advocated a much more aggressive programme. In 1865, the pro-

gressives led by Keshub Chandra Sen withdrew from the parent body and in the following year (November 11, 1866) the dissenters established the Brāhmo Samāj of India. The parent body henceforth came to be known as the Ādi Brāhmo Samāj. The new wing proceeded to carry out its programme of spiritual and social reform and achieved striking success within a short period. The two Indian tours of Keshub Chandra Sen in 1864 and 1868 did much to foster the sense of spiritual and national unity among Indians and his visit to England in 1869 carried the message of the Brāhmo Samāj to the West. The Samāj now adopted a much more radical and comprehensive scheme of social reform, including the programme of complete abolition of caste distinction. It gave strong support to female education and female emancipation and its activities led to the formation of the Indian Reform Association in 1870 and the enactment of the Native Marriage Act of 1872. Doctrinally, a much greater emphasis now began to be laid, presumably due to Christian influence, on the sense of sin, the spirit of repentance, and the efficiency of prayer. The universality of the theism of Keshub Chandra Sen and his followers became much more pronounced than that of the earlier leaders, and great religious systems of the world like Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Buddhism were studied with great respect. The infusion of *Bhakti* or devotional fervour into Brahmoism made it "a practical religious culture, sweet and soothing to the human heart". Finally, Keshub Chandra Sen's doctrine of 'God in conscience' "developed the moral side of faith by bringing human conduct within the domain of man's spirituality." The sympathetic and respectful attitude which he had displayed towards all faiths early in his career ultimately led him to a very rich and comprehensive synthesis of religions towards the close of his days, he proclaimed this under the title of "New Dispensation" (*Nava Vidhān*) on January 25, 1880. This synthesis he explained as "Faith in a Living God" and the several religions of the world as interpretations, diverse and fragmentary, but mutually complementary rather than exclusive.

Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. The second schism of the Brāhmo Samāj occurred on May 15, 1878, when a band of Keshub Chandra Sen's followers left him to found the Sādhāran Brāhmo Samāj mainly because first, their demand for the introduation of a democratic constitution in the Samāj was not conceded; secondly, they could not see eye to eye with their leader on the question of *ādeśa* or Divine Command, and thirdly, Keshub Chandra Sen's daughter was married to the prince of Cooch Behar, allegedly in violation of the provisions of the Native Marriage Act of 1872, which he himself had done so much to get passed. The founders of the new body framed a democratic constitution based on universal adult franchise. It was declared in the Bengālī organ of the Samāj in 1882 that the Brāhmo Samāj was about to establish a "world wide republic" and that this all-comprehensive attitude was the

special attraction of the Samāj. This new body has proved up till now the most powerful and active branch of the Brāhmo Samāj in the country.

Prarthana Samaj. The Prārthanā Samāj (Society of Prayer), an offshoot the Brāhmo Samāj, was founded in Bombay in 1867. Unlike the Brāhmos in Bengal, the followers of the Prārthanā Samāj neither then nor subsequently looked upon themselves "as adherents of a new religion or of a new sect outside and alongside of the general Hindu body, but simply as a movement within it". The leaders concentrated on social reform, upon "works" rather than "faith". They were staunch theists in the Vaiṣṇavite tradition of Mahārāshtra, made famous by popular saints such as Nāmadeva, Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa. They devoted their attention mainly to social reform—inter-dining, inter-marriage, remarriage of widows and improvement of the lot of women and the depressed classes. They established night schools for the poor, a widows' home, a 'Depressed Classes Mission' and other useful institutions of this kind. In this way the Prārthanā Samāj became the centre of many social reform activities in Western India.

Arya Samaj. The Ārya Samāj was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824–83). He was born in a small town in Gujarāt. Even as a boy he doubted the divinity of the Hindu idols. The death of a younger sister further led to a searching of heart with regard to the problems of life and death. He ran away from home, and wandered throughout India for many years in search of a Guru. At last in Mathura he found a blind teacher named Swami Virajananda, under whom he studied the Vedānta. In 1863 he started preaching his doctrines and twelve years later he formally established the Ārya Samāj in Bombay.

Swami Dayanand regarded the Vedas as eternal and infallible and laid down his own interpretation of them in his book *Satyāratha Prakāśa*. He disregarded the authority of the later scriptures, such as the Purāṇas, and considered the Epics-the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*-as literary treasures and nothing more. He condemned idolatry and rejected not only the hereditary system of caste but also denied the authority or superiority of the Brāhmaṇas. He denounced untouchability, and held that the study of the Vedas and other scriptures should be open to all. Caste was given an ethical and occupational interpretation, in the manner of the Buddha. Animal sacrifices, long pilgrimages and ablutions were rejected.

The social work of the Āryā Samāj was courageous and praiseworthy. It struggled against child marriage and fixed the minimum marriageable age for boys and girls at 25 and 16 respectively. The subjection of women to an unequal status was decried. Inter-caste marriage was encouraged, along with the remarriage of widows. In times of national calamities such as earthquakes, famines and floods, the Samāj has done much commendable work. The opening of orphanages and widows' homes has meant a new lease of life for the distressed. The leaders of the Ārya Samāj from the

very beginning were alive to the supreme importance of education. But the question of the system of education to be followed led to sharp differences. One section of the Samāj, called the '*Gurukula* Section', advocated the adoption of the ancient system of Hindu education. They established their principal institution at Hardwār, where boys are trained on the lines suggested in the Hindu codes. The other group, called the 'College Section', recognized the value of English education, and spread a network of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic schools and colleges both for boys and girls throughout the country.

The Ārya Samāj was also a defensive organization for protection against external attacks. In order to counteract missionary activities, it started the *Śuddhi* movement for the reconversion of those Hindus who had been willingly or forcibly converted to Islam or Christianity. They could now be readmitted to Hinduism after passing through a ceremony of purification.

The Ārya Samāj, though founded in Bombay, found its true home in the Punjab, and later spread far and wide over the whole of North India. Swami Dayanand's work after his death in 1883 was continued by a band of eminent followers. Even today the spirit of the Samāj is active both in towns and villages.

Theosophical Society. In the Theosophical Society we have yet another Hindu revivalist movement. It was founded in New York in 1875 by Madame H.P. Blavatsky (1831–91), a Russian lady, and an American Colonel named H.S. Olcott (1832–1907). As originally propounded, the Society had three main objects: to establish a nucleus of the universal brotherhood of humanity; to promote the study of comparative religion and philosophy; and to make a systematic investigation into the mystic potencies of life and matter, which is usually called occultism.

In 1879, Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott came to India and established their headquarters at Adyar, a suburb of Madras, in 1882. Here they came into contact with Buddhism and Hinduism. Colonel Olcott remained President of the Society till his death in 1907, when Mrs. Annie Besant succeeded him. She was the first theosophist who preached the wisdom of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the *Gītā*, "and turned theosophy into something specifically Hindu". She believed that a revival and reintroduction of India's ancient ideals and institutions could solve most of her problems. With a view to providing Hindu religious instruction, she founded the Central Hindu School at Vārānasi in 1898, and this developed later into the Benaras Hindu University. She rose to fame as the creator of the Home Rule League in 1916, and the next years she was elected President of the Indian National Congress.

The Akali Movement. Among Sikh reformist movements, the most important was the Akalī. The Akalis claim for themselves "a direct institution" by Guru Govind Singh. In the present century, their great achievement was the passage of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act in 1925. The Act enabled

the Sikhs to take over control of the *Gurdwāras* from the hereditary *Mahants*.

4. Education

Indigenous Schools. Towards the end of the 18th century there was a fairly wide network of indigenous educational institutions. These were broadly of two types: the schools of higher learning, which included Hindu *tols* or *pathaśālās*; and the Muslim *madrasahs*, and the indigenous elementary schools, both Hindu and Muslim. The Hindu schools were mostly attended by boys and generally excluded the untouchable castes and girls, except in a few areas. The Muslim schools–*maktabs*–were usually attached to the mosques. Along with the boys a few girls also attended them at a young age, but in richer families the practice was to educate them at home. The chief merits of the system were its universality (almost every village had a school and the bigger villages and towns had several), its adaptability to local environment, and the vitality and popularity it had acquired by centuries of existence under a variety of economic conditions and political vicissitudes.

Efforts of East India Company (1780-1813). Warren Hastings established a *madrasah* at Calcutta in 1781 "to conciliate the Mahomedans of Calcutta" and "to qualify the sons of Mahomedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State." Similarly Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Vārānasi, founded a Sanskrit College there in 1792 with the object of "endearing our Government to the native Hindus" and of providing "a nursery of future doctors and expounders (of Hindu law) to assist European Judges". The Company declined to do anything beyond the maintenance of these two institutins. Meanwhile, educational enterprise of an entirley different kind was being evolved by the missionaries. They started elementary schools for the humblest strata of society, including the untouchable castes. They also established schools for teaching English which was slowly beginning to come into prominence.

Educational Experiments (1813-1854). The Charter Act of 1813 required the Company to set apart "a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year" for "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India".

Lord William Bentinck adopted English as the official language of the government, and Lord Hardinge decided, in 1844, to give employment under the government to Indians educated in English schools. The success of English education was thus assured and it made tremendous progress in Bengal between 1813 and 1854.

In Bombay, the developments were somewhat different. A Sanskrit College was established at Poona in 1821. But Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay (1819-27), was in favour of instruction based on a study of three languages. The Native Education Society of Bombay, established in 1822 mainly at his instance, started a large number of schools for teaching English as well as Indian languages, trained up teachers, and published a large number of books in Indian languages. But ultimately, English was adopted as the sole medium of instruction at the collegiate stage. Till the end of the secondary stage, however, both English and modern Indian languages were continued as media of instruction.

James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, was the first to levy a cess on land revenue for the spread of mass education. With the proceeds of this cess and an equal grant-in-aid from government funds, he established a large number of primary schools in selected villages. He also organized a good system of inspection, which included a visitor in each *parganā*, a *zilā* visitor in each district, and a visitor-general for the province as a whole.

Three other developments of this period deserve notice. The first was the great upsurge in missionary activities. Pioneer work in almost every field of education was done by the missionaries of this time. The second important development was the establishment of medical, engineering and law colleges, which marked a beginning in professional education. But the most significant event was the official sanction accorded to the education of girls, for which Lord Dalhousie offered the open support of government.

Wood's Despatch of 1854. Sir Charles Wood's Despatch declared emphatically that the main objective of educational policy should be the diffusion of "the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe" through the medium of English as well as the modern Indian languages. It suggested that education departments should be created in all provinces, that universities be set up in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, or in any part of India where a sufficient number of institutions needed for their establishment were already in existence, and that below the universities there should be a network of institutions which would include colleges, high schools teaching through English or modern Indian languages, and primary schools, most of which would be the indigenous elementary schools assisted by suitable grants-in-aid. The Despatch also emphasized the development of private enterprise, missionary as well as Indian, through a proper system of grant-in-aid, and suggested the training of teachers in normal schools, the conferment of government jobs on educated persons, and increased attention to the development of education among young girls and women.

In the next 50 years the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854 were slowly and steadily implemented. Education departments were

created in the provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and the Punjab in 1855. When new provinces were formed at a later date, they too had education departments. In the period between 1855 and 1902 these departments were particularly active. Their first task was to establish and maintain government educational institutions at all levels. But an even more important responsibility was to supervise and aid institutions conducted by other agencies such as local bodies and voluntary organizations. In 1897 the Indian Education Service was organized to cover the seniormost posts. Since recruitment to the Service took place in England, these posts went mainly to Europeans while Indians held all the lower posts in the departments.

Indian Private Enterprise. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 recommended that the government should maintain only a few colleges, secondary schools and other essential institutions and that the rest of the field should be left to private enterprise. This recommendation was accepted. The missionaries adopted a policy of voluntary restriction on the expansion of their educational activities, deciding to maintain only a few good institutions; they were meant primarily for the Christians but were open to all. Thus it was private enterprise that provided the bulk of the growing number of colleges and secondary schools which the country needed.

University Education. In accordance with the recommendation of the Despatch of 1854, the universities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta were established in 1857. Their functions were restricted to giving affiliation to colleges, holding examinations and granting degrees. In 1882 the University of Punjab was established on a slightly different pattern. The University of Allahâbâd came five years later, meeting the needs of northern and central India.

The teaching of arts and sciences at the university level thus became a function of colleges. In 1857 the total number of colleges was 27. In 1901–2 this number went up to 195, with a total enrolment of about 23,000 students. Many of these colleges were managed by Indian private enterprise. As many as 179 of them with nearly 20,000 students were colleges for the liberal arts and law and only 16 were professional colleges—4 for medicine, 4 for engineering, 5 for teaching and 3 for agriculture. English was the medium of instruction and the study of modern Indian languages as subjects was generally neglected, except to some extent in Madras.

Secondary Education. Secondary education expanded fast during this period and by 1901–2 the total number of secondary schools in the country grew to 5,124 with 5,90,129 pupils. Almost all of them were 'unilateral', academic institutions which prepared students for the university entrance examination. Another characteristic of the secondary schools of this period was that they were conducted mostly by Indian

private enterprise. As government grants to these schools were meagre, secondary education mainly depended for financial support on fees and donations, and could be kept going because the teachers agreed to work on low salaries.

Primary Education. Most of the indigenous schools died out during this period, either through competition with government schools or through neglect. The most important event of this time in the field of primary education was the levy of a local cess or rate for education, recommended in the Educational Despatch of 1859. By 1882, this levy was imposed in all areas except those (such as Bengal) where the permanent settlement of land revenue created a legal obstacle. When municipalities began to be established in towns and cities, they also contributed money for primary education. Further, grants-in-aid from state funds began to be sanctioned to supplement local funds. All these measures increased the resources available to primary education and led to its expansion. The Indian Education Commission recommended the transfer of primary education to local bodies. This measure led to an immediate gain by way of the availability of additional funds. However, since the resources of the local bodies were inelastic and restricted, the transfer of control acted ultimately to the disadvantage of primary education and held up further progress.

As compared to the indigenous schools which dominated the scene prior to 1854, the new type of primary schools registered a certain degree of qualitative improvement. By 1901, the primary teachers were better qualified and a fair percentage of them were trained. The schools were now provided, wherever possible, with buildings of their own. They were also better equipped and used printed books. Their curriculum was broader, and though mainly academic, it now included kindergarten or "object lessons", history, geography, hygiene, agriculture, science and physical exercises. Better methods of teaching were generally adopted and, on the whole, the standard of teaching showed improvement. The readiness of these schools to admit girls and scheduled caste students gave them another distinct advantage over the indigenous ones. But as these schools merely replaced the old indigenous institutions, the rate of overall progress in mass education was almost negligible. In fact, there is reason to believe that the percentage of literacy for men in 1901 was even lower than that in 1835.

Period of Transition (1901-1921). Lord Curzon convened the first conference of Directors of Public Instruction in 1901 and initiated an era of educational reform based on its decisions. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was passed on the advice of a Commission set up two years earlier. It enabled the universities to assume teaching functions, constituted syndicates for the speedier transaction of business, provided for stricter conditions of affiliation and periodic inspection of colleges, and defined

the territorial jurisdiction of the different institutions. This led to a substantial measure of qualitative improvement in higher education without adversely affecting the tempo of expansion.

With the passage of the Act, the government began to sanction larger grants-in-aid for the development of universities. It was announced in 1913 that additional universities would be established and that all universities would be financially assisted to undertake research and teaching activities. By 1921 the number of universities in India increased to 12, the seven new ones being Banaras, Mysore, Patna, Aligarh, Dacca, Lucknow and Osmânia. The number of colleges increased from 191 with 23,000 students in 1901-2 to 229 with 59,000 students in 1921–22.

The same series of events was virtually repeated at the secondary stage. Government secondary schools were largely improved through such measures as the strengthening of staff and the provision of hostels—they were meant to serve as models for private enterprise. The government tightened its control by increasing the inspection staff and by insisting that every secondary school must seek recognition from the department—aid or no aid, the conditions of recognition were fairly strict. The expansion of secondary education was even more rapid than in the earlier period of *laissez-faire:* from 5,493 schools with 6,23,000 students in 1901–2 to 7,530 schools with 11,06,803 students in 1921–22. Attempts were made in this period to diversify secondary ecucation, provide vocational courses, and reduce the domination of English by adopting the modern languages of India as media of instruction. But the success achieved was very limited and the major defects of secondary education noticed in the earlier period continued to persist.

The government strove to expand primary education by giving larger grants-in-aid to local bodies, but it also laid great emphasis on improvement of quality. For this purpose the salaries of teachers were raised, the curricula were widened, and the training of teachers as also the adoption of better methods of teaching were stressed. The Bombay legislature was the first to pass a law introducing compulsory primary education in urban areas in 1918. This example was followed by several other provinces which enacted similar laws. Owing partly to the larger financial support made available by the government and partly to popular enthusiasm, the expansion in the field of primary education was very great, the number of primary schools rising from 93,604 in 1901–2 with 30,76,671 children to 1,55,017 in 1921–22 with 6.1 million children.

It was in this period that the concept of national education was first put forward by a number of great leaders such as Mrs. Annie Besant, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Mahatma Gandhi. They held that the system of education, as it then existed, was unhelpful and even antagonistic to national development. A national system of education for India, they said, should be subject to Indian control, and it should foster love of the motherland.

Freed from the domination of English, it should emphasize technical and vocational education and try to build up the national character. A number of institutions of national education such as the Kāśī Vidyāpīṭha and the Jāmi'ah Millīyah Islāmiyah were established in order to realize these ideals and they worked independently of the official system.

Education under Indian Control (1921-47). From 1921 to 1947, education was under Indian control in the sense that it was, under the new Act, a provincial subject administered by a minister responsible to the provincial legislature. There was an unprecedented expansion in university education. The number of universities increased to 20 in 1947. The number of arts and science degree colleges rose to 297 and that of intermediate colleges to 199. The professional colleges also increased to 140—16 of engineering, 42 of teachers training, and 82 others. The total enrolment at the university stage rose to 1,93,402, which was nearly 3½ times the enrolment in 1921. From the qualitative point of view also, several reforms were introduced, based largely on the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19). Unitary, teaching and residential universities were established at Allahābād, Vārānasi, Hyderābād, Alīgarh, Lucknow, Dacca and Annamalai, and teaching functions were assumed by most of the universities. An Inter-University Board was established and inter-collegiate and inter-university activities were started. Research was also developed; military training was introduced in some universities, residential facilities for the students were increased and steps taken to look after their health.

There was, however, no attempt to select the right students for admission and the provision for scholarships was very limited. A large number of unfit students who should have been diverted to other pursuits were admitted to universities, while a good number were deprived of higher education because of poverty. The colleges of general education dominated the scene and scientific, technical and professional education remained woefully inadequate. The system was too examination-ridden to be really educative. The number of pupils per teacher was excessively large, while the salaries of teachers were low. Provision for libraries and laboratories was meagre. By 1935 the problem of educated unemployment assumed serious proportions and, in spite of all that was done, it continued to be more and more serious.

The developments in secondary education were similar. The number of high schools rose to 5,297 and that of middle schools to 12,843. The total enrolment at the secondary stage rose to 29,06,921, which was about 2½ times that in 1921. From the qualitative point of view, a definite gain was the adoption of the modern Indian languages as media of instruction, though English continued to be studied as a compulsory subject. Another gain was the improvement in the training of teachers and the starting of a large number of technical, commercial and agricultural high schools. On

the other hand, there was the predominance of academic schools, the dominance of the university entrance requirements, the low salaries and the generally unsatisfactory conditions of service for teachers, non-selective admissions leading to the inrush of unfit students and the absence of an adequate system of scholarships for the support of promising students.

In the field of primary education, the progress was considerable. Most provinces passed compulsory education laws and also introduced it in a few selected urban and rural areas; the power of local bodies over primary education was increased; the salaries of teachers were raised and the arrangements for their training improved. The number of schools increased to 1,72,661 or nearly 2½ times that in 1921–22. In spite of this expansion, only about 35 per cent of the children were enrolled in the age-group 6–11; and in the age-guoup 11–14, the enrolment was as low as 9 per cent. Moreover, because of shortage of funds, the system continued to be predominantly academic, in spite of attempts to introduce extra-curricular activities. With a view to changing this academic character of the system and making it less costly Mahatma Gandhi propounded in 1937 his scheme of basic education. It was accepted by the Congress ministries in principle, but they were in office only for a very short time and the scheme did not go beyond the experimental stage.

Two of the promising achievements of this period are to be found in the field of women's education and the education of the backward classes. In 1947, the total number of girls under instruction was 42,97,785 of whom about 20,304 were in colleges of general education, 2,903 in colleges of professional education, 6,02,280 in secondary schools, 34,75,165 in primary schools, 56,090 in special schools, and 1,41,043 in unrecognized institutions. Equally creditable were the results of the spread of education among the backward classes. Following the lead given by Mahatma Gandhi, the popular ministries allowed very liberal educational concessions to the backward classes in general and the scheduled classes and tribes in particular. Consequently, education spread rapidly among these classes, although they had still a long way to go. This period is also conspicuous for the small beginnings made in the programmes of adult education. The movement, however, could not be organized on a mass scale and its progress varied from province to province.

Thus by 1947, the modern system of education created by the British was nearly 150 years old. Its main contribution was to bring Indians into contact with scientific and industrial development, as well as the thought and the social and political philosophy of the west. This contact had in many ways a vivifying effect. It freed the Indian mind from the "thraldom of old-world ideas" and initiated a renaissance in Indian life, which led to a scientific and critical study of our cultural heritage and to the rediscovery of our ancient arts of painting, architecture and sculpture. It also resulted

in the enrichment of modern Indian languages and the development and revival of humanistic trends. Finally, the awakening of political consciousness and the struggle for freedom which culminated in the attainment of independence in 1947 can also be largely traced to the social forces released by modern education.

5. Literary Activities

Assamese. Assam came under the British East India Company in 1826. The years succeeding British occupation, which was gradually consolidated, correspond to a turning point in the history of Assamese literature. This was initially provided by two American Baptist missionaries; they were the Rev. N. Brown (1807–86) and O.T. Cotter. They came to Assam in 1836. With the publication of the *Bible*, translated into Assamese by Atmaram Sarma, in 1813, from Serampore, the modern era of Assamese literature began. Besides the Rev. Brown and O.T. Cotter, other Baptist missionaries who made efforts to lay the foundation of modern Assamese literature were M. Bronson, A.H. Danforth, C. Barker, W.M. Ward, Hesselmeyer and A.K. Gurney.

These American missionaries were not literary men in the strict sense of the term. With a view to popularizing the message of the Christ, the missionaries considered it essential to approach the people through the medium of their own tongue. They translated this objective into action within a brief span of three months not only by trying to learn the language of the people as assiduously as they could, but also by producing the first Assamese primer for use in the schools they established.

The redemption of Assamese language, long eclipsed by the use of Bengālī, came at the hands of the American Baptist Mission; they gave the language of the people a due share of recognition in the institutions they established. In fact, the American Baptist Mission is the torch-bearer of the new age in Assamese literature. Without a recognized language, how can there be a recognized literature? W. Robinson, an American Baptist missionary, published a grammar of the Assamese language from Serampore as early as 1839.

The publication of this Assamese grammar encouraged further researches in the subject; it led to the publication of the Rev. N. Brown's *Grammatical Notes on the Assamese Language*. This served as an authentic linguistic document till the publication of *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language* by Anandaram Dhekial Phukan. Dhekial Phukan's contribution to the redemption of the Assamese language from eclipse is no less great than that of the American Baptist missionaries. Hemachandra Barua's (1835-96) Assamese grammar that first saw light in 1859 was followed by his Anglo-Assamese dictionary *Hemakoṣa*

in 1900. It is a posthumous publication. M. Bronson's (1812-83) *Anglo-Assamese Dictionary* is a stupendous work that contains about 14,000 words. In fact, Jaduram Barua is the real pioneer of Assamese lexicography; he compiled his dictionary as early as 1839, the manuscript of which was presented by the compiler to the British administrator of the time, Col. Jenkins.

The American Baptist Mission started a monthly periodical called *Aruṇodaya* in 1846. Under its inspiration a group of writers in Assamese emerged. The *Aruṇodaya*, the printing press which was established by the missionaries in Sibsagar together with the schools established by them helped to bring the fruits of western science, literature and education within the reach of a considerable section of the population. The ultimate restoration of the Assamese language to its legitimate place and the publication of the *Jonāki*, a journal, in 1889 by a group of Assamese in Calcutta, the principal figures behind which were C.K. Agarwala (1867–1938) and L.N. Bezbarua (1868–1938), gave real progress to Assamese literature after the spell of fade-out it suffered in the post-Ahom literary period.

The last quarter of the 19th century and the subsequent years had been an era of unequalled enthusiasm for Assamese literature. A wave of literary upheaval, optimism, newness of subject-matter and techniques came in its wake. The new type of drama as the *Bhramaraṅga* (1888), translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, ousted the old *nāṭakā*-form of the Vaiṣṇava school. The new poetry of the English romantic type came to take the place of the old *kāvya*-form, noted for panoramic patterns. Together with the new drama and poetry, the novel, the essay, the short story, the autobiography, etc. made their powerful impact. We must remember that Nidhi Levi Farwell who is said to be the first convert to Christianity in Assam and was a collaborater with Bronson in his compilation of the *Anglo-Assamese Dictionary* is a pioneer in the strict sense of the term in the field of modern Assamese literature and historical research.

Bholanath Das (1858–1929) and Ramakanta Chaudhury (1846–89) are the two pioneers in the use of the blank-verse in Assamese poetry. Over and above this, Bholanath Das is a pioneer in the innovation of the new lyric to be followed by lyricists like Ratneswar Mahanta (1864–93), Baladev Mahanta (1850–95), K.K. Bhattacharya (1853–1937), P.N. Gohain-Barua (1871–1946), Hiteswar Barbarua (1871–1939) and a host of others.

It was during this period that a few historical and social dramas as also a few farces were written. Important playwrights of the period were Hemachandra Barua and Gunabhiram Barua (1837–95), Benudhar Rajkhowa (1872–1935) and P.N. Gohain-Barua. The drama has extended its limits and we have playwrights like J.P. Agarwala (1903–51), Atul

Hazarika, L.D. Chaudhury and Pravin Phukan who have added a new dimension to the drama. Raghu Chaudhury, A.G. Rai Chaudhury, Nalini Devi, and Jathi Durva are outstanding poets in this generation.

The three well known personalities of the romantic school in Assamese literature are L.N. Bezbarua, C.K. Agarwala and Hema Goswami. Besides making contributions to poetry of the new school, the contributions of the first to the drama and the essay and of the last to historical research are considerable. The contribution of Rajani Bardoloi (1867–1939) to the novel is as great as that of B.K. Kakati (1894–1952) to the essay.

The development of modern Assamese literature like any other literature is a continuing process. In the contemporary age new forms like the radio-drama, *belles letters*, revolutionary poetry, etc. have come in to enrich a literature that saw its meridian splendour under the auspices of our saint-poets like Śaṅkaradeva (A.D. 1449–1569) and Mādhavadvea (A.D. 1489–1596) and many others of the Vaiṣṇava school.

Bengali. The first writer of power and elegance in the mid-18th century was Bhāratacandra Rāya (*d.* 1760), a court poet of Rājā Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia. Bhāratacandra's principal work is a trilogy entitled *Annadāmaṅgal*. Literary prose in Bengālī originated, towards the close of the century out of the necessities of administration. The earliest prose works of any merit were written, under the aegis of William Carey (1761–1834), a Baptist missionary, by some of his assistants in the College of Fort William (established in 1800). The best of such writers were Ramram Basu (1757–1813) and Mrityunjaya Vidyalankara (1762–1819). A much better writer was Raja Rammohun Roy (1772–1833) who, unlike the others, was not primarily a translator. His *Vedāntagrantha* (1815) is perhaps the most lucid work of early Bengālī prose.

The Baptist Mission of Serampore started the first Bengālī newspaper, a weekly named *Samācāra Darpaṇa* (1818). It was almost immediately followed by a host of periodicals published from Calcutta.

In 1839, Persian as the official language of administration was replaced by English at the higher level and Bengālī at the lower level. This gave a tremendous fillip to the cultivation of Bengālī prose. The father of literary prose in Bengālī, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (1820–91), produced his first book before the next decade was over.

Modern Bengālī literature has been an outcome of the impact of English education on the receptive Bengālī mind. The first as well as one of the greatest of modern Bengālī writers was Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824–73). He knew many languages, European and Indian, and his *magnum opus*, *Meghanādavadha-kāvya*, an epic poem in nine cantos (1861), bears evidence of his first-hand acquaintance with Homer, Virgil, Dante, Milton, Vālmīki, Kālidāsa and others. Michael Madhusudan Dutt also wrote

plays for the Bengālī stage which had just come into existence. Bankimchandra Chatterji (1838–94) created the novel in Bengālī and has held his place as one of the best writers of modern fiction. The polish and mobility he gave to literary prose set the standard for all the later writers. Debendranath Tagore (1817–1905), son of Dwarakanath Tagore (1794–1846), a friend and supporter of Raja Rammohun Roy, was in the middle decades of the 19th century, a central figure from whom various national movements drew inspiration and support. In the second half of the century, Debendranath Tagore's house became the centre of almost all cultural and progressive activities that have left their stamp on Bengālī (and to some extent Indian) life and thought of the present day.

The youngest son of Debendranath was Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), the greatest literary genius of the time and one of the greatest poets and creative artists. Swarnakumari Devi (1855–1932), a daughter of Debendranath Tagore, was the first notable woman writer in Bengālī.

Rabindranath Tagore dominated the literary and cultural field in Bengal for more than half a century. He raised the Bengālī language and literature to such a high level that little scope was left for other writers to make original contributions of their own. Nevertheless, some writers escaped Tagore's influence. One of them was the novelist, Saratchandra Chatterji (1876–1938), whose popularity surpassed that of any other writer in Bengālī. During Tagore's life-time and after, a number of powerful writers in prose and poetry appeared. This has extended the horizon of Bengālī literature, and some of the writers continue to produce literature of high quality.

Gujarati. The modern period in Gujarātī literature begins with Dalpatram Dahyabhai (1820–1898) and Narmadashankar Lalshankar (1833–1886). Dalpatram was primarily a teacher and reformer, who used verse as his vehicle. He was a consummate prosodist with a sense of humour. Dalpatram's younger contemporary Narmadashankar was a great pioneer who emphasized the positive values of western culture and stressed the spirit of individuality and respect for the human personality. He was deeply concerned with personal love and freedom and love of the motherland.

In 1887 Narsinhrao B. Divetiya's (1859–1937) *Kusumamālā* established the western lyric as the principal form of poetic expression in Gujarātī. Balashankar, Manilal Nabubhai Dvivedi (1851–98) and Sursinhji Gohil (1874–1900), who wrote under the pen-name 'Kalāpī' used the Persian *ghazal* also with great effect. Folk-song asserted itself through the exquisite songs of Nanalal and *bhajans* of Khabardar, the most outstanding of Pārsī poets. Manishankar 'Kant' specialized in delineating situations of spiritual crisis in polished and terse prose.

'Kant', Nanalal and Balvantrai (1869–1952) are the three notable poets of the age. Nanalal, the greatest lyric poet of modern Gujarātī, wrote

impassioned prose with a certain rhythm, a sort of *vers libre*. Balvantrai, on the other hand, invested the current metres with some of the characteristics of English blank-verse. He also stood for structural compactness and asked for a hard core of thought in poetry. As a writer of virile prose and delicately touching poetry, he inculcated a sense of artistic integrity in the new generation.

By 1930, a new generation of poets under the influence of Gandhism, began to sing full-throatedly of national freedom and universal brotherhood. Progressivism came by the middle of the thirties. For a time the Sun, the Moon and the stars were blacked out and the themes were centred on the exploited working class and the hapless destitute. But by 1940 the poets began to look again for images of beauty. The poets of the forties, Rajendra and Niranjan, achieved pure lyricism and also evinced a new and keener awareness of reality.

Govardhanram Tripathi's (1855–1907) four-decker *Saraswatīcandra* is regarded as the greatest classic that modern Gujarātī has produced. The central theme of this modern Purāṇa is the quest for the national self. The writer places his faith in the man of letters with a social conscience. K.M. Munshi's (1888-1971) historical novels have vastly enlarged the scope of fiction writing. Ramanlal Desai wrote some novels of contemporary social life; his *Divyacākṣu* gives a naturalistic picture of the 1930 movement. The late thirties and forties witnessed the advent of two young novelists: 'Darshak', who is essentially a socio-political thinker, and Pannalal Patel who has excelled in the regional novel. Iswar Patlikar is another novelist of note and his main interest is in social documentation.

Short story achieved a compelling charm in the hands of Gaurishankar Govardhanram Joshi ('Dhumaketu') in the late twenties. Ramnarayan Pathak, who wrote in a naturalistic vein, is another master of the Gujarātī short story.

Gujarāt had an indigenous tradition of folk-drama, *Bhavai*. Attempts at emulating western playwrights began in the eighteen-fifties. Ramanbhai's *Rāī-no Parvat* (1914) is the best dramatic work in the language. Munshi wrote both Puranic as well as social plays. Munshi and Chandravadan Mehta have a sense of the stage and their plays form, an invaluable part of the amateur's repertoire. Umarwadia and Yashvant Pandya wrote a number of exquisite short plays. The one-act play has also been utilized as a potent vehicle of expression.

Gujarātī is rich in critical writings with a fine awareness of the aesthetic element. Navalram Lakshmiram, Anandshankar Dhruva, Balvantrai and Ramnarayan Pathak, among others, have contributed largely to this *genre* of literature.

Gandhiji (1869–1948) imparted new life to Gujarātī prose, as indeed to all literary activity. A vast number of articles and no‹ .s apart, he wrote *Hind Swarāj, Ātmakathā, Dakṣiṇa Africana Sat· .grahno Itihāsa, and*

Ārogyanī chāwī. The simplicity of his prose style has all the fullness of a rich soul, breathing love and charity, earnestness and resoluteness. Some of his associates have put Gujarātī language under a perpetual debt. Kakasaheb Kalelkar, who adopted Gujarātī as the vehicle of his literary expression, is acknowledged as a master of prose. Kishorlal Mashruwala, an original thinker, wrote in a chaste and direct style. Mahadeva Desai's diaries, especially the first volume, will be cherished as an immortal document.

Hindi. In course of the years between 1761 and 1843, Hindī poetry lost its originality and genius. 'Bharatendu' Harish Chandra (1846–1884), 'Father of Modern Hindi Literature', drew out poetry into the open sunshine of social life. The process was continued by Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (1870–1938), a moralist by nature and a reformer in practice; he raised the general moral tone of Hindī poetry and struck a decisive blow to the long-standing *Khaḍībolī-Brajabhāṣā* controversy by exposing the absurdity of adopting different media for prose and poetry. He was supported by two great poets-Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay'Hari Audha'(1865–1946), renowned for his *Priyapravāsa*, and Maithilisharan Gupta. This was an era of revival when the poets drew freely from the rich treasures of ancient Indian culture. Social, political and economic problems were taken up with a keen interest and a note of national regeneration was struck. Outstanding poets of this school are Makhan Lal Chaturvedi, Balkrishna Sharma 'Navin' and Ramdhari Singh 'Dinkar'.

Over-emphasis of the moral aspect led to neglect of the natural human impulses. A strong reaction found expression in *Chāyāvāda* of Jaya Shankar Prasad, the other important exponents being Surya Kant Tripathi 'Nirala', Sumitra Nandan Pant and Mahadevi Varma. Jaya Shankar Prasad's *Kāmāyanī* is an epic portraying the eternal struggle of the human soul against the background of the modern age.

After Prasad's death in 1937, *Chāyāvāda* began to decline in the face of leftist ideology which found expression in two rival trends of contemporary Hindī poetry: one is progressivism (*Pragativāda*), which can be defined as people's poetry directly inspired by the Marxian philosophy; the other is called experimentalism (*Prayogavāda*) or new literature, which looks upon experiment or constant quest as the essence of life and literature.

Many socio-political and historical reasons may be given to explain why Hindī drama does not have the same rich unbroken tradition as Hindī poetry. The first original drama in the real sense was *Nahuṣa Nāṭaka* (1857), written by Gopal Chandra, father of 'Bharatendu' Harish Chandra. Actually, it is the son and not the father to whom the Hindī drama owes its beginning. He made successful experiments in all the existing forms of the dramatic art. By effecting a compromise between the techniques of the Sanskrit and the western drama, he produced the modern Hindī play which he brought to the stage under his own direction. His plays strongly

reflected cultural revival and brought about harmony between the essential elements of the *rasa* of the Sanskrit drama and the 'conflict' of the western play.

Like other prose forms, the novel also is a product of the modern age. Taking Prem Chand (1880-1936) as the most important landmark, we can easily demarcate three stages in the development of the Hindī novel: pre-Prem Chand Hindī novel, Prem Chand and his contemporaries; and post-Prem Chand Hindī novel, i.e., the contemporary Hindī novel. Inspired by the sociopolitical ideas of Mahatma Gandhi in India and by the artistic ideals of western masters like Leo Tolstoy and Charles Dickens, Prem Chand wrote with a purpose. The post-Prem Chand novel is characterized by historical, psychological and progressive factors. Newer forms are being devised such as the novel of 'local colour'.

Both in theory and practice literary criticism in Hindī has developed steadily on modern lines in course of the past 40 years. The tradition of original thinking in the realm of poetic philosophy was revived by Acharya Ramachandra Shukla in the first quarter of the 20th century. He effected a healthy synthesis between ancient Sanskrit poetics and modern western criticism.

Kannada By 1761, the creative impulse of the age of Cikkadevarāya Wodeyār (1672–1704) had become a spent force. Evidently the weakness and lack of spirit which characterized the later hereditary rulers of Mysore cast its reflection in the literary sphere as well. Under Haidar 'Alī and Ṭīpu Sulṭān there appears to have been little royal patronage for Kannaḍa writing. We find little work of significance produced during the later half of the 18th century in Kannaḍa. An important exception was Jagannath-adāsa's (c. 1775) *Harikathāmṛtasāra* which extols Viṣṇu and propounds the *Dvaita* philosophy.

Creative literary activity in Kannaḍa reached the low-water mark by the latter half of the 18th century but revived at its close. Prose came to the forefront. Kempu Narayana's *Mudrāmañjūṣā*, the earliest historical novel (1823), and Devachandra's *Rājāvalikathe*, a store-house of traditional information about the Jaina religion, poets and rulers, and Krishnama-charya's *Hosagannada Nudigannadi* (1838) belong to this period. The year 1881 represents the starting point of the renaissance in modern Kannaḍa. English was taking a firm root in the educational system of all the Kannaḍa regions and there developed a modern prose style which eschewed archaisms in grammar and syntax and avoided the burden of recondite and compound-laden Sanskrit vocabulary. Poetry too followed suit. In most of the writings, the life and sentiments of a modern and modernizing secular society came to be the main theme in preference to the old stories and episodes of the Epics and Purāṇas. Even the old theme came to be viewed in a new perspective. At first, for about two or three decades, the Kannaḍa men of letters busied themselves with translations and adap-

tations from English and the more progressive Indian languages like Bengālī. Later on, the mind of the writer inevitably began to probe and play on the life around him, in the village and the town; the complex social and political problems of the Kannaḍa region claimed his attention and fired his creative imagination.

We may begin with 'Muddana', even though his principal writing was in old middle Kannaḍa. 'Muddana' was one of the pseudonyms assumed by Nandalike Lakshminaranappa (1870–1901). His most important work is the celebrated *Rāmāśvamedha*, written in chaste old Kannaḍa prose. Lakshminaranappa wrote another work in old Kannaḍa prose, the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* besides a poem in middle Kannaḍa, the *Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣekam* (the latter under the pseudonym 'Mahalaksmi). He was also the author of some *Yakṣagāna* works like *Kumāravijaya*.

Kannaḍa poetry, which had not produced any work of great significance for more than two centuries, took a new lease of life in this period though it flowered a little later than modern prose and drama. Pioneers like Panje Mangesa Rao (1874-1937), H. Narayana Rao (1863-1921) and S.G. Narasimhachar (*d.* 1911) began to use middle and even modern Kannaḍa and popular metrical forms. Their work was mostly translations of short pieces from English. Govinda Pai often uses learned diction, but his poems are characterized by deep feeling and original similes. His masterpiece *Golgotha*, which portrays the last day of Jesus Christ, has the qualities of an epic fragment.

The scholar-poet who gave Kannaḍa poetry a conscious modern direction was undoubtedly B.M. Srikanthayya ('Sri') (1884–1946); his *Iṅgliśa Gītagalu* (a metrical rendering of selected English lyrics) ushered a new epoch in the twenties, particularly after the publication of its enlarged edition (1926).

D.V. Gundappa (*b.* 1888) is a noted thinker, critic and writer on contemporary affairs, in addition to being an established poet. His *Maṅku Timmana Kagga*, conisting of nearly a thousand reflective stanzas arranged on one comprehensive pattern, is justly famous.

K.V. Puttappa ('Kuvempu') who belongs to a younger generation, is a versatile genius and one of the foremost Kannaḍa authors of the present day. Poetry of every kind–lyrical, narrative and dramatic, devotional, secular and even satirical–has continued to flow from his pen. P.T. Narasimchar is another major poet belonging to the same generation. His poems, mostly lyrical, are infused with rare thought and chiselled feeling. D.R. Bendre (Ambikatanaya Datta) is a name to conjure with wherever Kannaḍa is spoken.

One of the new types of literature which made an immediate appeal to the ordinary reader was the novel which first entered Kannaḍa through Bengālī. It was M.S. Puttanna (1854–1930) who for the first time wrote remarkable novels rooted in the soil and steeped in racy Kannaḍa idiom.

His best work, *Māḍiddunno Mahārāya* (1915), gives a vivid and fascinating picture of the social and the court life of the times of Krishnaraya Wodeyar III. In the north Karnāṭaka region, Kerur Vasudevacarya (1866–1921) was a devotee of the fiction form. His novels like *Indirā* are mostly social, though he has a historical novel too, the *Yadumahārāja*, based on the founding of the Mysore dynasty.

Since the twenties of this century, novels have been coming out in a steady stream from scores of novelists–only a few of them may be named here. K.S. Karanta is one of the major figures and his *Marali Mannige* ("Back to the Soil"), depicting the life and toils of three generations, has some unforgettable women characters who fought against poverty and neglect. Set in the south Kanara district, it reveals the varying moods of Nature. They almost play the role of a major character in this great novel. Among the other novels of Karanta *Comana Duḍi*, *Devadūtaru* and *Beṭṭada-Jīva* may be mentioned. Karanta is a remarkable person, gifted with many-sided talent. He has written and directed plays and operas and has even acted in them. Single-handed, he has produced an encyclopaedia and a dictionary. He made a close and practical study of the *Yakṣagāna*.

A.N. Krishna Rao and Basavaraja Kattimani are two very popular and prolific novelists who have cultivated the field of the social novel. Their works depict many facets—ugly as well as attractive—of several strata of life; and they are not afraid to probe into the dark recesses of contemporary society. T.R. Subba Rao is a novelist of considerable power and is more at home in dealing with historical themes. Mirji Annarao too is a novelist of note; his *Nisarga*, which deals with the tragedy of a village girl's extra-marital love, needs special mention. Devudu Narasimha Sastri's keen imagination plays with penetration on ancient themes.

In the field of the short story as in that of the lyric, Kannaḍa may well claim to have made a mark of its own, at least as regards quality. Masti Venkatesa Ayyangar is the supreme master here. Some of his short stories stand comparison with the best in any language.

The drama was one of the first literary forms to spring to life in the new age. Chamaraja Wodeyar (1881–94) was a great patron of this art; even a theatre bearing his name was established. Sanskrit plays were translated and adapted, the stage versions invariably containing a number of songs. The most gifted of this band of dramatists was Basavappa Sastri (1843–1891) whose Kannaḍa rendering of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* is justly famous and holds the field to this day.

Then came on the scene, in the early 'twenties of this century, the phenomenal T.P. Kailasam. A gifted actor well acquainted with the English stage, Kailasam set out to revolutionize the drama in Kannaḍa. He portrayed in his plays the foibles and problems of contemporary middle-class society and made daring use of colloquial speech with a heavy mixture of English expressions.

Among the other dramatists who have written in a more literary and conservative manner is 'Sansa', whose *Vigaḍa Vikramarāya* is an unusually powerful and compact historical play dealing with an episode taken from Mysore history; he followed it up with other plays of a similar type.

Kashmiri. The closing decades of the 18th century and virtually the whole of the 19th were marked by continual spurts of fresh creative activity in Kashmirī poetry. While the traditional, religious and secular styles held the field throughout this period, new and varied forms made their appearance, mainly under the influence of Persian poetry, but also through contact with the newly developing literatures in the other North Indian languages. Paramananda of village Matan (1791–1879) was the chief devotional poet of this period. He wrote allegorical narratives on Hindu religious themes; and among his leading works are *Rādhāsvayamvara, Sudāmācaritra,* and *Śivalagan*. Both in content and form these are of the highest excellence after the work of Lal D e'd. The Kashmīrī version of *Rāmāyaṇa*, by Prakash Rama of Kurigam, is a work of purple patches and combines the two diverse strains of religious devotion and folk-lore. Towards the close of the 19th century, Krishna Razdan of Vanpoh composed popular devotional poems in the tunes of rural folk-songs and ballads.

Among the Muslim poets of this period the best known is Mahmud Gami (*d.* 1855). The influence of Persian, coupled with the fusion of the lyric and the narrative, now encouraged a trend towards adaptations from the various forms of Persian poetry, as also translations. Among Mahmud Gami's chief works are *Yūsuf-Zuleikhā, Khusraw-Shīrīn*, and *Lailā-Majnūn*. Other noteworthy Muslim poets of this period are Rasul Mir, Wahhab Parɘ, Maqbul Shah and Waliullah Mattu. Wahhab Pare translated the *Shāh-Nāmah* of Firdausi, while Maqbul wrote *Gurist-Nāmah*, a satirical poem depicting the miserable lot of the Kashmirī peasantry. Rasul Mir rejuvenated Kashmīrī lyric on the Persian pattern. The close of the century was marked also by progress in song and *ghazal*, and witnessed the birth of a distinctive type of comic-satiric ballad called *Ladi-Shāh*. Lastly, it was about this time that J.H. Knowles rendered into English a collection of Kashmīrī folk-tales and proverbs.

From the death of Paramananda to the appearance of Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur's (1885-1952) first lyrics in the early twenties, Kashmīrī poetry passed through a phase of comparative barrenness. Mahjur ushers in the modern age. This period saw the forceful impact of new influences from several quarters—the growth of Indian nationalism, knowledge of western thought and literature, and new developments in the literatures of other modern North Indian languages. Mahjur's work embodies many of these new strains, while he also harks back to the best traditions of older Kashmīrī secular poetry. Mahjur lived his life as a petty revenue official and was accorded due recognition as a national poet only towards the end of his life. He was followed by Abdul Ahad Azad (1905–1948), a village

teacher by profession. Azad wrote with a socialistic bias and is not inferior to Mahjur either in inventive genius or in his command over the language. Other well-known poets of the present time are Daya Ram Ganju, Zinda Kaul and Ghulam Hasan Beg 'Arif'.

The present phase has, moreover, thrown up a group of writers who may be called "progressive". Among these the prominent ones are Dinanath Nadim, Rahman Rahi and Nur Muhammad Roshan. Finally, very recent years have been marked by the emergence of a halting type of literary prose and of new literary forms such as the drama, the novel and the short story.

Malayalam. At the beginning of the period under review and for nearly a century, Malayālam literature was dominated by the *Kathākali* form of dance-drama. Though Kuñcan Nampiyār, the first great poet to take literature to the common people through his *Tullals* (popular narrative poems), was still living—he died in 1765—the impetus of the *Tullal* movement had ended with his retirement. The *Kathākali*, patronized by the royal courts and the feudal nobility, was artificial in its literary form, conventional and ornate in its language. Though a large number of works were produced during this period, only one writer of outstanding eminence deserves to be mentioned. Ravi Varman Tampi (1783–1863) was important not only as an author of *Kathākali* masterpieces, but as one who created a bridge between the medieval and the modern period. He brought about a change in the diction of the *Kathākali* and in this way anticipated the literary style of the century that followed.

With 1861 Malayālam enters a new era. Two factors contributed to it. A new system of education had taken root in Kerala in the early decades of the 19th century through the activities of missionaries. Secondly, the establishment of Madras University in 1857, which extended its activities to Kerala, gave a fresh impetus to literature. Under the leadership of Kerala Varma Valiya Koyil Tampuran, a renowned Sanskrit and Malayālam poet and scholar, the Travancore government of the time entered on a planned programme of developing the language by the production of suitable text-books for all classes. Apart from his work as president of the Vernacular Text Book Committee of Travancore, Kerala Varma also deserves mention as the author of the poem *Mayūra Saṁdeśam* and for his translation of *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa with which Malayālam entered into a great era of translation of Sanskrit classics.

Side by side with this development directed from Trivandrum there was an even more significant movement which was centred in the Granganore palace. It was a literary revolution that the Granganore school of poets achieved under the leadership of poet Venmani and his son. The Venmani school, as it is now called, broke the domination of Sanskrit and developed a popular diction which took literature to the masses. Among the notable literary figures of this school, apart from Venmani, were Kunnikkuttan

Tampuran, the translator of the *Mahābhārata*, and Kochchunni Tampuran, both of whom were also notable writers in Sanskrit.

In 1846 a Protestant missionary, Benjamin Bailley, published a Malayālam-English Dictionary, supplemented a few years later by an English-Malyālam dictionary. But it was the German scholar Herman Gundert of the Basel Mission who in 1872 endowed Malayālam with an authoritative lexicon, based on a comparative study of the Dravidian languages. Though elementary grammars had also been produced by workers in the mission field, a comprehensive and authoritative work of the grammar of Malayālam had to await the publication of *Kerala Pāṇinīyam* by A.R. Rajaraja Varma (1898). Rajaraja Varma not only provided Malayālam with an authoritative grammar but undertook also the difficult task of standardizing Malayālam metres.

Rajaraja Varma was a path-finder in several new fields of poetic expression. His introduction to Kumaran Asan's (1871–1924) poem *Nalini* may be regarded as the starting point of modernism in Malayālam with freedom from Sanskrit forms and traditions. With Kumaran Asan and Vallathol Narayana Menon, this movement gained momentum and dominated Malayālam in all spheres of activity. Vallathol, a writer of the old school and translator of *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* in Malayālam verse, established his claim to a leading position in contemporary literature. Drawn by the nationalist movement, he brought into literature the spirit of national awakening. Asan also was a scholar of the old school, and he was moved by deep social urges. These two writers may be said to have brought about a literary revolution in Malayālam. Another writer who contributed significantly to the movement was Ullurs Parameswara Iyer who attempted to reconcile the classical with the modern spirit.

By the thirties a new spirit of revolt began to manifest itself. The leader of this group was Channampuzha Krishna Pillai, a poet of high lyrical quality, but pessimistic in his approach to life. The growth of symbolism was a marked feature in the literature of this period. Of this school G. Sankara Kurup is the outstanding representative. In recent times, poetry is struggling to find new forms and methods of expression and may be said to be dominated by experimentalism.

Modern prose literature in Malayālam is not a development from its old traditions. It is the outcome of the work of the Text Book Committee and the new educational policy. Its growth was powerfully helped by the journals and magazines which sprang up in different parts of Kerala. Because of these factors, prose style as it evolved, was modelled on English. Novels and short stories soon began to appear. They were mostly translations or adaptations from English; but with the appearance of O. Chantu Menon's *Indulekhā*, a social novel reflecting the conditions in the Nayar society of the time, the romantic novel may be said to have attained maturity in Malayālam. The immediate development was,

however, in the field of historical romance. It found a master in C.V. Raman Pillai, whose *Mārttaṇḍa Varma* and *Rāma Rāja Bahādur* are classics in this genre. Others who followed this path are Appan Tampuran, K.M. Panikkar and Kappana Krishna Menon.

The course of the national movement helped to popularize historical novels, but soon the novel of social analysis began to assert itself. A group of talented writers, Takali Sivasankara Pillai *(Randidnagazhi, Chemmin)* Kesava Dev *(Otayil Ninnu)*, Mohammed Bashir, Cherukad *(Muthassy)*, P.C. Kultikrishnan, Sukumaran and others built up realistic social fiction on a firm basis. In the field of short story also there were notable developments; many writers of talent, among whom may be mentioned Thakazhi, K.T. Mohammed, D.M. Pottekkad and Lalitambika Antharjanom, have helped to make the short story a vital feature of contemporary Malayālam literature.

The growth of drama is another significant feature of modern Malayālam. A decisive trend started with Kerala Varma's translation of *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, and in the years that followed the tradition of the Sanskrit drama held sway. But with the new spirit in literature Ibsen, Chekhov and others began to exercise a dominant influence. Dramatic works in Malayālam have grown fast during the last two decades—they combine a live social background with progressive economic urges.

Marāṭhī. In the period 1761–1818, the old traditions of Marāṭhī poetry continued. The songs of Śivadīna Kesarī (1698–1774), who belonged to the Nātha sect of saints, have an appeal even today.

Mahīpati Buva Tahrabadkar (1715–90) wrote biographies of devotees in verse and the theme of Marāṭhī poets, such as Bhīmaswāmī and others at Thanjāvūr in the South, was the cult of Rāmadāsa (1608–82). Nirañjana Mādhava (1703–1790) wrote in verse biographies of saints on *Advaita* philosophy and three books on prosody. Moropant (1729–1794), was a towering personality—he enriched the classical style, composed his *magnum opus, Ārya Bhārata*, and wrote several smaller works of great literary merit such as *Kekāvalī* and *Saṁśaya Ratnamālā*. There was also an efflorescence of *Povāḍās* (ballads) and *lāvaṇīs* (amorous songs). A host of *Sāhirs*, prominent among whom were Rama Joshi, Prabhakar, Anant Phandi, Honaji Bala, Sagan Bhau and Parashuram gave vent to the thrill of the Marāṭhās in the reappearing glory of the Peśwā's court. In *lāvaṇī*, they gave free expression to love and other pleasures.

Writings in prose were mostly confined to *Bakhars* (chronicles of historical events, past and present). A unique work was the incomplete autobiography of Nānā Fadnavīs. The first Marāṭhī grammar and the first Marāṭhī dictionary appeared in 1829.

The pioneers in new prose were Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar (1810–46) who started the daily paper *Darpaṇa* (1831) and the periodical *Digdarśana* (1841) and Bhau Mahajan (1815–90) and Joshi who founded

Prabhākara and *Jñyān Candrodaya*. These were followed by the thought-provoking writings of Krishna Hari Chiplunkar (1844–78), Vishnubuwa Brahmachari and Gopal Hari Deshmukh *alias* Lokahitawadi (1823–92) which roused people to a new consciousness of their heritage. These early efforts yielded a rich harvest in the writings of Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar (1850–82). He founded the *Kesarī* (1881) which later on attained all-India importance under Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920). Chiplunkar's contemporary Gopal Agharkar (1856–95) directed his powerful pen towards social reform. Jyotiba Phule (1827–90), the first non-Brāhmaṇa writer, was a class by himself. He advocated equality and reorientation of religious customs. Many essayists and treatise writers followed—the greatest among them was Lokamanya Tilak. Others in the line included S.M. Paranjape (1864–1929), N.C. Kelkar (1872–1947) and V.D. Savarkar (1883–1966).

A new trend in satirical and humorous writing was introduced by S.K. Kolhatkar, and was further developed by Ram Ganesh Gadkari and C.V. Joshi.

About 1925 the old form of essay yielded place to the short and light essay; and by 1947 this light essay became well established under writers of repute such as N.S. Phadke and V.S. Khandekar. Other forms like philosophical treatises, biographies and autobiographies also developed in this period.

A masterly touch was given to the novel by Hari Narayan Apte (1864–1919). His historical novels e.g. *Uṣahkāla* are a living monument of contemporary Mahārāshtra. His social novels like *Mī* are infused with idealism which has played a significant role in Marāṭhī thought and life. After Apte, the novel developed in great strides and portrayed all aspects of life in Mahārāshtra.

Marāṭhī drama had its origin in religious celebrations. In 1861 an original play by Vinayak Rao Kirtane (1840–91) on the death of Madhav Rao Peśwā appeared. This literary form attained its maturity in the work of Annasaheb Kirloskar (1843–85). His three plays, *Śakuntalā* (1880), *Saubhadrā* (1882) and *Rāmarājya-viyoga* (1884), not only laid the foundations of Marāṭhī drama but were a high water-mark of achievement. Social and historical dramas gradually developed. The years between 1915 and 1925 saw the hey-day of Marāṭhī drama when a number of authors wrote plays with a strong popular appeal.

A revolution in Marāṭhī poetry was ushered in by K.K. Damle *alias* Keshavsuta (1866–1905), whose influence continues to permeate Marāṭhī poetry to this day. He wrote in a subjective vein, intense with lyrical beauty and impassioned thought. He created new norms in the poetry of love, nature, social consciousness and neo-mysticism.

By 1930 a group of poets known as *Ravi Kiraṇa Maṇḍal* popularised many traditions of simple Marāṭhī poetry and invented new patterns of content

and prosody. Prominent among them are Madhav Tryambak Patvardhan *alias* Madhav Juliyan and Yashvant Dinkar Pendharkar *alias* Yashvant.

Oriya. For a century from 1751, Oṛiyā literature followed the path laid down by the poets of the first half of the 18th century, who in turn drew inspiration from the later Sanskrit *kāvyas*. The *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata* and *Bhagavad-Gītā* were the invariable sources of material. The earlier ornate style, based on a play of words, yielded place to melodious Vaiṣṇavite poetry with its skillful treatment of human emotions. Typical of the period are *Bidagdha Cintāmaṇi* of Abhimanyu Sāmanta Siṁhārā (1757–1807) and *Campū* of Kavisurya Baldeva Rath (1789–1845). A departure from the literary practice of the day appears in *Catura Vinoda*, a humorous prose work, *Samara Taraṅga*, a war poem by Brajanātha Badajenā (1730–1800), and the lyrics of the blind saint Bhima Bhoi (1855–95), who recorded the tenets of Mahimā Dharma, a form of 19th century Buddhism.

In the middle of the 19th century, contact with the West through English education brought about a radical change in Oṛiyā literature. Radhanath Ray (1849–1908), the father of Oṛiyā poetry, made full use of ideas imbibed from western literature. His *Cilikā* has made him immortal as a nature poet. His *Mahāyātrā*, written in blank verse, reveals the influence of Virgil, Dante and Milton. Another product of liberal education was Madhusudan Rao (1853–1912), founder of the Brahmo movement in Orissa. His works, which breathe the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, have remained for over seven decades models for students of literature. A third luminary was Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843–1918), who developed Oṛiyā prose and gave a faithful account of rural life. In the realm of folk literature, he was followed by Nand Kishor Bala and by Gopala Chandra Praharaja, who distinguished himself further by producing the monumental *Bhāṣā Koṣa*, a multi-lingual dictionary. The two brothers, Ramasankara Ray and Gaurisankara Ray, were pioneers in drama, fiction and journalism. Visvanatha Kara and Nilamani Vidyaratna gave stimulus to literary effort through their magazines.

Madhusudana Das (1848–1934) did not write much but he was the founder of the Utkal Union Conference of 1903, and a song he composed on the Oṛiyā movement is on the lips of millions even today—it has earned him a niche in the literary history of Orissa. The Satyavādī group of writers are the product of the nationalist movement of the early 20th century. They are outstanding both for public activities and literary work. During 1901–20, *Kāvya* writers like Gangadhara Meher and Chintamani Mahanti, many lyricists, story writers, dramatists, essayists and critics further enriched Oṛiya literature.

After 1921, Oṛiyā literature was strongly influenced by Gandhian philosophy and the ideas and techinques of Rabindranath Tagore. In the field of research the *Prāchī Samiti* has rendered signal service by bringing to

light a number of ancient works, which they have reissued with scholarly introductions.

Since 1937 Oṛiyā literature has made rapid strides by absorbing the literary trends in other Indian states as also by contact with world thought. The outlook of novelists, short story writers and playwrights has widened considerably. They expose social evils. They take great interest in politics, social science, psychology and psycho-analysis. Scientific discoveries are a subject of frequent discussion. Men and society in their stark reality find expression in literature. In poetry, the traditional techniques have rapidly vanished and a new one has appeared. Certain novelists have centred their attention on tribal life.

Panjabi. Panjābī poetry has a long history and each verse-form has a tradition o its own. The latest period may be said to open with the *Hīr Rāṅjhā* of Wāris Shāh (1766) which has been recognised as a classic. The earlist specimens of prose in Panjābī are *janam sākhīs* (biographies of *Gurus*), *bacans* (sayings) and *parmāraths* (commentaries on scriptures). *Giān Ratnāvalī* by Bhāi Maṇi Singh (*d.* 1737), *Prem Sumārg*, said to have been written by Guru Govind Singh (1666–1708), *Pāras Bhāg* by Addan Shāh (18th century) and *Sikhān De Rāj Dī Vithiā* by Shardha Ram (19th century are the only important works representing the development of prose.

Modern Panjābī literature begins with the establishment of the Christian mission at Ludhiāna which set up the first printing press in the Punjab, cast Gurmukhī type and started the first Panjābī newspaper. A Panjābī grammar was issued in 1838. Rev. J. Newton was entrusted with the task of preparing a dictionary of the Panjābī language, which was published in 1854. However, it took many years to recover from the effects of the political change that had come over the country and to assess western values at their true worth. The first reaction had been to cooperate with the English rulers. The photagonists of this view eschewed political activity and confined themselves to cultural and educational matters. The result was the birth of the Singh Sabhā Movement.

Bhai Vir Singh (1872–1957), rightly called the father of modern Panjābī literature, has been generally regarded as the best product of the Singh Sabhā Movement. His novels *Sundarī*, *Vijay Singh* and *Bābā Naudh Singh*, celebrated the chivalry of the Sikhs and the excellence of their religion. To the reader of today these appear somewhat insipid; their place is not in literature but in history. Bhai Vir Singh's long poem, *Rāṇā Sūrat Singh*, appeared in 1905 and was the first successful attempt at blank verse in Panjābī. Another poet who followed the same literary style was Puran Singh (1882–1932)—he introduced free verse into Panjābī. A notable contemporary of Bhai Vir Singh was Dhani Ram Chatrik (1876–1954).

The rising tempo of Indian nationalism, represented in the Punjab by the Ghadar, Akālī and Communist movements, lent a new colour and

tone to Panjābī literature. The stress was shifted from the religious and the cultural to the national and the political. Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir and Hira Singh Dard caught this spirit and expressed in their poetry the inner urge of the people. With Mohan Singh (*b.* 1905) and Amrita Pritam, Panjābī poetry grew more progressive. To quote the words of Harbans Singh; "Their work is characterised by a steadily growing intellectual consciousness, but it reveals at the same time a vehemently imaginative insight." Other important poets of this tradition are Bawa Balwant, Santokh Singh Dhir, Takht Singh, Harbhajan Singh and Prabhjot Kaur. Pritam Singh Safir stands apart from this group on account of his highly involved subjective approach. Neki and Misha too are traversing new ground.

In the domain of fiction, Nanak Singh and Jaswant Singh Kanwal are very popular. Narindarpal Singh has broken fresh ground in his historical novels. Amrita Pritam and Kartar Singh Duggal, Surindar Singh Narula and Sethi are trying to take the novel out of old grooves. Sant Singh Sekhon, Duggal and Kulwant Singh Virk are the leading short story writers. In the field of drama, I.C. Nanda blazed the trail, with Sekhon and Balwant Gargi following in the next generation with a higher standard of excellence. Harcharan Singh, R.L. Ahuja and G.S. Phul are some other playwrights of note.

Gurbakhsh Singh has considerably enriched the Panjābī prose through his books and his magazine *Preet Laḍī*. Puran Singh, Teja Singh and Kamla Akali are some other builders of Panjābī prose. Sant Singh Sekhon is the leading figure in literary criticism, but Gopal Singh Dardi, Kirpal Singh Kasel and Attar Singh have also achieved eminence in this field. G.B. Singh and Pritam Singh have done original research in tracing the origin and development of the Gurmukhī script. Mohan Singh has written the first scientific history of Panjābī literature.

Journalism has also played a distinguished role in the development of Panjābī literature. The *Pañja Daryā*, the *Panjābī Duniā*, the *Ārsī*, the *Ālocnā* and *Sāhitya Samācāra* are the leading literary journals. Panjābī Sahitya Akademi, Ludhiāna, and Kendri Panjābī Lekhaka Sabhā, Jullundur, are working in their own way for Panjābī. The establishment of the Panjābī University is expected to prove an important step towards the promotion of Panjābī literature.

Sindhī. Sindhī literature started with poetry. The earliest poems that the Sindhīs have been able to lay their hands upon date back to the 14th century A.D., and they are seven *bayts* of Mamoi saints predicting the future of Sind. Then there are a few *bayts* by Qāḍī Qāḍan (*d.*A.D. 1551). The 16th century produced a great *Ṣūfī* poet—Shāh 'Abdul Karim (1536–1622).

Towards the end of the 17th century, Sind produced its greatest poet—Shāh 'Abdul Latīf (1689–1752). The subtle *Ṣūfī* thoughts, Sindhī folk tales,

characterization, graphic description of scenes and beauties of language combine to give him a pre-eminent place in Sindhī literature. He introduced *Wāī*, a form of *Kāfī* in Sindhī poetry.

By the time Shāh died, Abdul Wahhab (1739–1826), better known as Sachal, was already thirteen. He composed over one lakh verses and was second of the well-known trinity of Sindhī poets, the first being Shāh and the last Sami. Bhai Chainrai (1743–1850), popularly known as Sami, was the first known Hindu Vedantic poet of Sind who has to his credit nearly 15,000 verses in the form of *ślokas*. Among the Hindu *Ṣūfīs* Bhai Dalpatram (1769–1841) stands unsurpassed. Rohal, a disciple of the martyred *Ṣūfī* Shāh 'Ināyat (*d.* 1718), was both a *Ṣūfī* and Vedantic poet. He wrote *Bhakti Rasa* poetry in Hindī in addition to Sindhī and Sarāikī. Both Abdul Qadir Baksh 'Bedil' (1814–72) and his son Muhammad Muhsin 'Bekas' (1859–81) were *Ṣūfī* poets of high order. The former was a profilic writer who has no less than eighteen Sindhī and Persian books of both prose and poetry to his credit. He wrote copiously on mystic and spiritual subjects.

Although Sindhī poetry started with *dohās, sorathās* etc., it could not escape the influence of Persian poetry in form and thought for long. *Ghazal* was introduced in early 18th century and was soon followed by *rubā'ī, qaṣīdā, mathnawī* etc. The subject matter too changed from mysticism to romanticism and revolved round *gul-wa-bulbul* and *sham'-wa-parwānah*. Khalifo Gul Mohammad 'Gul' (1809–1856) was the first Sindhī poet to have composed a *Dīwān*. Among others who followed him in this field the most famous were Mulla Mohammad Qasim (1806–1881), Hidayat Ali 'Najafi', Sayyid Mohammad Fazil (1836–1900), Diwan Lilaramsing Khaki, Sayyid Ghulam Mohammad Shāh 'Gada' (1826-1904), Mīr Abdul Hussain 'Sangi' (1850–1924), Shams-ud-din 'Bulbul', Mirza Qalich Beg (1853–1929), Muhammad Bakhsh 'Wasif' (*b.* 1892), Hayat Shah 'Hafiz' and Lekhraj 'Aziz'. Thabit Ali Shah (1740–1810)—elegy writer, Hafiz Haji 'Hamid' 1832–1897)—composer of poems based on Sindhī folk tales and Muhammad Hashim 'Mukhlis' —satirist, are those who contributed materially to the development of Sindhī poetry. Faqir Sadiq, Mir Janullah Shah, Ramzan, Manthar, Misri Shah and Dharamdas are some of the well-known *Kāfī* writers of the last two centuries. Specific mention may here be made of Kishinchand 'Bewas' (1885–1947) who composed bulk of his poems on Nature and other subjects as against the traditional love-lyrics. The present century marked a further development in forms—blank verse made its appearance in the third decade and was soon followed by sonnet and triolet.

Sindhī prose is comparatively of recent growth. The earliest prose writing is said to be the Sindhī translation of *Qurān Sharīf* by Akhund Azīzullah in A.D. 1746, followed by the translation of the Gospel of St. Mathews in 1825. Thereafter, some more books on Christianity were published. The British conquered Sind in 1843 and their contribution to the development

of Sindhi literature has been remarkable inasmuch as not less than 15 books (including 4 of grammars and 5 dictionaries) were published by them before the 19th century was over.

Sindhi had no fixed script before the middle of the 19th century. After the British conquest, it was decided in 1853 to have Arabic characters for Sindhi. An alphabet of 52 letters was adopted and a sum of ten thousand rupees sanctioned for publication of Sindhi books in that script. In a year's time, about 10 books (text-books and others translated from other languages) were published. This was followed by a large number of translations from the English classics. Several dictionaries and grammars—prominent among them being *Sindhi Sarf Ain Naḥwu* by Miyan Mohammad and Pribhdas Anandram (1860), *English-Sindhi Dictionary* by Lakshman Vishnu Paranjpye (1868) and *Sindhi Vyutpatti Koṣa* by Jhamatmal Narumal (1886)—were published. Between 1864–70, Diwan Kewalram Salamatrai wrote *Sookhri Gālhyun Ji, Gul and Gul Shakar* (1905), Parmanand Mewaram's *Sindhi-English* (1910) and *English-Sindhi* (1933) dictionaries. Besides, books on religion, folk-tales of Sind, art, science, biography, history, geography and arithmetic were also published. Some of the distinguished writers who enriched Sindhi prose were Munshi Udhoram, Munshi Pribhdas, Diwan Lilaramsingh Lalwani, Kauromal Khilnani, Dayaram Gidumal and Mirza Qalich Beg who has about 300 books to his credit.

Playwriting in Sindhi commenced at the end of the last century. Mirza Qalich Beg made a start by writing *Lailā Majnūn* (1880) followed by *Khurshed* (1887) and *Śakuntalā* (1896). R.B. Kauromal translated King Harṣa's Sanskrit drama *Ratnāvali* (1888) into Sindhi. Mirza Qalich Beg translated most of Shakespeare's dramas in the first decade of the present century while Thakurdas Nagrani, Bherumal Mehrchand, Jetmal Parsaram, Bhag Singh Advani and Usman Ali Ansari also translated some of Shakespeare's dramas. Other European dramatists, such as Ibsen, Sheridan etc., were introduced to the Sindhis by Nanikram Mirchandani, Shewa Singh Ajwani and Khanchand Daryani. Daryani wrote a large number of original dramas as well—the popular among them being *Gulāb-jo-gul* (1920), *Zamindāri Zulum* (1928), *Ratnā* (1924), *Zamāne ji Lahar* (1929) and *Bukh jo Shikār* (1932). Kishinchand 'Bewas' too tried his hand at playwriting in poetic style. Lilaram Makhijani wrote many original plays including *Nat Sujāgi* (1937). M.U. Malkani has many original dramas and one-act plays to his credit. Ahmed Chagla, Udharam Jhangiani and Lekhraj 'Aziz' have also enriched Sindhi drama.

Sindhi novel had a humble beginning. It started with translations from other languages. Works of Sarat Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore, Munshi Prem Chand, Krishan Chandra etc., were translated in Sindhi. Jagat Advani was responsible for most of the translations.

Many original novels in Sindhi were also published. Mirza Qalich Beg's *Dilārām* (1888) and *Zeenat* (1890) and Pritamdas Hakumatrai's *Ajib*

Bhet (1892) belong to the last two decades of the 19th century. Lalchand Amardinomal's *Choth jo Chand* (1905), Bherumal's *Ānand Sundrikā* (1910) and *Mohinī Bai* (1917), Dr. Gurubkhani's historical novel *Nūr Jahān* (1915), Abdul Razzaq's *Jahān Ārā* (1931), Nirmaldas Fatehchand's *Dalūrai jī Nagarī* (1944) rank among some of the best novels of early 20th century. Shewak Bhojraj's *Āshīrvād* (1933) and *Dādā Shyām* (1934), Assanand Mamtora's *Shāir* (1941), Guli Kripalani's *Itḥād* (1941), Ram Panjwani's *Qaidī* (1943) and *Latīfā* (1945) and Naraindas Bhambhani's *Mālhin* (1942) and *Vidhvā* (1943) are some of the popular original novels belonging to this century.

The short story, in its beginnings, dealt mostly with religious themes and emphasized moral values. With the establishment of Sindhī Sāhitya Society in 1914, it took rapid strides. Lalchand wrote *Ḥūr-Makhi-a-jā* (1914) and *Kishinī-a-jo Kasht* (1917) on social and historical subjects. Bherumals' *Prem-jo-Mahātam* (1914) threw light on family life and Nirmaldas Fatehchand's *Sarojinī* had Hindu-Muslim unity as its theme. Nanikram Mirchandani's *Dharamrāi-jī-Vahī* (1915) and *Jīwat-jo-Jas* (1915), Jethmal's *Chamrā posh joon Ākhānyoon* (1923), Amarlal Hingorani's *Ado 'Abdul Rahmān* (1930) and Usman Ali Ansari's *Panj* (1937) also occupy an important place in this field.

The freedom movement after the World War II and Mahatma Gandhi's Quit India Movement too had their impact on Sindhī short story which depicted the tyranny of the British rule. Popular among such short stories are Uttam's *Shikast* (1944), Kirat Babani's *Āzādī-a-jo-Sad*, Gobind Malhi's *Gham-jī-Kahānī*, Lachhman Rajpal's *Qaumī Sipāhī* and Shaikh Ayaz's *Safed Vahshī* (1947).

The early essayists in Sindhī were Mirza Qalich Beg, Kauromal Chandanmal and Kewalram Salamatrai. Dayaram Gidumal, Sadhu Hiranand, Parmanand Mewaram, Jethmal, Lalchand, Bherumal and Wadhumal Gangaram wrote essays on religious, philosophical, literary, patriotic, *Ṣūfī* and social subjects. Naraindas Malkani, Lekhraj Aziz, Tirth Basant, Haru Sadarangani and Chetan Mariwalla are other well-known essay writers.

Literary criticism is the product of late 19th century. Fazil Shah's *Mizanush-Shar* (1875), Hotchand Gurbukhani's *Muqaddamah Latīfī* (1923), Khalil's *Ilm-e-Uruz*, Hakim Fath Mohammad Sewhani's *Āftāb-e-Adab*, Agha Ghulam Nabi's *Sachal Sarmast* (1933), Muhammad Siddiq Memon's *Sindhī Adab jī Tārīkh* (1937), Daud Pota's *Shah Karīm* (1937), Bherumal's *Sindhī Boli-a-jī Tārīkh*, (1941) Lutfullah's *Tadhkirah Lutfī* (1943), Naraindas Bhambhani's *Shāh joon Sūrmyoon* (1944) and Lekhraj Aziz's *Gul-wa-Khār* are some of the notable contributions to this branch of Sindhī prose.

Tamil. At the end of the 17th and during the 18th century, attempts at synthesizing earlier philosophical and grammatical works crystallized

in the form of original works such as *Pirayoga Vivekam*, *Ilakkaṇak-kottu*, *Ilakkaṇa Vilakkam*, and commentaries on grammar such as Śivajñāna Svāmigal's *Pāyira Virutti* and *Cūttira Virutti* and monumental commentaries by Velliyambala-t-tambirān and Śivajñāna Svāmigal on works of philosophy. Christians also entered the field of controversy and wrote excellent prose works. In the 18th century Constantinus Beschi (1680–1746) composed *Tembavani* (1724), an epic on the life of St. Joseph. His *Aviveka Pūrṇa Guru Kathai*, noted for its simple style and satire, paved the way for the short story of the Tamil land. The eclectic school of philosophy—*samarasa*—was responsible for the great works *Aviroda Untiyār* and *'Oṭuvilolukkam* for which Cidambara Svāmigaḷ wrote commentaries in simple and charming prose. The translation of the *Bible* also began.

In the 19th century, *Terukkūttu* or street drama was written by scholars like Ramaccandira Kavirayar. Mythological subjects were rendered in musical *kīrttanais* in the form of drama as in the case of *Rāmanāṭakakīrttanai* or in the form of stories recited in popular expositions called *kālakṣepam*. A Tamil college was established within Fort St. George for publishing ancient classics as well as new works. *Pañcatandiram* in prose by Tandavaraya Mudaliyar, and *Vinotaracamañjarī*, a collection of essays by Viraswami Chettiyar may be mentioned in this context. The number of schools and colleges increased and more and more books came to be published. Attempts were made to project the language to the world at large through English by R. Caldwell (*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*) and G.M. Pope (translation of *Kuṛaḷ*, *Nālaḍiyār* and *Tiruvācakam*). The classics were rescued and published by Damodaram Pillai and D. Swaminatha Aiyar. Contact with the West resulted in the production of plays and novels. *Pratāpa Mudaliyar Caritram* by Vedanayakam Pillai (1824–89) is the first novel in Tamil. Poetry continued to revel in the Purāṇas. The work of Minaksisundaram Pillai is notable. In eclectic philosophy one finds the mystic and simple voice of the universal poet-saint Ramalinga Swamigal (1823–74); he also wrote prose of epic grandeur. Arumuka Navalar (1822–76) with his colourful writing, became the father of modern prose.

The 20th century kept up the old strain but English education made more and more scholars turn to research and creative writing in Tamil. P. Sundaram Pillai's (1855–97) *Manonmaṇīyam*, a drama in verse, is very popular. Rajamaiyar's novel *Kamalambal Carittiram* is noted for characterization and local colour. Maraimalai Adigal wrote in sweet and simple prose, scrupulously avoiding Sanskrit words. Journalism, which started in the 19th century, came close to real literature under Tiru-vi-ka (V. Kalyana Sundaram). Subrahmanya Bharati (1882–1921), the great national poet created a new rhythm and style. The modern short story starts with V.V.S. Iyer and becomes well established in the writings of Pudumai-p-pittan. The historical novels of R. Krishnamurti

'Kalki' and the social novels with a purpose of M. Varadarajan may also be mentioned.

The dawn of independence has given a new life to Tamil writing. Dramas depicting the glories of kings like Rājarāja the Great and patriot-chieftains who raised the standard of revolt are popular. Radio-play is a recent development. The *Tamil Encyclopaedia* is a monumental achievement. Rajagopalachari has reinterpreted to the common man, in simple prose, the message of the Upaniṣads, the *Gītā*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, Nammalvar, Tirumular and Ramakrishna Paramhansa. Essays—literary, historical and scientific—are being published.

Telugu. Chinnaya Suri (1808–62) and Kandukuri Viresalingam (1848–1919) are the two stalwarts who inaugurated the modern period in Telugu language and literature. While Chinnaya's contribution is confined mainly to the preparation of a comprehensive grammar and laying the foundations of Telugu prose in its present form, there is practically no branch of literature on which the influence of Viresalingam is not felt even today. Though primarily a religious and social reformer, his literary output was rich and varied. His was the first novel in Telugu, the first play, the first research thesis on the lives of Telugu poets, the first autobiography and the first book on popular science. Using his pen as an effective weapon in his relentless struggle against ignorance and superstition, he made the prose of Chinnaya evolve into a more flexible and powerful medium.

Outstanding among Viresalingam's younger contemporaries were Chilakamarti Lakshminarasinham, Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, Dharmavaram Krishnamacharlu, Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti, Gurajada Appa Rao, the twin poets Tirupati Sastri and Venkata Sastri, C.R. Reddy, K.V. Lakshmana Rao and Panuganti Lakshminarasimha Rao. Some of them were pioneers, each in his own way. Ramamurti championed the cause of spoken Telugu, while his friend Appa Rao wrote a remarkable play, *Kanyāśulkam*, which proved that "the gulf between the language of the pen and the language of the tongue" could and should be bridged. Appa Rao was an innovator in two other fields also. Drawing his inspiration from folk songs, he introduced a new metre into Telugu verse called *mutyālasaram* or garland of pearls—this brought to his poetry the limpidness and charm of his prose. His other achievement was the writing of the first collection of short stories in Telugu in their modern form.

Different and yet significant is the contribution of C.R. Reddy. His *Musalamma Maraṇam* was a bold experiment in the selection of a new kind of subject for poetry, contrary to the conventions of the past, while his *Kavitva Tattva Vicāram* was the first long essay in modern literary criticism. He was also the first writer on economics in Telugu. Of equal importance is the work of Lakshmana Rao, who initiated historical research in Andhra. His books on Indian history are models of critical analysis and lucid exposition.

Strictly speaking, the twin poets Tirupati Sastri and Venkata Sastri may not be regarded as pioneers, but their influence is widespread and abiding. With their impressive flair for extempore versification they brought literature to the popular stage and to the market-place.

By this time Tleugu literature was a wide stream, receiving new waters along its course, and gaining in width as well as depth. The list of those who contributed to its progress is a long one, but among the poets of this middle period mention may be made of Rayaprolu Subbarao, the first romanticist in Telugu poetry, Krishna Sastri, a superb lyricist, Viswanatha Satyanarayana, a prolific writer of uneven merit, and Nanduri, a rare composer of songs. More or less of equal stature are Basavaraju Appa Rao, Abburi, Nayani Subbarao, Shivasankara Sastri, Vedula Satyanarayana, Bapiraju, Rami Reddi, Umar Ali Shah and G. Joshua, all of whom have struck a new and personal note and used a new idiom. Pingali Lakshmikantam and Katuri Venkakesvara Rao, neo-classicists, stand slightly apart. Prominent among those who produced poetical works on traditional lines are Sesha Sastri, Ramaswami, Etukuri and Tummala. In spite of the traditional forms which he adopted, Ramaswami was an iconoclast who challenged the old order of society and its sectarian outlook.

Prose writing also forged ahead during this period. Mutanuri Krishna Rao, the great editor of *Kṛṣṇa Patrikā*, gave it a broad sweep and a new vigour. Chinta Diksitulu and Gudipati Venkatachalam led a band of brilliant short story writers; Munimanikyam, Mokkapati and Bhamidipati established themselves as masters of the humorous story and the skit. P.V. Rajamannar published a number of first-rate one-act plays. Unnava Lakshmi Narayan produced an outstanding novel *Mālapalle*, imbued with the Gandhian spirit of revolt—the work was banned by the government of the time.

In the late thirties a great swerve was given to the even flow of modern Telugu literature by Srirangam Srinivasa Rao (Sri Sri for short). He brought a new awareness of social values to poetry. A daring innovator, his is a strident voice with no inhibitions. His influence is wide and he has many imitators, but among all his followers only his nephew Arudra merits particular mention.

Telugu has, a rich and progressing literature. Once primarily under the influence of Sanskrit, then of English and Bengālī, it is today in living contact with the main streams of world literature and has acquired a world outlook. Of late, revivalistic tendencies are coming to the fore, but these may prove to be only a passing phase. From Viresalingam to 'Sri Sri,' Telugu literature has steadily moved forward with the times.

Urdu. The origin of Urdū may be ascribed to the period of the development of modern Indo-Aryan languages, which began about A.D. 1000; and Khaḍī-Bolī, which was dominant around Delhi when the Muslims came, formed the basis of Urdū.

In A.D. 1206, when Delhi became the capital of the new Muslim empire, local dialects were in a state of flux. The Muslims quickened this change and growth. The expansion of Muslim power in northern India naturally influenced the entire Apabhraṁśa group. Many borrowed words from official Persian were incorporated probably by the Hindu employees. Mutual intercourse between the newcomers and the Indian people necessitated the use of a mixed vocabulary which could be understood by both.

This form of speech was first known by the exotic names of Hinduī, Hinduwī, Hindī, *Zabān-i-Dihlī* (the language of Delhi), *Zabān-i-Hindustān* language of Hindustān), *Zabār i-Urdū-i-Mu'allā* (the language of the exalted camp), Urdū (camp), *Rekhta* (literally, mixing several things to produce something new), Indostān and Hindustānī. Thus, as a result of Muslim settlement, a new language with varying names but with a common morphology appeared in all the cities of the upper Gaṅgā Doāb for everyday use. Amīr Khusraw of Delhi (A.D. 1253–1325) was the first to employ consciously and proudly the racy indigenous Urdū or *Zabān-i-Dihlī* for literary purpose. Its use by the *Ṣūfīs* took the language of Dvlhi to the Deccan and gave it a new home. Under the patronage of Bahmani (A.D. 1347–1538), Golconda (1512–1687) and Bijapur (A.D. 1510–1686) rulers, Urdū became a literary as well as popular language in the Deccan and absorbed distinct local influences. In the North, Urdū literature came into full blossom during the period of political decadence in the early 18th century, when Persian lost ground. Distinguished poets like the mystics Mirẓā Jān-i- Jānān Mazhar (A.D. 1699–1781) and Khwājah Mīr Dard (A.D. 1720–84), the social satirist Muḥammad Rafī' Saudā (A.D. 1713–80), the lyricist Mīr Taqī Mīr and the *mathnawī* writer Mīr Haṣan (A.D. 1727–86) raised the Urdū language and its poetry to near perfection and set standards for posterity in *ghazal* (lyrical poem composed of self-contained couplets with a single metre and mood), *qasīdā* (panegyric) and *mathnawī* (a long amorous or mystical narrative poem). Muhammad Nazir (A.D. 1740–1830) portrayed in his poems the life and feelings of the people. Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (A.D. 1796–1869) sang of life in all its phases, and was perhaps the most cosmopolitan and original poet in Urdū. *Mushā'i-rahs* or symposiums, in which poets recited their verses before a cultured and critical audience, also gave great impetus to Urdū.

In the reign of Shāh 'Ālam many notable poets migrated to Ouadh. The Urdū which developed here tended to be ornate, a deliberate stylization which was also a kind of sterilization of experience. Much, however, was done to refine the language. Mir Babar Ali Anis (1802–74), who excelled in the art of writing *marthiās* (elegies), is noted for the chastity and effortless charm of his style.

The upheaval of 1857 and its failure not only changed the map of India

but also Urdū literary standards. Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914), the harbinger of the modern movement in Urdū, worte on subjects such as hope, justice and patriotism, and thereby represented a conscious new trend in Urdū poetry.

Urdū poetry has been responsive to all stages of national historical development. It embodied the national aspirations in the poems of Brij Narain Chakbast (1882-1926), Durga Sahai Suroor (*d.* 1910), Hasrat Mohani (*d.* 1951), Muhammad Ali Jauhar (*d.* 1931) and others. Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938) discussed contemporary problems, cultural conflicts and social turmoils in the *ghazal*, which was originally meant only as a vehicle for lyrical and philosophic themes.

The period 1936-1946 was one of revolt and experimentation. A new direction was given to old poetic forms and many new forms were attempted in order to develop social consciousness through literature.

The Urdū poet of today tries to catch the vision of a new India with a wide range of reference. The contemporary school of Urdū poetry is stimulating and humane and is full of life and charm. It preserves and develops the tradition of liberalism, initiated by Mir and Ghalib.

The development of Urdū prose has been slower than that of poetry, and needed the stimulus of western education to give it vitality and force. The *munshīs* of Fort William College (founded in 1800) tried to attain a style familiar but not coarse. Ghalib's letters are in a style both natural and fascinating. But a new tradition of plain and matter-of-fact prose was created by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898). Contemporary writers are producing prose of all kinds—journalism, essays, criticism, scientific works, lectures and addresses, edited texts, novels, short stories, radio features, religious literature, pen-portraits, reportage and humorous writings. Among the present-day Urdū writers, the names of Krishan Chander, Sajjad Zaheer, Ismat Chughtai, U. N. Ashk, K. A. Abbas, Firaq Gorakhpuri, Tarlok Chand Mahrum, Arsh Malsiani, Josh Malihabadi and Sahir Ludhianavi deserve mention.

Sanskrit. The learned traditions of Sanskrit continued in the beginning of the 18th century under the patronage of numerous small principalities spread all over the country. Commentaries produced during this period have a secure place in the curriculum of studies in their respective branches, for instance, in grammar the works of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa and Vāsudeva's commentary *Bālamanoramā* on the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. It is to Upaniṣad Brahmayogin of Kāñchī in the 19th century that we owe the systematic commentaries on the 108 Upaniṣads. Serfoji (1800-32) of Thanjāvūr, who organized also the Sarasvatī Mahal Library there, Svati Tirunal (1812-47) of Trivandrum, poet and music composer, and Nanjaraja of Mysore gatherd around them a large number of Sanskrit writers. The *maṭhas* of *Advaita Viśiṣṭādvaita* and *Dvaita* persuasions in Mysore and the Tamil region

fostered the growth of philosophical dialectical works. In Andhra, the *zamīndārs* and Brāhmaṇa landlords kept up Sanskrit activity. All over western and central India, wherever the Marāṭhās were in power, Sanskrit was actively cultivated. So it was also in the princely states of Rājputānā. In Kashmir, the historic home of Sanskrit, Maharaja Ranbir Singh used Sanskrit in administration and brought into being a great number of new Sanskrit works, including translations from Persian. Vārānasi continued during this period not only to maintain its hoary tradition of Sanskrit learning but played the role of the most important venue of new Sanskrit activity through the establishment of the Sanskrit College by the British rulers in 1792. Mithilā and Navadvīpa sustained their activities in *Navya-nyāya* and Dharmaśāstra; Navadvīpa had its devotional poetry also. It was in Bengal that modern legal compilations such as *Vivādārṇavasetu* and *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava* were compiled by Sanskrit pundits to help British administrators; the seeds for the modern study of Sanskrit were also sown in Bengal. Two monumental productions of Bengal in the 19th century are the lexicon-cum-thesaurus *Śabdakalpadruma* of Radhakanta Deb (1784–1867) and the *Vācaspatya* of Taranath Tarkavacaspati.

Sanskrit literature produced in this period covers all branches, not excepting the Vedas. Dhira Govinda Sharman (19th century) wrote the *Atharvan-rahasya* on the *Atharva Veda*. Medical and veterinary works, histories of local chiefs, and biographies of scholars and merchants were written; a Sanskrit lexicon of Persian administrative terms called *Yavanaparipāṭī-anukrama* by Dalapatirāya (1764) was produced. It may be noted that there were also some women writers in Sanskrit.

Although at first, unmindful of indigenous education, English-educated Indian scholars like Rammohun Roy as well as Englishmen like Macaulay were opposed to continuing Sanskrit education, the British eventually started Sanskrit Colleges in Vārānasi, Calcutta and Poona. Their main purpose was to endear themselves to Indians and create a body of scholars helpful in the country's administration. Meantime, the so-called 'discovery of Sanskrit' by Sir William Jones and the translation of *Śākuntala* and the *Gītā* by him and Wilkins led to a rapid growth of interest in Sanskrit studies among Europeans and Americans. Several princely states also established Sanskrit colleges and a series of Sanskrit publications. All over the country, the government instituted surveys and collected Sanskrit manuscripts. Sanskrit gradually became part of the general school and university curriculum. An intensive study of the difficult Śāstras along traditional lines in Sanskrit colleges and a critical and historical study in the universities helped to revitalize the language in the modern period.

Writers in Sanskrit did not fail to take note of the new turns in history with the advent of the Europeans. On the eve of this period, the *Ānanda-raṅgavijaya-campū* of Śrīnivāsa Kavi (1752) and the *Sarvamānya-campū* of Rāmacandra described the political conflicts of Chanda Saheb, the

French, the English, and others in the South. Another *campū*, the *Sarvadevavilāsa* (c. 1800), described the city of Madras as it was growing under the British. On the consolidation of British power over the whole country, certain distinct literary trends were witnessed in the field of Sanskrit. On the occasion of the Delhi Durbar, poems and plays were produced on the British rulers—Queen Victoria, Edward VII, George V and Mary. Warren Hastings collected Sanskrit eulogies from pundits in defence against his impeachment. The best works in this class of composition were the historical accounts upto the founding of the Indian empire: *e.g.* *Aṅgrejacandrikā* by Vinayaka Bhatta (1801), *Itihāsatamomaṇi*, *Rājāṅgala-mahodyāna* (1894) and *Āṅglarāmarājya*. At Calcutta, Vārānasi and elsewhere, English grammars in Sanskrit were written,—*Iṅglāṇḍīya-vyākāraṇasāra* and *Iṅglāṇḍīya-bhāṣā-vyākaraṇa* (1847). This trend continued through the first World War, which was the subject of Bukkapattanam Srinivasacharya's *Āṅgla-Jārmānī-yuddhavivaraṇa* to the abdication of Edward VIII (*Yaduvṛddha-sauhārda* (1937), by A. Gopala Iyengar. One of the main motives for Sanskrit study by missionaries and pious Christians was to make use of it for the propagation of Christianity among Indians; as part of the endeavour in this direction, some twenty-five Sanskrit versions of the *Bible* or parts of it or of Christian theology were produced from Serampore and Calcutta. The orthodox pundits reacted unfavourably to the social changes and produced a continuous polemic literature in Sanskrit, from the earliest to recent times, against the un-śāstraic nature of sea voyage, widow-remarriage and post-puberty marriage. Finally, thanks to the study of English literature, and through English other European literatures, new development came upon this ancient language which began to take to new forms and themes and methods of treatment.

The last category starts with translations of European classics, noteworthy among these being Sanskrit renderings of Shakespeare, which were some of the earliest of the Indian translations, and scientific and philosophical treatises. While essays, biographies, travelogues and other literary forms were attempted in Sanskrit, it may be said that the most prolific was the minor poem and the short lyric, as also the one-act play and the short story. This new endeavour in Sanskrit had for its medium Sanskrit journals and literary periodicals which were started in different parts of India. Sanskrit journalism has persisted and lived through to the present times when weeklies e.g. *Saṁskṛta Bhavitavyam* from Nagpur and even a daily was attempted in Sanskrit from Poona.

Of still greater significance is the impact of the national awakening in the country on Sanskrit scholars and writers. With the fresh critical and historical evaluation of Sanskrit and Indian culture of which it was the vehicle, modern Indians came to have a definite self-image which acted as an inspiration in the great national upsurge that was sweeping the country. Many patriotic poems were sung by Sanskrit poets. Progressive

and constructive Sanskritists wrote even new comprehensive codes or Smṛtis embodying modern and scientific ideas (*e.g. Mānava Dharma Sāra* by Bhagavan Das and *Viśveśvara Smṛti* by V.N. Reu). Of the new movements, the Ārya Samāj gave an impetus to Sanskrit study and writing; the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement to the study and interpretation of the Upaniṣads, *Advaitavedānta*, *Yoga* and *Bhakti;* Rabindranath Tagore created a deeper appreciation of Sanskrit poetry, and Sri Aurobindo of Kālidāsa and the Vedas. In the galaxy of the fighters for the country's freedom was Balagangadhar Tilak, an eminent Sanskrit scholar, who gave, besides researches on the Vedas, his interpretation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* as a gospel of *Karma-yoga.* In fact, thanks to this and the work of Annie Besant and later of Mahatma Gandhi, the *Gītā* became the greatest spiritual book for modern India. While there were many Sanskrit biographies and poems on national leaders and events in the national struggle, it was the personality of Mahatma Gandhi that was responsible for the most conspicuous Sanskrit writings of this class, *e.g.*, the epic *Bhāratapārijāta* by Swami Bhagavad Acharya and *Satyāgraha* and *Svarājya Gītā* by Kshama Rao, who also wrote poems on medieval saints and short stories with contemporary social themes.

The growth in the regional languages and literatures—the spoken tongues—has had its share in infusing new life and activity into Sanskrit. Apart from well-known old classics like the *Kuṛal* in Tamil, which were rendered into Sanskrit, distinguished modern writers in the regional languages such as Tagore have also been translated by Sanskrit writers. Even Urdū poetic forms and metres have been adopted by Sanskrit poets—Mathuranatha Sastri for instance. All this goes to show that, as in the past, in modern times too, Sanskrit has been alive to impacts and ready to assimilate and enrich itself.

English. Foremost among the pioneers of Indo-Anglian literature stands Raja Rammohun Roy (1772–1833) a master of effective prose in English. The first to deserve mention among Indo-Anglian poets are Henry louis Vivian Derozio (1809–31), Kashiprosad Ghose (1809–73), Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1827–73) and the sisters Aru and Toru Dutt (1856–77). Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848–1909) is now mainly remembered as the verse translator of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in the 'Locksley Hall' metre.

Manomohan Ghose's (1867–1924) earliest verse appeared, along with that of Laurence Binyon, Stephen Phillips and Arthur Cripps, in *Primavera* (1890). His mature work is contained in *Love Songs and Elegies* (1898) and in the posthumous volume *Songs of Life and Death* (1926). *Immortal Eve* and *Orphic Mysteries* marked the height of his achievement as a poet in English.

Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950), the younger brother of Manomohan, is unquestionably the most outstanding of the Indo-Anglian writers. His *Col-*

lected Poems and Plays came out in 2 volumes in 1942. His poetic *magnum opus* is *Sāvitrī* (1954), an all but complete epic in 24,000 lines. Of his prose writings, the most impressive is *The Life Divine* (1939–40), which outlines his metaphysics in language of marvellous purity and sonorous richness.

Essentially a Bengālī litterateur, Rabindranath Tagore's affiliations to Indo-Anglian literature are hardly less important. *Gītāñjali, The Gardener* and *The Crescent Moon*, though originally in Bengālī, could be regarded as fresh creations in English. Some of Tagore's prose works—*Sādhanā* (1913), *Personality* (1917), *The Religion of Man* (1932)—were also originally written in English. Poet, dramatist, novelist, actor, musician, painter, patriot, educationist, Tagore is the image of the 'universal man'.

Sarojini Naidu's (1879–1949) *The Golden Threshold* (1905), *The Bird of Time* (1912) and *The Broken Wing* (1917) and the posthumously published *The Feather of the Dawn* (1961) excel in rendering familiar things with a touch of colour and romance. Her brother, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, is a prolific writer but not a poet of very high order.

The poets of today come under various groups. There are the lyricists of the spirit: the Aurobindonians—K.D. Sethna, Dilip Kumar Roy, Nirodbaran; there are the traditionalists—Fredoon Kabraji, Armando Menezes, J. Vijayatunga; there are the experimenters and rebels—Manjeri Isvaran, P.R. Kaikini; there are the 'new' poets—Nissim Ezekiel, Dom Moraes, P. Lal, K. Raghavendra Rao, Mary Erulker and A.K. Ramanujan. Compared to Indo-Anglian poetry, Indo-Anglian drama seems to be almost insignificant. Since the nineteen twenties and thirties, however, Indo-Anglian fiction has won a niche for itself in contemporary literature. Jogendra Singh and A. Madhaviah have given us a few novels each. K.S. Venkataramani's *Murugan the Tiller* (1927) and *Kandan the Patriot* (1932) are alike distinguished by their idealism, variety and richness of characterization as also by the quality of their writing. Shanker Ram's *Love of Dust* takes us to the South Indian village where tradition, although weakened, still uneasily rules men's hearts. K. Nagarajan's *Athawar House* and *Chronicles of Kedaram* (1961) concentrate on life in a small town in South India, and one can see how stresses and strains develop in families as a result of the inexorable invasion of western values.

Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* (1935), *Coolie, Two Leaves and a Bud* (1937), *Across the Black Waters* (1940), *The Big Heart* (1945), and other novels take us to the heart of the 'underdog'—the many varieties of under dogs—in our midst. R.K. Narayan is less 'engaged' than Anand as a novelist, but he is the better artist. His principal works are *Swami and Friends* (1935), *The Bachelor of Arts* (1937), *The English Teacher* (1945), *The Dark Room* (1938), *Mr. Sampeth* (1949), *The Financial Expert* (1952), *Waiting for the Mahatma* (1955), *The Guide* (1959), and *The Man Eater of Malgudi* (1961).

Like Anand and Narayan, Raja Rao too is a good short story writer, and some of the pieces in his collection, *The Cow of the Barricades and Other Stories* are among the best in the genre. Bhabani Bhattacharya is both short story writer and novelist and his novels *So Many Hungers* (1947), *Music for Mohini* (1952), *He Who Rides Tiger* (1954), *A Goddess Named Gold* (1960), and *Shadow from Ladakh* (1966) show a continuing mastery of the craft of fiction. Of other novelists, mention must be made of Khushwant Singh (*Train to Pakistan*, 1956 and *I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale*, 1961), Balachandra Rajan (*The Dark Dancer* and *Too Long in the West*), Manohar Malgonkar (*Distant Drum*, 1960), and Menon Marath (*The Wound of Spring*, 1961).

Of the women novelists, Kamala Markandaya has already given us three novels, *Nectar in a Sieve* (1954), *Some Inner Fury* (1957) and *A Silence of Desire* (1961). Other women novelist are Santha Rama Rau, Shakuntala Srinagesh, Attia Hosain, and Nayantara Sahgal.

Jawaharlal Nehru's *An Autobiography* (1936), *Glimpses of World History* (1939) and *The Discovery of India* (1946), Nirad C. Chaudhuri's *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* (1951) and *A Passage to England* (1959) have achieved international fame. The present day literary scene in India is not unpromising. A journalist like N. Raghunathan ('Vighneswara') has raised his weekly jottings under the heading *Sotto Voce* (1959) to the level of literature—literature that reaffirms the imperishable values of the traditional Indian way of life. Other journalists like Pothan Joseph, K. Iswara Dutt, M. Chalapathi Rau and Frank Moraes can hold their own with the best in England or America. And essayists like R. Bangaruswami, R.K. Narayan, and several others have shown that the Indian writer too can deploy humour, wit, and satire to good effect.

6. Science and Technology

At the time of the advent of the European nations, scientific activity had practically ceased in India. The system of education which was highly scholastic in character with emphasis on grammatical and logical niceties was confined to a small section of the upper caste Hindus and Muslims. The renaissance of science in modern India was the outcome of British influence on Indian society. This was largely the result of the introduction of the teaching of English purely for practical purposes which started in 1813. From 1813 to 1854, the aim of education through the English medium was to impart liberal education. In 1857, three universities were established in the country in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta.

The first institution for imparting engineering education was started as far back as 1824 in Bombay. This was followed by an industrial school

in Madras in 1840. The first engineering college of the modern type was established at Roorkee in 1847. Special impetus to science education was given by the creation of 'Chairs' in government and private colleges from 1906 onwards.

The first World War spotlighted the importance of scientific education and research. In June 1917, post-graduate classes in physics, chemistry, applied mathematics and experimental psychology were started in the universities, and all post-graduate studies were centralized. In 1919, post-graduate classes in applied physics and applied chemistry were also started.

Seventeen new universities were established between 1916 and 1947. The number of universities at the dawn of independence was 20. Besides these, there were five Boards of Education, 496 arts and science colleges and 140 colleges for professional and technical education.

Growth of Learned Societies. In addition to the development of scientific education, the revival of science in India from the end of the 18th century was due to three main agencies, namely, the learned societies, the scientific officers in various services and survey departments of the Government of India and provincial governments, and the specialized institutes which were set up for research in different disciplines.

Amongst the societies that came into existence, the foundation of the Asiatic Society (later known as the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) in 1784 by Sir William Jones was a landmark in the revival of the study of science in India. During the first century of its existence, the Society provided a commodious building for meetings, library, and various collections including ancient coins and seals and helped the formation of archaeological, ethnological, geological and zoological collections of museums. Through its efforts the Indian Museum at Calcutta was founded in 1856. The period 1884 to 1900 was one of great activity in the history of the Society in so far as biological investigations were concerned.

The Agricultural Society of India was founded in Calcutta in 1920; it was renamed later as the Royal Agri-Horticultural Society of India. In Madras, a society called the Madras Literary Society and an auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland was started about 1833. The Society issued a journal under the name *Journal of Literature and Science*, renamed in 1834 as *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. It was issued irregularly and finally stopped publication in 1894.

Early in the 20th century scientific societies began to be formed mainly for conducting meetings and conferences and for publishing research papers and reviews in their publications. The Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science established in 1909 has for its objective the cultivation of science in all its departments both with a view to its advancement by original research and its varied applications to the arts and amenities of life. The Indian Science Congress Association established in 1914

discusses at its annual sessions the progress of the various disciplines of science. The period after 1931, especially after the World War II, saw a marked increase in the growth of societies. In addition to societies which had an all-India character, a number of regional societies were also started in different parts of the country. The total number of scientific societies in India at the dawn of independence was 59, out of which 9 were for physical sciences, 11 for medical sciences, 14 for biological sciences, 15 for engineering and technological sciences and 10 of a general nature.

Services and Surveys. The East India Company did not employ any scientists as such and almost all scientific work in India was, therefore, carried out by medical men, Royal Engineers, and civil or military officers interested in science, mainly in their spare time. Since 1763 medical services for the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were established and finally came the Indian Medical Service. Though primarily a military service, it was able to release the surplus military personnel for employment in civil medical work in hospitals, dispensaries, jails, asylums and medical institutes. Officers from this scientific corps were also utilized in organizing many other activities such as chemical examiner's work, botanical, zoological, and marine survey work, opium department and the mint. As it was very expensive to employ all the medical personnel from Great Britain, training of Indians was started to serve as auxiliary medical personnel. A college was established for this purpose in Calcutta in 1835. Public health organisations in India date back to 1859 when a Royal Commission appointed to report on the sanitary state of the army recommended a 'Commission of Public Health' for each presidency to supervise and improve the sanitary conditions of the general population and the cities, to prevent epidemics and to provide drainage and water supplies. A Sanitary Commissioner and Statistical Officer to the Government of India was appointed in 1869. This office was merged into that of the Director General of Indian Medical Service in 1889. A Central Advisory Board of Health constituted in 1937 stimulated the development of provincial organisation to deal with problems like nutrition, malaria, school health etc.

The need for surveying the Indian sub-continent was felt as early as 1793 and the Trigonometrical Survey of the Peninsula of India was established in 1800—this was expanded later on in 1818 as the Great Trigonometrical Survey. Topographical and revenue surveys were all grouped together in 1817 and later consolidated with the Trigonometrical Survey as the Survey of India under the Surveyor General in India (1879).

Some geologists had been employed for survey work since 1818 and this ultimately led to the establishment of the Geological Survey of India in 1851.

Meteorological observations were commenced from 1796 at the Madras observatory founded in 1792, from 1824 at the Survey office building at

Calcutta, from 1875 at the Alipore observatory and from 1841 at the Colaba observatory, Bombay. A central authority to direct and collate the work of observers all over the country was created and a Meteorological Reporter for the whole of India was appointed in 1875 when the Meteorological Department was established.

With the foundation of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens (now the Indian Botanical Gardens) in 1788, the possibility of carrying out botanical studies was created and in course of time the Botanical Survey of India was founded in 1889. Zoological and anthropological research started under the impetus of the Asiatic Society in 1841, gained momentum with the foundation of the Indian Museum in 1856. The launching of the two journals, *Records* and *Memoirs of the Indian Museum* in 1907 materially advanced the cause of zoological research and ultimately led to the establishment of the Zoological Survey of India in 1916.

Hydrographic work was started by officers of the Bombay Marine from the establishment of the East India Company to 1832. The explorations covered not only the Indian Ocean but also the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the China Seas. This work was taken up by the Indian Navy and continued till 1862 when the Indian Marine Survey Department was established. At the instance of the Asiatic Society, marine biological investigations were also added to marine work and in 1875 the Indian Coastal Survey was established.

A separate Department of Fisheries was created in 1870 and valuable investigations were carried out on the fisheries of the rivers of India and on marine fisheries along the entire coasts of India and the results were published.

An Archaeological Department was created in 1862. It carried out a survey of the monuments and antiquities of northern India, Bombay and Madras.

Specialized Science Institutes. Coeval with the development of university education in science, a number of specialized applied science institutes were established by the government and through private donations for carrying out research work. Of these, a large number were devoted to agriculture and allied sciences, medicine and public health. Among the former, the most important was the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa (Bihar) which was established in 1903. This was followed by the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dūn (1914), Tocklai Experimental Station (1911) and the Sugarcane Breeding and Research Station at Coimbatore (1912). The Imperial Dairy Research Institute, Bangalore was established in 1920 to carry out research in dairy husbandry and to develop the dairy industry on proper lines. The Allāhābād Agricultural Research Institute, Naini (1923), Institute of Plant Industry, Indore (1924), Indian Central Cotton Committee Technological Laboratory, Matunga (1924), Indian Lac Research Institute, Rānchi (1925), Imperial Institute

of Sugar Technology, Kânpur (1936), Forest Research Laboratory, Bangalore (1938), Sheela Dhar Institute of Soil Science (1940), River Research Institute (1943), Institute of Agricultural Statistics (1945), and Central Rice Research Institute (1946) were established for conducting advanced researches in their respective fields.

The earliest organization for dealing with medicine was the Imperial Bacteriological Laboratory established in 1890. It was moved to Muktesar in 1893 and was named in 1925 as the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research. The Haffkine Institute, Bombay was started in 1899 as a plague research laboratory, but gradually anti-rabic pharmacological and biochemical researches were included in its activities. The other institutes in this group were the King Institute of Preventive Medicine, Guindy, Madras (1903), Pasteur Institute of Southern India, Coonoor (1907), King Edward VII Pasteur Institute and Medical Research Institute, Shillong (1917), Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine (1921), Pasteur Institute, Rānchi (1929), All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta (1932), Bengal Immunity Research Institute and Indian Institute for Biochemistry and Experimental Medicine (1935), and Central Drugs Laboratory (1937).

The Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta (1932) was the first organisation in the country for statistical research, and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, for fundamental investigations. The Government Textile Institute, Kânpur (1914) and the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Kānpur (1921) were the two important institutes set up for technological research in textiles, and oils and fats respectively. The Central Water and Power Research Station, Poona (1937) was a unique set-up created for undertaking research on irrigation and power.

The institutes which were engaged in research in several disciplines were the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore (1911), and the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta (1917).

Organization of Industrial Research. Prior to World War I and even in the years that followed, industrial research in India did not attract the attention it deserved. The Indian Industrial Commission suggested in 1919 the establishment of a Chemical Services Committee which, in turn, proposed the creation of an All India Chemical Service to which were to be assigned the duties of assisting in the coordination of industrial work in progress in the provinces. It was decided to bring into being the Central Industrial Intelligence Research Bureau; this was to act as a central clearing house of industrial intelligence, to keep abreast of industrial developments both in India and other countries and to be in a position to give information and advice to industrialists and persons seeking industrial openings. The Industrial Research Bureau, as it was subsequently named, was thus established in 1934. The Government of India recognized the necessity of giving *ad-hoc* grants to scientific institutions as also

for establishing a central industrial research institute. The outbreak of the World War II in 1939 brought to the forefront the need for a strong and well staffed industrial research institute. Many sources of supply of finished products were either entirely stopped or much curtailed and it was soon realized that if India was to be industrially self-sufficient and an effective source of war supplies, the establishment of a central research organization was essential. The Industrial Research Bureau was, therefore, kept in abeyance and the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research was created in 1940. The activities of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research were supplemented by the Industrial Research Utilisation Committee which was set up by government in 1941 to advise on ways and means for the commercial development of the processes evolved under the auspices of the Board.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research was set up as an autonomous body registered under the Registration of Societies Act (Act XXI of 1860). The Council directed attention to the planning of research to meet the post-war needs. Twenty-two Research Committees were set up to draw up plans and examine schemes submitted by the laboratories and other institutions. Plans for the establishment of national laboratories for undertaking research in physics, chemistry, metallurgy, fuel technology, glass and ceramic technology were finalized, and approval was also given to set up research institutes for roads and buildings.

Review of Progress. Thus at the end of the 19th century, a good measure of scientific work was being done in the surveys and relevant departments of the government. Private societies also made some contributions in basic research in the field sciences. Five universities had been established but there was no provision for research. There were practically no science institutes. However, towards the end of the century, a few pioneering scientists such as J.C. Bose and P.C. Ray started investigations and published papers, paving the way for the development of scientific research in the country.

The first half of the 20th century witnessed rapid advance in science and technology mainly in three directions. University education was re-oriented with increasing facilities for post-graduate teaching and scientific research. A large number of research institutes were established both on private initiative and under government sponsorship. The number of scientific societies of a general as well as specialized type increased, with a consequent rise in the tempo of meetings and conferences and publication activity. In the forties, the importance of accelerating the progress of applied research was realized. All these developments stimulated the growth of science and technology. Worthwhile contributions have been made in the fields of agricultural sciences, anthropology, archaeology, botany, chemistry, engineering, geology, geography, mathematics and statistics, medicine, physics and meteorology. The contributions of

Srinivasa Ramanujam in mathematics, P.C. Mahalanobis in statistics, C.V. Raman, M.N. Saha, K.S. Krishnan and H.J. Bhabha in physics, S.S. Bhatnagar in chemistry, J.C. Bose in plant physiology, Birbal Sahni in paleobotany and T.S. Venkataraman in agricultural sciences earned international recognition.

Organised industrial development began in India in 1854 when foundations for the cotton mill industry were laid in Bombay. This was soon followed by the jute industry around Calcutta in 1855. Coal mining also progressed around this time. The greatest fillip to Indian industry came in 1922 when the policy of discriminating protection to indigenous industry was introduced. Several industries developed rapidly and a large number of new industries came up such as steel, sugar, cement, glass, industrial chemicals, soap, *vanaspati*, light engineering goods etc.

The second World War created conditions for the starting on a modest scale of several industries such as ferro-alloys, non-ferrous metals like aluminium and antimony, chemicals like soda ash, caustic soda, chlorine and superphosphate, diesel engines, pumps, bicycles, sewing machines and certain types of machine tools. Major impetus of the war was felt in the medium and small scale sectors of industries such as light engineering goods, pharmaceuticals, cutlery etc. In the immediate post-war years there was considerable new investment activity leading to the establishment of industries like rayon, automobiles, ball and roller bearings, carding machines, ring frames and locomotives.

Scientific and Technical Manpower. During the period 1910–47 there was a remarkable increase in the out-turn of post-graduate scientists. The average annual out-turn which was only 77 during 1910–14 increased to 588 during 1935–39 and reached 901 in 1947. The average out-turn of engineering degree holders which was 114 during 1915–19 increased to 1,057 during 1945–47. At the time of independence, India produced 930 engineering and 320 technology graduates. The average out-turn of diploma holders which was 340 during 1915–19 increased to 1,513 during 1945–47. The annual admission for diploma courses in engineering and technology in 1947 was 3,700 students and the number of institutions which offered facilities for education was 53. Facilities for advanced training and research at post-graduate level were meagre in the field of technology and almost non-existent in the engineering sector.

Scientific Journals. By about the middle of the 19th century, the Asiatic Society of Bengal started publishing papers on zoology, botany, anthropometry, physics, meteorology, chemistry, geology and medical sciences. At the turn of the century, eight scientific periodicals were being published. At the time of independence the number of scientific periodicals had increased to 135. Of these as many as 33 (25%) were in the field of medicine, 22 in agriculture and forestry, 19 in general science and 16 in engineering. In the field of basic sciences—physics, chemistry, botany

and zoology—the total number of periodicals did not exceed 10.

Expenditure on Scientific Education. The expenditure on university education and colleges (arts and science, engineering, technology and professional courses) which stood at Rs. 35 millions in 1937-38 increased to about Rs. 75 millions in 1946–47. The science departments of the universities were spending about Rs. 18 lakhs annually for teaching and research just prior to independence. The earliest figures available of central government's expenditure on scientific research are from 1929–30 onwards. The expenditure which was around Rs. 7.5 millions during that year increased to Rs. 24 millions when the country attained independence.

The position of science and technology just prior to independence may be summarized as follows. While there was ample recognition of the need for organizing scientific research, little progress was made in mobilizing the scientific and technical resources of the country and in harnessing science to the promotion of material welfare. Science and technology were largely the concern of the talented few in the universities and institutions founded by private benefaction. As many as nine men of science had won international recognition by being made Fellows of the Royal Society (London) and one of them had been awarded the Noble Prize.

The most notable contributions made in universities were in physics, chemistry and mathematics. Research in biological or geological sciences had not, on the whole, developed well and facilities for engineering and technological research were extremely meagre. The government bestowed attention to research on food crops, public health and improvement of raw materials for export. Such research was largely uncoordinated and unrelated to the realistic needs of the country. The country was entirely dependent on foreign sources for all the products of applied science and research.

There were three major agencies fostering research, viz. the Indian Council of Medical Research, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. There were 22 scientific research organisations of which six were engaged in survey work, ten on agricultural research, five on medical research and one on problems of irrigation and power. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research was the only organisation which undertook the task of establishing a chain of national laboratories for carrying out scientific and industrial research.

7. Cultural and Artistic Activities

(i) Architecture

The architectural contribution of the British actually began after the revolt of 1857 when their political power was firmly established. It took

the form mostly of country-houses, travellers' bungalows, churches, office buildings, etc. which stand all over the country. Their style represents a mixture of the ideas evolved by the British military engineers and civil architects. The architectural styles of these structures include the Graeco-Roman, Scottish, Gothic, etc. Under the influence of the British, imitations of antique styles appeared all over the country. The architecture of this time generally revelled in ungainly blends of pretentious classic orders, stylistic 'mannerisms' and combinations with Islamic arcades and domes.

When Sir David Ochterlony (1758–1825) was appointed Resident at the Mughal court (1803), there were no buildings in Delhi of a style familiar to British eyes. In England at that time, the craze was for the picturesque, such as a Chinese pagoda in the Kew Gardens and Greek temples in every great park. Great mansions were being designed in the Gothic style. It was not difficult for Ochterlony to adjust to the idea of converting the pavilion at the Shalimar Bagh into a summer residence or for Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe (1785–1846) to adapt the octagonal tomb of Muhammad Quli Khan (brother of Adham Khan, a general and foster-brother of the Mughal emperor Akbar) at Mehrauli for the same purpose. Metcalfe, however, built extensively and laid out elaborate gardens around the tomb at Mehrauli. Although the gardens and his structures are now in ruins, enough can still be traced to realise how extensive the original scheme was. The new buildings grouped around the tomb were built with local stone or stone already carved or reused from the Qutb area. The main house is partly roofed with a fairly elaborate vault, but the roofs of the other buildings are all gone, as these were probably of timber. The detail in these buildings is a mixture of European and Indian styles. Window and door openings are generally arched but the arches are sometimes pointed and sometimes semi-circular. The main room contains the remains of a nicely proportioned fire-place, but the room itself is surrounded by verandahs as a protection from the summer sun. What appear to be servants' quarters have a typical courtyard plan surrounded by rooms.

The site layout was more elaborate. The tomb, the house and the servants' quarters are set in a large rectangular garden which was probably laid out formally. Below the tomb, the ground slopes away sharply and the natural ridge is accentuated by steps and terracing. The entire area appears to have been enclosed by a substantial wall and could be entered by any of the five pairs of gates, set between elaborate gate-posts. Apart from the rectangular garden, the site is laid out in the manner of the English parks, with winding paths, a natural stream dammed to make a lake, and follies scattered around on all the surrounding high points, not only within Metcalfe's walls, but for some distance beyond. The various structures give views of these follies through arched openings. The existing monuments in the area were used as part of the total scheme.

About 1835, Metcalfe House was built by Sir Thomas Metcalfe, Resident at the Mughal court in Delhi, north of the existing city. This also shows Indian influence, but certain details here and in the Mehrauli structures betray the European origin of their builders. This is also true of the houses built in the new suburb of Delhi which sprang up with wide tree-lined streets and large bungalows set in spacious compounds. These often featured a revival of European styles such as Gothic, but adapted to Indian conditions. A solid structure of individual rooms in the English tradition was surrounded by verandahs to help protect the house from the sun and to provide outdoor living areas for summer evenings. Because of the lavish use of land, even large houses could be built with a single storey and the typical Indian detail of a flat roof. At the time Metcalfe was building in Delhi, houses in Bombay were being built to suit the climate—long and low with verandahs and thatched roofs. In Calcutta, however, mansions were erected in imitation of the houses of the rich in England with a classical facade, small balconies and large windows which had to be shuttered against the sun.

Public buildings and churches erected by the British throughout India were built in a variety of styles, which were, in most cases, completely unsuited to Indian conditions. No attempt was made to merge the structures with the Indian scene. Certain commercial buildings in Bombay, built in a Gothic revival style, do have pseudo-Indian domes added, but this was due to a fondness for decoration. As in England, Gothic was the style most often selected for ecclesiastical buildings, but there are exceptions such as the St. James Church in Kashmiri Gate, Delhi, built by Col. James Skinner (1778–1841) in the classical style. The church was consecrated in 1836 by Bishop Daniel Wilson.

Two areas of building activity, in the hill-stations and in the civil lines and cantonments of the plains, reflect British-Indian architecture in its purest form. In the hill-stations, it was possible to build almost exact replicas of English houses and public buildings, since the climate was suitable and building materials similar. Pitched roofs were necessary for draining rain and snow, which must have made the British feel immediately at home. The hill-stations retain much of their original character. The cantonment areas and civil lines were built under different conditions as the heat of the summer was the major factor in the design. The buildings, which do have a British atmosphere in spite of flat roofs and verandahs, are simplified versions of the revivalist architecture of the suburbs and are generally cool, comfortable and pleasant in appearance.

In December 1911, King George V proclaimed the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi. The decision to build a new city marked the peak of the British power. It was felt that the new capital of the British empire in India should be built on the basis of careful architectural planning of commensurate majesty. In 1912, Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, deputed

Sir E. Lutyens, "the best man to choose in the Empire" as suggested by the Royal Institute of British Architects, together with J. Bordie, City Engineer of Liverpool, and Captain George Swinton, Chairman-elect of the London County Council, to select a site for the central buildings. They recommended the Raisina hill, a slight elevation south of Delhi, as the ideal site. The principal structures comprised the Legislative Council building, offices of the Secretariat, the Viceroy's house, the quarters of the staff, the Viceroy's Bodyguard, the Comptroller, the Surgeon and the Military and Private Secretaries. In addition, there was the whole lay-out of roads, pools, fountains and gardens. All these were envisaged to be completed in a limited period of four years. In 1913, Sir Herbert Baker joined Lutyens as collaborator, to allow a division of labour, and be responsible for the Legislative Council building and the Secretariat, while Lutyens concentrated on the Viceroy's house.

The founding of New Delhi was a measure of imperial policy towards the ideal of establishing a monumental architectural expression of British imperial might. "It must not be Indian or English, nor Roman, but it must be Imperial", suggested Baker. Lutyens felt that "the Moghul was the style for India, if it was not dreadfully expensive." However, the transfer of the capital of India to New Delhi gave Lutyens a chance scarcely ever offered to an architect. There was much extravagance and some sacrifice of comfort to outward grandeur, some pretentious borrowing of Islamic pavilions and Buddhist railings, some imitation of Hindu ornaments and brackets. Yet it must be said that Lutyens added the refinement of ancient Indian architecture to the ostentation and magnificence expressive of the imperial majesty and power. Lutyens' team brought about a new conception of planning. In the design of the Viceregal Lodge (now known as Rashtrapati Bhavan) and the Council Chamber, no less than in the planning of New Delhi, there is ample proof of the tremendous contribution made by Lutyens.

The Central Secretariat complex, extending from the Viceregal Lodge is even today one of the best examples of large scale urban design for boldness of conception as well as actual realization. The architectural integrity of the whole complex, besides its harmony in scale and composition, is a tribute to its great architect, Sir E. Lutyens.

The Viceregal Lodge presents the peculiar English splendour, exprsesing, perhaps for the last time, the "spirit of aristocracy in the language of a dwelling." Taking its stand on proportion alone, which is its ornament, it stands imposingly on solid rock and extends 335.28 metres from the west ends of the Secretariat blocks. It is 192.024 metres wide 161.544 metres deep from the east to west and measures 941.832 metres round its plinth. It occupies a total area of 19,549.586 square metres inclusive of the internal courts. Built in brick, it is faced externally with dull red and creamy buff Dholpur sandstone. The floors and roofs are of rein-

forced concrete. Marble paving is used for floors. The structure encloses 285 rooms of various sizes meant for different uses. Here, Lutyens adopted the prominent features of Indian domestic architecture to fulfil the practical purpose of creating cool interior spaces by leaving a large part of the main floor area out of doors, at places directly open to the sky, and replacing the usual dusty, cramped, balconies with deep, lofty, shaded verandahs ideal for summer living.

The Viceregal Lodge is a building of palatial grandeur, "immense but not cumbersome" and having an "iron discipline" in its facade, yet soft and alluring, vibrating with the play of light and shade along the colonnades and presenting a picture of complete quiet and order. The dome is a dominating element over the external design due to its proportion in relation to the facade and the contrast of its smooth, curved surface with the light and shade of the grand colonnade.

The beautifully proportioned Jaipur column, stands slightly west of the exact centre of the Viceroy's court. This column rests on a red sandstone base, is all white excepting the bronze of the lotus flower, and has a six-pointed star perched on the top, completing the total height of 44.348 metres.

In New Delhi, Lutyens developed the arch-form to "a degree of solemnity as a memorial to those of a whole sub-continent, who have fallen in war." It stands at the junction of roads at the other end of the Central Vista. The main tunnel, 9.144 metres wide, bridges the processional path with passages only 1.219 metres wide, allowing pedestrians through at right angles to it. Exquisitely framed behind it is the memorial erected to King George V in 1930. This is east of the War Memorial Arch, popularly known as India Gate, and lies at the junction of six roads with a wide expanse of green area spreading around and encircling it. Within this green area is a rectangular pool. A second raised circular pool stands in the centre of the bigger pool and the monument rises from its surface. The figure of King George V faced west. The base is red sandstone and the upper part is creamy white up to the top but for the red *chajjā*. The statue has recently been removed by the Government of India. The figure of the King was of marble. When in position, it commanded attention due to its architectural setting and the arrangement of the strong, yet soft, lines of the stone structure, relieved by water-sprays and the reflection below.

The fountains flanking India Gate deserve mention as amongst the finest designed by Lutyens, including "the lotus fountains" in the garden of Rashtrapati Bhavan.

The large house of the Gâikwâr of Baroda, with its very wide wings (at an angle of 57° to the horizontal), is another interesting contribution by Lutyens to the architecture of New Delhi. On the ground floor, each wing contains three square rooms of the same size together with an open

court and square hall of similar shape and area. The visual relationship between the forms of the long vestibule across the axis and the circular saloon at the pivot of the plan is as pleasing as the white stone treatment of the saloon.

The outstanding examples of late baroque-style Christian churches in Goa deserve special mention besides the Cathedral at Simla, many old churches in Madras and the St. Paul's Cathedral at Calcutta built by Bishop Wilson at his own expense. Calcutta provides many other examples. Ochterlony's monument at Calcutta is a rare combination of architectural styles, with an Egyptian base, Syrian column and the Turkish metal cupola on the dome. It was built to commemorate the successful completion of the British campaign in Nepāl in 1816. Victoria Memorial, the noblest monument in Calcutta, is built of white Jodhpur marble. The Belvedere—National Library—is a magnificent Italian renaissance mansion with double rows of Doric and Corinthian columns and a triple arch gateway used by successive Viceroys of India. These two fine architectural specimens stand as massive tributes to the years of Britain's imperial glory.

Here we must mention Walter George's architectural contribution to New Delhi. Perhaps he was the last in the tradition belonging to the Lutyens' school. Having come to India in 1914 to help with the drawings of the new city, he served and lived there "to the end" (1962). He worked for a decade as the senior representative of the Lutyens' team and gave profound proof of his keen knowledge of Indian architecture and building materials. The buildings of St. Stephen's College and Kashmir House, besides several other structures, stand as imposing monuments to his personality and to the unique simplicity and serenity of his architectural design.

(ii) Painting and Sculpture

In the state of instability following the collapse of the Mughal empire, painting and sculpture steadily declined. Some painters sought the protection and patronage of rulers of the secluded Himālayan hill-states. Some drifted South and came under the protection of the Thanjāvūr court. This exodus eventually crystallized into local and regional schools of painting.

During the Mughal period and even afterwards, sculpture had never been a popular form of artistic expression. Architecture in terms of palaces, mosques and tombs enjoyed court patronage and only as decorative and architectural embellishments sculpture used to be practised in a limited sense. Perhaps the South was an exception, where temple building and carving of deities in wood, bronze as well as stone continued as before. In Orissa and Bengal, flourished two local schools, which too were extensions of the earlier tradition.

In Delhi and Lucknow a number of painters continued to practise their art even at the close of the Mughal period. Their productions were, however, mostly based on degenerate old art forms and were devoid of real merit.

The emergence of Kāngra painting during this time is a landmark in the history of Indian art. This Pahāri school has been regarded as an offshoot of the Rājpūt miniature painting. But Kāngra painting has come to be identified with an individuality—it is distinguished by lyrical appeal, delicacy of linear rhythm and rich harmony of colour. The earlier Mughal school and to a lesser degree the Rājpūt, under the influence of the Mughal court, were concerned with court life and its pageantry, and were, therefore, aristocratic in character; the art of Kāngra on the other hand, mirrors the charming details of the people's every-day life, their work, recreation and religious ceremonies, and their simple faith. The Vaiṣṇavite legends also afforded inexhaustible material for pictorial depiction. With consummate skill the Kāngra painter wielded his brush to produce some of the best miniature paintings. The treatment of cattle, the favourite companions of Kṛṣṇa, and the rural scenes that make the background, indicate a knowledge and awareness of nature hardly surpassed in the history of art.

Of special interest are the miniatures illustrating the group of Indian melodies known as the *Rāgamālā* and the romantic aspect of the art, denoting the *Nāyakas* and *Nāyikās* of the Indian classics. The painters of Kāngra were equally at home in pictorial depiction of the sentiments of lovers in different seasons and months.

Kāngra art penetrated the Himālayan range from Kashmir to Garhwāl. Guler, Jammu, Basoli, and Tira-Sujanpur were the principal centres. It degenerated about the middle of the 19th century.

The style of the miniatures was exploited also in larger mural compositions in temples and palaces. Examples of these are still extant in temples in Nūrpur and in the palace of the Rājā of Rupi in the Kulu valley and in the Rang Mahal palace in Chamba.

The Sikhs took over the waning Kāngra art but the refined style of the school was reduced to ornate superficiality under their patronage.

Marāṭhā painting was distinguished by robust figures and loud colours. In Thanjāvūr a regional style developed, predominantly influenced by mannerisms of the late South Indian art. Baroque in element, the Thanjāvūr school is interesting in its own way. At about the same time, Cochin rulers embellished the interiors of their palaces with mural decorations, exuberant in style, the themes covering episodes from the Purāṇas as well as domestic scenes. The Mattāncheri palace murals are still in a good state of preservation.

Fresco painting of a superior technique, popularly known as the Jaipur style, was in vogue well into the 19th century in the palaces and temples of the Rājputanā nobles.

Folk traditions in art had a great measure of vitality in the early years of British rule. Bengal and Orissa continue to uphold the folk art traditions even today.

By the end of the 18th century, Indian art gave in to new fashions brought by foreigners. The result was a curiously hybrid taste in the arts and architecture. Painting and sculpture of decadent styles began to be taught by the British in the newly established government schools of art and quite a few talented Indians became adepts in the current style of painting, sculpture and portraiture. Rājā Ravi Varma of Travancore gained much reputation in this period by his paintings of mythological subjects and portraits.

Towards the close of the 19th century, a reaction commenced against the staleness of the degenerate arts. Abanindranath Tagore conscientiously tried to recreate a national art style. He and his pupils experimented in techniques employed in Mughal and Rājpūt miniatures, Ajaṇṭā frescoes, scroll and *paṭa* paintings of Bengal, and even in other oriental paintings such as Japanese and Chinese. For subjects they delved into the Indian classics and mythology. With his foremost disciple, Nandalal Bose, Abanindranath Tagore spread the gospel of the new artistic faith far and wide in the country. The so-called Bengal school, with centres in Calcutta and Shānti Niketan, wielded great influence on the other art schools in the sub-continent. Naturally enough, the exponents of the school tried to copy and imitate old masterpieces of Indian art, aiming at revival, but broke away to stronger modern inspirations as soon as the romantic renaissance phase came to an end. In the post-Bengal school period, significant contributions were made by Jamini Roy and Amrita Sher Gill. Jamini Roy revitalized traditionalism by exploring fresh aspects of folk art, and giving it a new meaning by the force of his artistic personality. Amrita Sher Gill evolved an Indian style, rediscovered the values of Indian miniatures in the light of her training in Paris and Italy. Yet the most individualistic painter turned out to be the poet Rabindranath Tagore. His very personal idiom is quite outside the conventional standard of judgment.

(iii) Music

Disturbed times and foreign rule had their adverse effect on music, particularly in northern India. Even under such benevolent Mughal kings as Akbar, Jāhangīr and Shāhjahān who loved and patronised music, no attention was paid to the study of the science of music. Therefore, the kind of systematization that had taken place in respect of Karnātaka music was not achieved in the case of Hindustānī music till very recently. Aurangzeb bitterly hated music and tried to abolish every trace of it at

his court. During the reigns of his successors at Delhi (1707–1857), music continued to be cultivated but not with its old vigour. Rājā Sir S.M. Tagore says in his *Universal History of Music* that Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1719–1748), popularly known as Muḥammad Shāh *Rangīlā*, was the last of the emperors to have renowned musicians at his court. Sadarang (Nyamat Khan) and Adarang, the well-known composers of *khayāl* whose compositions are popular even today were at his court. It was also during this period that the *ṭappā* style of singing was brought to perfection by Shouri Mian of Oudh. *Ṭappās* (literally meaing stage) were formerly sung in very crude style by the camel drivers of the Punjab while covering stages of their journeys. A striking feature of the period was the excellent mingling of the Hindu style with the Persian. This gave rise to some new types of music such as *trivata, tarānā* and *ghazal*.

The neglect of the science of music during the Mughal period, and the favour shown to Muslim musicians alone gave a setback to the art. The Mughal court musicians began to take liberties with the orthodox traditional melodies. Among the 36 of Akbar's principal musicians mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* only five were Hindus. As a result of this neglect there arose several schools of musical practice, *matas* or *gharānās* which did not agree with one another on the exact forms of the main *rāgas* or their derivatives.

Two attempts were made to bring rationale into this confusion. One was by Mohamed Raza, a nobleman of Patna. According to his own statement, after conferring with all the best artists of that time he wrote in 1813 a book called *Naghmāt-e-Asarphī*. Thoroughly dissatisfied with the absurd and meaningless *rāga-rāginī-putra* classifications, he decided to introduce some sort of intelligent principle. He boldly criticized all the four prevelant *matas* (*Bharata, Hanumāna, Kallināthа* and *Someśvara*) as entirely out of date and laid down his own classification. The principle which he enunciated was that there should be some similarity or common features between the *rāga* and its *rāginīs*. In his book, for the first time, we have the *bilāvala* scale enunciated as the *śuddha* scale of North Indian music. This has now superseded the earlier scales and has become the foundation scale of modern Hindustānī music. It corresponds with the European scale of *C* major, barring the sixth note which is slightly higher than that of the European scale.

The other attempt in this direction was made by Mahārājā Pratāpa Singh Deva of Jaipur (1779–1801). He summoned a conference of pundits and experts and, in consultation with them, had a standard work of Hindustānī music prepared—it was called *Saṅgīta Sāra*. Unfortunately, the talents available were not of a high order; the book makes reference to a good many Sanskrit authorities without adequate understanding of the material used. Despite this fault, *Saṅgīta Sāra* is a praiseworthy attempt and has a place in the history of Hindustānī music as it records the opinions of the

best available experts of that time. This book also refers to the *bilāvala* scale as the *śuddha* scale.

An important book of the 19th century is *Rāga Kalpadruma* of Krishnanand Vyas (published in 1842), a large compilation of compositions. Unfortunately, as no notations are given, its value to a practising singer is negligible.

The first person to attempt notations for Hindustānī music was Krishna Dhan Banerjee of Cooch Behar. His book *Gīta Sūtra Sāra* contains about a hundred *dhrupads* and *khayāls* set to European notation.

In 1864, the first Indian notation called *Gīta Lipi*, prepared by G.L. Chhatre, was published in Bombay. It stands out as a distinct landmark in the history of the early attempts of the educated classes to make the teaching of music simple yet sound.

During the Rājpūt and Mughal times, the system of *gharānās* arose. John Hower in his *Study of Indian Music* calls it the vilest thing that could have happened to Hindustānī music. This was the direct outcome of the neglect of the science of music. As the practice of music became dependant on tradition from teacher to pupil, each *maestro* tried to pass on his knowledge only to his disciples and kept it hidden from others. These disciples who were mostly sons and relations of the *ustāds* were warned against passing the knowledge outside the family. During the British regime, Indian music was considered barbarous and did not get official patronage. Its decline continued, its outlook becoming more and more narrow. The confusion grew worse confounded and music became the profession of illiterate persons. The credit of taking Hindustānī music out of this mire goes to Bhatkhande (1860–1936) and Paluskar (1872–1921). Bhatkhande gave up his profession as lawyer and started studying all the old śāstric works on music in Sanskrit, as also those in Urdū and Persian. During 1904–09, he toured the whole of India and collected whatever significant material on music was available. He discovered that the South had maintained the old śāstric tradition which was lost in northern India during the Mughal times. He did not, however, agree with Captain Day and other European scholars who held the view that contact with Mughals had been responsible for the deterioration in Indian music. On the contrary, he felt that though the general neglect of the science of music was responsible for the current confusion, contact with Mughals had resulted in the development of many noteworthy features in northern Indian music. He, therefore, devised a system which had for its basis the old śāstraic traditions as expounded in South Indian music and yet preserved its own distinct features. His book is the basic work of the modern Hindustānī music. In addition to this systematizing, he composed *Lakṣaṇa-gītas* in South Indian style and devised a system of notation. It is due to his sustained and selfless efforts that the debris accumulated through the centuries had been cleared and modern Hindustānī music is now set

on a sound scientific basis. Even if some of his statements appear sweeping, and some critics say that he is obsessed by his zeal for compactness and pattern, the value of his contribution cannot be overestimated.

While Bhatkhande was systematizing music, it was being popularized by Paluskar, a disciple of the famous Balakrishnàbua Ichalkaranjikar (1849–1926). His knowledge of music was extraordinary, and so was his voice. These assets, in addition to his sincere devotion to the cause, gave a great impetus to the study of Hindustānī music. Due to his constant effort and his sage-like personality; the music which had become the handmaid of *nautch* girls and the like again became a 'Veda' to be respected and studied. He trained up a large number of distinguished disciples, such as Onkarnath Thakur and Vinayakrao Patwardhan. He also devised a notation and wrote several books for the teaching of music. Both the Bhatkhande and the Paluskar notations are in vogue today. It may be noted that Rājā Nawab Ali, a contemporary of Bhatkhande, brought the new outlook to the notice of the Urdū reading public through his book *Ma'ārif-un-Naghmāt.*

Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) evolved a new style in Bengālī music which has come to be known after him as "Rabīndra Saṅgīta." This is an amalgam of the classical Hindustānī music with the folk music of Bengal. He also experimented with the application of western melody to Hindustānī music.

Karnataka Music. The vicissitudes of Hindustānī music did not fall to the lot of the South Indian system. The southern dynasties were consistent patrons of this art. This was so particularly at Thanjāvūr where king Shāhajī and Tulajājī were both connoisseurs and scholars of music. Tulajājī's (1763–1787) *Saṅgīta-sārāmṛta* is a very important text in the history of modern Karnāṭaka music. The Nāyaka as well as Marāṭhā kings of Thanjāvūr were discerning patrons. It is, therefore, not surprising that three great composers, the musical trinity as they are called, should have appeared in the South and flourished in the favourable atmosphere of this area. This was also the golden era for the science of Karnāṭaka music. The scheme of 72 *melas* enunciated by Venkaṭamakhin (17th century) proved a decisive factor in the systematization of this music and paved the way for a new era of variations (*janya rāgas*), the magnitude of which had not been gauged before. According to Venkaṭamakhin himself, there were only 19 *melas* actually in use at his time, but the full scheme of 72 *melas* which he formulated was meant to achieve scientific completeness and to provide for the *desīya rāgas* and *rāgas* that might be invented in the future. His prophecy was fulfilled a century later by the three musical geniuses who explored the possibilities offered by the new scheme. The contributions of these three, Tyagaraja (1767–1847), Muthuswami Diksitar (1776–1835) and Syama Sastri (1762–1827), have to be viewed against this background. Of these three jewels, Tyagaraja shines brightest, for, not only was he a

great composer but also a great poet. The era of these three geniuses was one of experimentation in new forms and new interpretations of the old.

The *kṛti*, which is the mainstay of the Karnāṭaka system as *khayāl* is in the Hindustānī system, acquired an entirely new dimension during this age. The *kṛti* of the pre-Tyagaraja period bore the vestiges of *kīrtana* from which this form had sprung and in which words were of primary importance and music only secondary. This position was entirely reversed during the Tyagaraja period. How ideas were bubbling forth and innovations and modifications were thought of in a manner never done before can be seen in the developments mentioned below.

Tyagaraja was the first to introduce *Saṅgati* or musical variation on a set portion of the composition in his *kṛtis*. *Svara-Sāhityas* were introduced by Tyagaraja in his *ghanahrāga-pañcaratna kṛtis* and also by Syama Sastri.[1] Diksitar's *kṛtis* were learned compositions full of technical beauties of *yatis*, etc.

Javali had its birth in the 19th century. It is a lighter type of composition, not unlike *ṭhumrī* in Hindustānī music, in the sense that liberties are sometimes taken to lend attractivenses to the tune, and the theme centres on love.

Tillana dates back to the 18th century. It is similar to *tarānā* of Hindustānī music, and uses rhythmic syllables instead of words. Brisk and lively, it allows wide scope for fastness of tempo and utterances.

Syama Sastri converted *svarajāti* (started originally as a dance form), into a regular music form with the deletion of passages of *jātis*. It is not surprising that dance forms like *Jātisvaram* were evolved at Thanjāvūr and Kerala which are centres of *Bharata Nāṭyam* and *Kathākali*. Svati Tirumal (1813–1846), the Mahārāja of Travancore, has *Rāgamālikās* amongst his many compositions.

The musical trinity and Svati Tirumal were but four among the scores of accomplished composers of this period. Notable among the later musicians is Maha Vaidyanatha Ayyar (1844–1893), a prodigy and composer of complex pieces like the *Tillana Gaurī Nāyaka* in Kannaḍa, the *Simhanandanatāla* which is the only one of its kind (this is the longest of the *tālas* with 32 *mātrās* and 128 *akṣara kālas*), and the 72 *Melarāgamālikā*, the pride of Karnāṭaka music, in which the 72 sections on the 72 *melarāgas* are set in their order. Patnam Subrahmanya Ayyar (1845–1902), and Ramnad Srinivasa Iyengar (1860–1919), well-known for *varṇas* and *tillanas*, Sadashiv Rao and many other lesser luminaries have continued the traditions set by the trinity and enriched Karnāṭaka music.

Musical Instruments. Indian music being vocal in conception had all along tried to impose the ideal of human voice on the instruments too. Most of the instruments were conceived and designed as accompaniments and, therefore, their range of tones has generally been 2½ octaves, excluding the '*meend*'. 'Instruments must speak' was the axiom and if

any instrument failed to produce what the human voice could, it was contemptuously referred to as *Śuṣka Vādyam*—dry instrumentalism. It is interesting to note that Sārangadeva in his *Sangīta Ratnākara* refers to instruments to be played solo as *śuṣka* or dry.

During the period under review, a slight shift in this attitude started taking place and the credit for such a change must go to Pundit Ahobal who wrote his *Sangīta Pārijāta* towards the end of the 17th century. As Pundit Bhatkhande puts it, Ahobal has placed the entire music world in India under his obligation by giving an exact definition of the twelve notes he used in his book in terms of the lengths of the speaking wire on the *vīṇā*. This scientific method has made it possible to understand exactly what he sang and played. What an important landmark this is, can be realized when one compares the work of Sārangdeva (*Sangīta Ratnākara* of the 13th century) who is taken as our first and foremost authority on music and whose music is still not clearly understood, as one is not quite sure as to how he tuned the wires of his *vīṇā* and adjusted its frets. That the musical instruments can provide an objective standard for notes—apart from merely functioning as a drone—was brought home by Ahobal's ingenius use of *vīṇā* in defining notes.

Soon after Ahobal, Govind Dikshit fixed the frets of the southern *vīṇā*, so that all the *rāgas* could be played. Prior to this, the frets were movable and their numbers varied.

A large number of instruments particularly of the stringed variety were evolved out of the old forms. Unfortunately, in the absence of any authentic evidence it is impossible to say, with any amount of certainity, the exact time when they were first played or came into vogue. Tradition links names of certain musicians with some of these instruments like *vicitra vīṇā* with Abdul Aziz Khan and *Surabahār* with Omrao Khan. There is also some evidence to the effect that *dilrubā*, *esrāj* and *sarod* were evolved during this period and *sārangī* was lifted from its place in the folk music and established as a respectable court instrument.

Vīṇā has always been the foremost traditional instrument. The first quarter of the 20th century saw the masterly exploits on *vīṇā* by Veena Venkataramana Das (1866–1948), Sangameshwar Shastri (1873–1932), Veena Seshamma (1850–1926) and Veena Dhanammal.

The advent of the violin about the year 1800 is an important landmark in the history of South Indian music. Today, no Karnāṭaka concert is complete without the violin. The honour of introducing the western violin into Karnāṭaka music belongs to Baluswami Dikshitar (1786–1858), a brother of the famous composer Muthuswami Dikshitar. Likewise, credit for bringing the flute to the position of an independent concert instrument goes to Sarabha Sastri (1872–1904).

It was inevitable that the new musical instruments, though used as accompaniments, would change the style of vocal music. The very cons-

truction of an instrument, its musical potentialities, tone, etc. suggest certain definite lines of musical development and make it possible for the inventive musician to obtain a new form, or a new interpretation of sound. The *nom-tom* in *rāga-ālāp* of Hindustānī music, the *tanam* in Karnāṭaka music, the *bols* of *tarānā*, the various *gamaks* or graces and other musical accents in both Hindustānī and Karnāṭaka music are obviously based on nuances which appeared in the perfecting of the accompanying instruments.

With the British rule came the western music and their instruments. But the Indians adopted some of them—like violin and clarionet—to suit the demands of Indian music. About 120 years ago, Varahappayya of Thanjāvūr first perceived the possibilities of enriching the Karnāṭaka music by using violin. In South, at least, the violin has ceased to be a foreign instrument. The harmonium which is based on the principle of pianoforte is also a complete Indian adaptation of an essentially western instrument.

Another development of the east-west contact was the introduction of orchestration. In earlier times, we had groups of 5 or 6 instruments playing together as in the *naubat khānā*, *śabda pūjā* or fanfare for announcing royalties. But the orchestra as we know it today is a recent development. It has received its encouragement through film music, light music, military and band music. However, it has still not quite acquired a complete Indian garb. As a result of this development, several new instruments like *kāṣṭha-taraṅg*, *bulbul-taraṅg*, etc. have been developed.

(iv) Drama

The story of the Indian stage goes back to the days of the epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* when wandering minstrels narrated episodes from them to a vast audience. Since these works celebrated the heroic deeds of two great dynasties (the Solar and the Lunar) from whom all later kings claimed descent, bards at the courts—the later *Sauties*—were also actively associated with these performances. The practice of singing heroic poems dramatically was so popular that professional singers (*Kauśilavas*) came into existance. The Panjābi poem *Hīr-Rānjhā* shows that the tradition continues even today. Dramatic recitals of poems gradually established the drama as an independent art. By the 5th century A.D. there were not only celebrated dramatists such as Bhāsa and Kālidāsa but expert critics like Bharata who developed dramatics as a science. Side by side with the court dramas a popular stage also developed. This is evident from the Prākṛt plays of the 10th century and later times.

The advent of the Muslims seems to have affected the course of the Indian drama. Associated as it was with dance and music, the Indian

drama sought shelter in the religious practices. As the local aristocracy went under foreign influence, interest in the drama was confined to the common people. That would have been the stagnation point but for another active and constructive influence. This was the arrival of the European powers and Indian acquaintance with English literature.

It was about the middle of the 18th century and a few years before the battle of Plassey (A.D. 1757) that a happening changed the course of the Indian stage. This was the establishment by the English of a theatre of their own at Calcutta. Within the next two decades, a Russian named Herasim Lebedeff founded a Bengālī theatre. With this event, the modern Indian stage may be said to have come into existence.

The Indian stage under its foreign influences was mainly the creation of the educated classes. Educated Indians, now acquainted with Shakespeare, evolved a stage which was far different from the traditional open-air or the occasional court-hall theatre. A proscenium stage, rolling curtains, change of scenes, less of music and dance—these were the new found features. And from this time Indian dramatists began to write for a theatre of this kind.

Thus the Bengālī theatre established itself in its modern form and its influence spread to other linguistic regions. Marāṭhī and Gujarātī and then Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamil founded their own theatres. A great event of 18th century was the touring Pārsī company which showed that the theatre could be turned into a commercial venture. Professional companies were formed with able managers and actors of talent. The inevitable change implied in this development was that the plays were now meant for the common people and not purely for an educated audience. Another noteworthy feature was the increasing number of amateur groups.

Today the Indian drama is developing not only under western influence but it also incorporates some of the best features of the traditional art. Indians are now showing intelligent interest in the study of the drama in all its aspects; schools of dramatics are coming into existence; drama academies have been established at the state and central levels to help and guide research and experimental productions; prizes and rewards are offered in search of new talent; and as part of the Tagore centenary celebration, a number of Tagore memorial theatres have come into existence.

This, however, is the city stage. In the countryside, even though the traditional stage is on the wane, the modern stage is not yet welcome. A revolutionary change has come into our approach to the drama. Contrary to tradition, the stage is considered to be the mirror of contemporary and not of ideal life. Instead of the *rasa* theory, Indians now speak of tragedies, comedies, conflicts and climaxes. And what is more relevant, the Indian stage has established itself not only in all the regional languages

but is definitely trying to express itself in the language of the common man as opposed to that of the cultural elite.

(v) Handicrafts

In the past five thousand years, various crafts of metal, stone, clay, wood, bone, ivory and yarns became part of the life-stream of Indian culture. Once in a while, this stream changed its course and content to suit periodic influences, absorbed alien elements and even contrary cultures, and yet it maintained all the while its own basic and typically Indian character.

The overwhelming impact of the British economy on that of India during the past two centuries was strongly felt in the area of the crafts. For instance, the highly prized muslin fabric lost its old glory. Carvings of stone and castings of metal sculpture of the higher order gradually became extinct. Even the art of painting had to migrate to the secluded courts of the northern hill states for the patronage of their rulers. Various folk-arts such as the making of dolls and toys, embroideries and earthenwares were forced out to the remoter villages and then replaced by the products of western machinery.

Of all the Indian crafts, textile has had the widest range of variety. The antiquity of cotton textiles goes back to the days of the Harappan culture and continued through the succeeding ages. The muslin of Dacca with names like *āb-i-rawān* (running water), *shabnam* (morning dew), *bafta* (woven air) was exquisite for its fineness even up to 1800 counts. The muslin proper or *ḍoriās* and the figured *jāmdānis* were special products of Dacca. The *jāmdānis* with their complicated designs were the most expensive products of the Dacca looms.

India's dream-fabric is the brocade or *kimkhāb* worked in gold and silver wires inter-woven with silk yarns in beautiful colours and charming designs. *Kimkhābs* are produced mainly at Vārānasi, Ahmadābād, Delhi, Aurangābād, Surat, and Tiruchchirāppalli. The Vārānasi brocades are admired most. Kashmīrī silk fabrics with gold filigree or silk embroidery, Mysore silk *sāris* with touches of gold and thirty different varieties of silk fabrics including the most famous figured *bāluchar gharwana* prove the fact that Indian weavers mastered their art with silk as efficiently as they did with cotton.

Indians have also excelled in embroidery. The *phūlkāris* of the Punjab, *shīshādār phūlkārī* of Kāthiāwār, the *mochī* work of Kutch, *rūmāls* of Chamba, *kānthās* of Bengal, the gold embroidery of Āgra, Bareilly, Lucknow, Vārānasi, Hyderābād and Surat, the *kāsuti* needlework of Karnāṭaka, embroidery work of Uttar Pradesh and Rājasthān, and lastly the typical tribal embroidery of eastern India show the wide range of Indian needlecraft.

The art of dyeing cotton is also very old in India. Complicated processes have been evolved to fix up the colours of different shades deep into the fabric by Indian dyers or *rangrez*. It has been stated by William Moor that the Kashmīrīs in Mughal times could use over three hundred tints, but by the early 19th century this number dwindled to sixty-four only. The double dyeing (red on one side, yellow or green on the other) of Rājasthān and tie-dying (dyeing of both weft and warp yarns after they are tied with strings so that colour cannot slip into the tied portions of the thread and a pattern is thus obtained by weaving) of Gujarāt, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa are two typical processes of dyeing in which Indian dyers have revealed their ingenuity.

Next to muslin, the most popular Indian textile in foreign markets is its prints or painted fabrics, widely known as calico. Of the calicoes, the *qalamkārī* (work with the help of brush) or *bātik* of Masulipatam in Andhra Pradesh, Chingleput, Madurai, Thanjāvūr, Salem, Kālahasti and Nāgappattinam in Madras (Tamil Nādu) have been most renowned for the very complicated and laborious process of resist, of unsurpassed richness of colour and design. It is quite likely that the *bātik* process now practised so widely in Indonesia was exported from Āndhradeśa. Although the natural pigments used for colour vary from region to region, the block printing method is universally practised in India. *Chīpīgars* (block printers) of northern India have excelled in their craft.

Since Mughal times Kashmiri carpets have been extremely popular. Amritsar, Lahore and Jaipur became important centres of carpet weaving in the 18th century. Āgra carpets have been well known for their durability. Warangal carpets, once hailed in European markets as 'Deccan rugs' were highly appreciated for their fine count of stitches.

Weaving of mats from coloured grasses and cane strips in different designs of floral and animal motifs is a highly skilled art of Midnapore and the 24-Parganas in West Bengal, Agartala in Tripura, and some areas in Tamil Nādu and Kerala.

Another principal medium of Indian crafts is jewellery. As a form of artistic expression it is no less appealing than Indian textiles. Indian jewellers take infinite pains over the pattern even of a tiny nose-ring. There are as many techniques as materials. Shells, horns and beads, not to speak of precious gems, have always been combined to produce fascinating patterns suited to different races and tastes. Cambay in Gujarāt and some places in Mahārāshtra have excelled in the production of beads of both precious and semi-precious stones and faience. Processing of precious gems like diamond, pearls and corals was a brisk trade throughout the country. For enamelling work on gold and silver ornaments of predominantly Muslim taste, North India was better noted. Among the various centres of this art Jaipur and Delhi are still supreme. Intricate designs of silver and gold filigree from Cuttack, Karīmnagar (Andhra Pradesh),

Jhânsi, Kharagpur, and Kashmir are higly prized. Weilded, beaten and hammered ornaments are still produced by the Indian goldsmith on a vast scale. Tribal jewellery in baser materials is characteristically designed with a bold appeal.

For other types of gold and silver crafts, Kashmir was well known for its 'Gaṅgā Yamunā' or parcel gilt work on *surāhis* and repousse in flat relief. The repousse work of Gujarāt had a beauty all its own. Artistic hammering work of Cocanāda and Tiruchchirāppalli, high relief repousse of Thanjāvūr, Trivandrum and Madras, excellent workmanship of the original designs of Cuttack silverware, the well-known encrusted *swāmi* work of the South are all superb examples of manual dexterity.

The art of 'Damascening' or *Koftgari*, i.e., inlaying gold or silver wires on metals like steel, iron, bronze, etc., to obtain the desired pattern had its origin in Damascus but was widely practised in India. The chief centres were Kashmir, Siālkot, Jaipur, Alwar, Trivandrum and Bīdar; each had its own individual technique of production and design. *Mīnākārī* or the art of enamelling on metal flourished at Vārânsi, Delhi, Lucknow, Rāmpur, Alwar and Kashmir. Engraved brasswares come mainly from Vārānasi, Jaipur and Morādābād. The brasswares of Vārānasi are noted for their high excellence. Domestic vessels of the Gondwāna are characterised by their pure traditional forms; products of Ahmadābād and Vārānasi are liked for their delicacy; the large beat and hammered vessels of Nāsik and Poona are known for varieties of fine shapes and forms; Thanjāvūr and Madurai utensils of brass and copper are remarkable for their striking forms and elaborately wrought ornamentation. The manufacture of ornamented arms has also been widely prevalent. No account of Indian metalcraft can be complete without mention of South Indian votive lamps, infinitely varied in shape and decoration, and *dhokra* or *cire-perdu* casting of Bānkura, Birbhūm, Purūlia and the Bastar regions.

India has also excelled in stone carving. The art of carving stone images declined with the advent of the Muslims; they extended their patronage to the work of carving architectural pieces in stone and other minor stone crafts. Intricate and excellent *jālī* work done on marble or sandstone betrayed the delicate workmanship of the stone carvers especially of Uttar Pradesh, Rājasthān, Orissa, the Deccan and Mysore. Apart from the endless variations of geometrical patterns, the calligraphic decorations were also practised in stone carving. Marble inlay and mosaic works were other forms of lithic crafts in which India attained high proficiency. Āgra, Mathura, Delhi, Ahmadābād and Jaipur were renowned for the carving and inlaying of coloured semi-precious stones on marble.

The tradition of wood-carving is very old in India. Kashmiri *piñjrā* or intricate lattice patterns, ornamented chairs, tables and screens of Amṛitsar, arabesque designs of Udaki, ebony-carving of Nagina, intricate and elaborate panelling work of Ahmadābād, carved designs of Mysore,

Coorg and Kerala, incised decorations on black wood of Madurai, relief carving of brackets in Bengal, Orissa and Gujarât, sculpturing of figures specially in the round embelleshing the *rathas* in Bengal, Orissa and the South, dolls and mythological figures of Tirupati, *hiṅḍolā* or swing of Râjasthân and Gujarât, and the perforated panels of Mysore are striking. Architectural carvings of Gujarât, the Punjab, and Uttar Pradesh show the wide range of uses, treatments and techniques of wood-carvings in this country. Ivory, bone and brass inlaying on wood is also a highly perfected art in India.

The history of ivory carving in India is no less than 2,000 years old: For elegance and skill in carving, Mysore and Trivandrum products are highly prized. Murshidâbâd and Cuttack products, though artistically inferior, suit the modern taste of realistic representation. Amritsar, Patiâla, Ambâla and Ludhiâna produce delicate but durable articles and Murshidâbâd is justly renowned for minute ornamentation. Hyderâbâd is another centre of ivory craft. The best work of inlaid ivory may be seen in the Golden Temple of Amritsar. Ivory inlay on shell and horn is characteristic work at some places in the South. Jodhpur is especially known for brilliantly coloured and ornamented ivory bangles.

Different kinds of painted or lacquered articles are also made in various parts of the country. Decorative beads and bangles in shellac are produced in northern India, particularly at Jaipur. Lac bracelets of Pânch Mahâls in western India, and Indore and Rewa in Madhya Pradesh were once highly prized. Indian lacquered work is best known by its lacquered wooden and papier mache objects, trays and toys. Lacquered work on papier mache of a very fine quality is found in Kashmīr. Bareilly has been well known for its black and gilt furniture, Karnâl for embossed floral work. Muzaffarnagar was once famous for its painted and varnished bows and arrows; Jhânsi, Vârânasi and Lucknow, still produce lacquered wooden toys.

The tradition in toys and dolls goes as far back as the days of the Harappan civilization. What a village woman produces today is essentially timeless. For its least resisting attitude and easy availability, clay has been a favourite medium for poor craftsmen throughout the ages. In toy-making, besides clay, wood has been the choice of folk artists. Dolls are also made from pith and papier mache. The village potter sends his clay products to the local fairs, while pilgrim centres are the best market. Painted toys of baked clay which represent human beings and animals, individually or in a group, are made in Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and south Bihâr. Some of the toys are pinched and pelleted after the Harappan tradition while others are moulded. The painted wooden toys are notable for the peculiar way of rendering eyes, nose and hands, along with their abstract colour composition.

Indians took to pottery-making from the earliest times. Throughout

the ages Indian potters proved their great inventiveness in form and design. The painted dish (*sarā*) of Bengal produced by village craftsmen like Rudrapālas and Ācārya Brahāmaṇas on the eve of *Lakṣmīpūjā* is regarded as one of the most beautiful expressions of Bengālī folk-art. Alwar produces a kind of pottery in a thin layer of clay known as *kāghazī* (paperlike). The black pottery of Azamgarh, Ratnāgiri and Madurai is very much appreciated. Kota, Lucknow, Jullundur and Salem produce large quantities of painted pottery.

The leather work of Andhra Pradesh is famous. Perforated and cut out leather dolls are made for showing shadow dances. These dolls are used in depicting mythological stories on screen in shadows, corresponding to the Wayang figure of Indonesia. Murshidābād has a tradition of leather work and Shānti Niketan produces certain decorative objects in this line.

NEW HORIZONS

Independent India has been the stage for a series of revolutions of which the most apparent is the political revolution. India won freedom mainly through peaceful and non-violent methods. This was a great event not only for India but for the entire world. It meant the substitution of discussion and reason in place of armed struggle and bitter conflicts as means to the solution of political and other problems. It was also an assertion of the democratic principle, for the essence of democracy is that it is government by persuasion while in all other forms of administration, changes come about only through violence. In a democracy, ballots take the place of bullets. This brings about a qualitative change in the relations amongst the different sections of the community. If reason is the method to be used against a foreign power, it follows even more that reason must be the instrument for exercising authority within the state. It is therefore not an accident that free India elected to be a democratic republic. Given the ideals for which the Indian political leaders fought and the form the struggle had taken, it was inevitable that the Union of India should be established on the basis of democracy and the recognition of equal rights for all.

From the acceptance of democracy follows the 'rule of law'. Justice is the basis of all societies and whenever the foundations of justice are shaken great empires fall. In the past, however, justice had often been derived from the will of an individual or a group. The king meted out justice to all his subjects. Aristocratic or oligarchic orders dispensed justice to others after safeguarding their own privileges. In all such social and political organizations, there was an element of arbitrariness. In India, justice had been further diluted by the existence of islands of privelege. The hierarchical structure of Indian society has, since time immemorial, allotted different duties to different groups and individuals on the basis of birth. Caste or *varṇa* may have originally begun as a function of ability, but very soon caste degenerated into social stratification based on birth. In consequence, there was one law for the Brāhmaṇas and another for the Śūdras. Things did not improve after the Turks, popularly called the Paṯhāns, and the Mughals established their rule. During the Paṯhān regime, the Paṯhān had rights superior to those of other subjects. Similarly, during the Mughal times, the Mughals claimed precedence over every other section of the people. The British professed to adhere to the concept of the 'rule of law' in which all citizens are equal. They diluted the principle by providing special juries for European on trial. In practice, the 'rule of law' was still more defied and this was perhaps inescapable so long a an alien power ruled over subjects of different races.

The Union of India has for the first time established the 'rule of law' throughout the Indian territories. For the first time in Indian history, all citizens are equal and subject to the jurisdiction of the same authority. The distinction between the ruler and the ruled has been abolished. Privileges based on birth are no longer recognized. Religion or language, caste or community no loner guarantee any special privileges, with the single exception of certain under-privileged sections of the people who have been given safeguards to compensate for the past wrongs. The Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the other backward classes have been given certain special concessions. This is only in education, economic and administrative matters and does not in any way dilute the principle of equality in the eye of law. It can therefore truly be said that the 'rule of law' which is the special concommitant of democracy has for the first time been promulgated in India.

Special mention may be made of one section of the under-privileged who have suffered disabilities from time immemorial. It is not known when women were first relegated to an inferior position in human society. Almost all ancient civilizations denied them the rights of citizenship. There were no doubt some brilliant exceptions, but by and large women were subordinate to men in almost all historical societies. Islam was one of the earliest social systems to recognize women as legal personalities, but practice varied widely from theory and in Muslim societies also women generally had an inferior position. In Europe, women had to fight for legal and political rights, but in free India, women achieved equality with men without any bitterness or strife. One reason may be that Indian women had taken part in the struggle for independence in a way which has few parallels. In struggles for freedom elsewhere, women have generally inspired men to fight but in India women shared equally in the fight against foreign domination. This, and the enlightened vision of Indian leaders, assured women a place of equality and honour in the political life of the country. Two women in pre-independence India became presidents of Indian National Congress. After 1947, Indian women have held the posts of ministers, ambassadors and members of state legislatures and the Parliament. Today, there are women in the foreign service as well as various administrative and technical services. India also elected a woman to be the Prime Minister after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Another feature of the political revolution which has taken place with the advent of independence is even more significant. Geography has marked out the Indian sub-continent as a special unit demarcated from the rest of the world. Her geographical exclusiveness has saved India from the great human floods which have swept through Central Asia and Europe. From ancient times the Indian people have striven for unity. Poets have dreamt of Indian unity. We find, not only in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* but also in the verses of Kālidāsa, a yearning for

the unity. In *Meghadūta* and *Raghuvaṁśa*, there are marvellous descriptions of the Indian landscape seen from the synoptic vision of a great poet. Religious teachers have also sought this unity. The Buddha and Mahāvīra literally walked thousands of miles and preached the message of compassion, understanding and unity. Śaṅkarācārya rebelled against the Buddhist thought but recognized equally the need of unity for India. He was also an extensive traveller and established four *maṭhs*—in the north, the east, the south and the west to mark the unity of the land.

Religious teachers and great poets did succeed in establishing some kind of cultural unity. This has held in spite of political vicissitudes and in fact given Indian culture the unique character it has. There has also been economic unity of a type. In the earlier days, when transport was primitive and modern means of communication unknown, economic organization and activities throughout the world were local or at best regional. There was some international trade, but it was only for articles which were compact in size and high in value or as in the case of Indian cotton, steel and sugar, whose production was limited to an exclusive region of the globe. As in many other regions, Indian economy was based on agriculture and the village community. Each village or group of villages was therefore more or less self-sufficient and the concept of an all India economy was barely known. 'Alāu'd-dīn made an attempt to control the prices of essential commodities in Delhi and the adjoining areas. Akbar through his efforts to replace barter economy by a money economy did make a small dent, but by and large Indian economy remained village-based and local till the middle of the 19th century when the introduction of the railways bound India together in hoops of steel.

Attempts at political unification have been persistent and yet foredoomed to failure. From the earlierst times, the Indian people have sought to give some kind of political expression to their basic unity. The mythical Bharata gave the name *Bhāratavarṣa* to this land. In the epics, there are records of *Aśvamedha* and *Rājasūya yajnas* by kings who sought to become *Rājacakravartī* or emperors. In historical times, Candragupta Maurya did succeed in establishing a state which covered a major part of India. Later, Candragupta Vikramāditya sought to emulate his example. Still later, Harṣavardhana and Pulakeśin II made separate attempts to unify India and succeeded only in defeating one another. 'Alāu'd-dīn also sought to establish an Indian empire. Later, Akbar did consolidate his sway over half of India and what is more important, sought to give an ideological basis for political unity. Aurangzeb extended the boundaries of the Mughal empire and after him the Marāṭhās made a similar attempt to unify India politically.

All these attempts at the establishment of a unified Indian empire however failed. One major reason was that the technological conditions for ruling a vast territory like India had not been achieved. Administration

requires continual inter-change of information and orders between the centre and the administered areas. This was from the nature of the case difficult because of the non-existence of facilities like the railways and the telegraph. Even as late as the middle of the 19th century, it took more than a month to travel from Delhi to Calcutta. The journey from Delhi to Madras obviously took longer still. In fact, the fastest a man could move would perhaps be about 80 km. a day by using relays of horses. There is an interesting story of how Akbar quelled a rebellion in Gujarāt by travelling night and day and reaching there within eleven days. The rebels found it hard to believe that an ordinary human being could travel so fast and surrendered out of awe, even though Akbar had barely thirty men with him when he appeared on the scene.

The second reason why all former attempts at political unification of India failed was that in the past all such attempts were based on military conquest. Unification followed from the might of an emperor who wanted to extend his sway throughout the different regions of the land. Alternatively it was due to the ambition of a clan or region to exercise mastery over others. Whether it be the Maurya or the Gupta empire, the Coḷa or the Cālukya domination, the Turkish Sultanate or the Mughal empire, in every case political unification was based on the domination of an individual, a family or a group. A major reason why the Marāṭhā attempt to establish an empire failed was the refusal of the Rājpūts and Jāṭs to submit to Marāṭhā domination. All past attempts of empire-building were, therefore, foredoomed to failure on the grounds of technological inadequacy and natural human resentment against military domination.

Today the whole of India is united not because any one region has established sway over others, but because all parts of India have voluntarily joined to form a federated republic. Every state in the Union, whether large or small, has equal recognition under the Constitution. The people of every state have the same rights and duties. Technologically also conditions are ripe for a single state. Railways in the beginning, later the automobile and today the aeroplane have practically abolished distances. One can travel from one part of India to any other part within five or six hours. Messages can be flashed from one corner to another in a matter of seconds. Queries are made and answers obtained within hours. In fact, a paradoxical situation has been created where a man can travel from Delhi to Trivandrum in a shorter time than it takes to go from Delhi to Jaunpur.

The acceptance of democracy, the establishment of the 'rule of law', the adoption of constitutional and legal methods for bringing about social change, the conquest of space and time, revolutionary technical advances and above all the spirit of accommodation, equality and freedom have for the first time created the conditions where the five hundred million people of India can think, feel and act as one nation.

II

Economic motives may not be the only factor governing human conduct, but there is no doubt that they are among the most powerful forces that shape human destiny. India had at one time appeared as El Dorado to foreign visitors like Megasthenes or Fa-hien. They had commented upon the high standards of honesty prevailing in the country. They had noted with surprise that theft and robbery were almost unknown and 'lock and key' were practically never used. It is interesting to note that the Indian word for lock, '*tālā*' is of Arabic origin and that for key, '*chābī*', is of Portuguese origin. The average Indian was noted for his honest and upright conduct. Even today many people in the villages, and especially sections among the Ādivāsīs and other tribal people, display the highest standards of honesty and integrity.

Without a deterioration in the Indian character, the British would not have succeeded in establishing their rule. The economic deterioration which set in the wake of British domination led to further deterioration in the Indian character. Before the advent of the British, Indian economy was predominantly rural and depended on a combination of agriculture and agro-industries for providing work and living to the people. Villages were still vital and offered opportunity for some sort of education, work and recreation to the rural population. As the industrial revolution gathered momentum in Europe, it sought larger markets. A direct result was large-scale import of various types of manufactured goods which steadily disrupted the Indian economy. The drift to the town is a general characteristic of the modern age, but in India this drift proved disastrous for the national economy in almost every sphere.

After independence, reconstruction of Indian economy demanded a complete reorientation in agriculture. For almost 3,000 years Indian agriculture had hardly changed. The type of plough and bullock of which we have evidence in the Harappan times still persists in large areas of the country. Through the ages there have been minor improvements in agriculture; but the terrifying expansion in population which has taken place in the last fifty years has made old forms of agriculture totally inadequate to national needs. It has been estimated that the population of India in the beginning of the 19th century was perhaps not more than 100 or 125 millions. By the end of the century, the 200 million mark had been passed. The 1931 census gave a population of about 300 millions for undivided India. Today, it has crossed the 500 million mark. Unless the population explosion can be regulated, India may have to face a population of about 1,000 millions before the end of the century. This will mean not only shortage of food but probably famine and unemployment on a scale that may threaten the very existence of the nation.

Indian agriculture has shown in recent years a remarkable power of expansion and growth. This is fortunate, as all development ultimately depends on the progress of agriculture. Without an assured supply of food, neither individuals nor nations can prosper. The Indian achievement in agriculture since independence is striking. Food production in the early fifties was about 55 million tonnes. Today it is approaching 110 million tonnes. However India still has to depend, to a small extent, on imports.

Import of foodgrains need not in itself be condemned. There are countries like the United Kingdom which have deliberately decided on a policy of import so that the productive energies of the nation may be more usefully employed otherwise. Unfortunately, India has not been in a position to pay for her imports and has been forced to depend on the generosity of other countries, specially the U.S.A. There is growing recognition that the country must either produce all the food it needs or buy it without depending on the charity or goodwill of others. Recent breakthroughs in agriculture suggest that this can be done. The average production of paddy per hectare has till recently been about 1,700 kg. With imported seeds, more fertilizers and better irrigation, individual farmers have produced as much as 2,900 kg. per hectare in certain areas. These may be exceptional, but by and large production has increased over vast areas. Tamil Nādu, the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh have established new records of production. A comparatively unfertile area like Rānāghāt in West Bengal has given an yield of almost 1,500 kg. per hectare. Even at the old rates of production, the shortage in India has never been more than 15 to 20 percent. If the production can be doubled, and in some cases it has increased five or six-fold, not only will the shortage disappear but India may become once again an exporter of grain.

Similar developments have taken place in respect of the major cash crops. For decades, if not centuries, India has exported agricultural raw material on a vast scale. Some Indian products had found an international market even in the pre-historic times. There is reference to the use of Indian timber for a Babylonian temple built several hundred years before the birth of Christ. Throughout the ages, special types of Indian agricultural produce have found a ready market. Even today tea, jute, oilcakes and groundnuts form some of the major components of Indian exports. Since independence there has been substantial, though not spectacular, progress in all these fields. There are reasons to believe that the progress will be both steadier and more rapid in the coming years.

The major ground for optimism lies in the slow but steady return of the educated classes to agriculture. For almost 200 years, agriculture was looked down upon and educated men considered it *infra dig* to take to farming. Fortunately this mentality is changing, partly by pressure of circumstances and partly through the recognition of the dignity of labour.

In the first hundred years of British rule in India, literate men found comfortable jobs in a government office or a mercantile firm. The situation had become difficult even before the end of the 19th century. Since then the pressure of educated men for various white collar jobs has steadily increased. Today, for each job there are at least a hundred applicants. Much of the unrest and frustration in the country is due to the presence of a very large number of the educated unemployed who are eager to find new avenues of employment. The prosperity of the farmers and a growing recognition of the importance of agriculture are slowly attracting educated men and women to the land. Retired army officers and civilians as well as successful practitioners of law are discovering that work on the land not only gives a higher income, but also comfort and satisfaction of a type which the restricted life in the city can never match.

The agricultural revolution has been accompanied by an industrial revolution which, in a way, is even more far-reaching. Indian capitalism never got a chance of full development because of political exigencies. The hierarchical structure of Indian society not only prevented free blossoming of talent but restricted the flow of knowledge from one stratum of society to another. This is perhaps a major reason why the scientific and industrial revolution took place in Europe and not in India.

The Industrial revolution gave to British economy an impetus that sent it far ahead of all competitors. England which was a large importer of manufactured goods even in the 17th century was, by the middle of the 18th century, a major exporter of finished products. Indian textiles had earned world-wide fame from the earliest times. The possession of an Indian muslin was for long a mark of aristocracy throughout the western world. The industrial revolution changed all this almost overnight. Through the use of machinery, Britain produced textiles on a scale which not only met local needs but left a sizable surplus for export. For several decades, British goods could not compete in quality or price with Indian products. Legislation was therefore undertaken by which the import of Indian textiles into the British Isles attracted severe penalties. Improvements in the quality and volume of British production and rigorous restrictive laws combined to shut out Indian textiles from at first the British and later the entire European market. Since this was the major Indian export of that period, the consequences to the Indian economy can be easily imagined.

India suffered because the traditional manufacturers languished under the impact of unfair foreign competition. She suffered even more because she could not take to the production of any of the new types of goods that were coming into use. From being a major exporter, India by the beginning of the 20th century was totally dependent on foreign imports for meeting most of her requirements.

The picture was dismal in the field of consumer goods, of almost every

type. It is true that a change for the better began in the last decades of the 19th century. The political awakening of the country gave a further fillip to the development of Indian industry. The Indian textile trade received a great impetus from the *Swadeshi* and Boycott movements of 1905–1906. Indians began to look forward to a time when they would be free not only politically but also economically. One of the landmarks of this period was the establishment of an Iron and Steel Mill by Jamshedji Tata at a town which has since been named after him.

The stress of the first World War compelled further industrial development in India. During the second World War, industrialization received still greater impetus. With all imports stopped because of war, India had to produce not only consumer goods but machinery of various types to keep the economy going. India also became the base for supporting the Allied war effort both in East Asia and West Asia. In consequence, new types of industry came into being and Indian businessmen again began to think in terms of an independent Indian economy.

The iron and steel mills of Jamshedpur, Kulti and Burhânpur were established before independence. There was also a small steel mill at Bhadrâvati in Mysore, but the real development in metallurgy has taken place only after India became free. Indian progress in this field is striking by any standard. The United States of America increased steel production from about a million to five million tonnes between the year 1870 and 1890. Czarist Russia used to produce over three million tonnes of iron and steel in 1916–17. Starting from that base, the Soviet Union increased its production of iron and steel to about 18 million tonnes in 1937. India increased her production of iron and steel from less than one million tonnes in 1946–47 to about six million tonnes in 1966–67. Indian progress in steel production was thus more significant than that of either the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. in the corresponding period. Perhaps the only country in the world which can show a higher rate of increase in the production of iron and steel is Japan which pushed up its production of iron and steel from 0.7 million tonnes in 1920 to 7.00 million tonnes in 1940.

Along with this striking expansion in the production of iron and steel, there has been parallel development in almost every area of industry. India is still deficient in non-ferrous metals but since independence, production has expanded considerably in many items. India did not have a machine manufacturing industry worth the name before independence. Today the installed capacity in the country is capable of producing the most sophisticated types of machines and plants. Chemical industry has also proliferated on a vast scale. Today, India has a growing petro-chemical industry which promises to solve some of our basic industrial and economic problems. Equally remarkable has been the development in electronics and various industries connected with the use of atomic energy.

These new types of industries as well as the development of the infra-

structure needed for economic expansion hold out the promise of a brilliant economic future provided the resources in men and material are properly used. There is room for improvement in the use of both. Inspite of striking development in almost every line of industry, India is still largely dependent on foreign sources for industrial raw materials, finished goods and technical know-how. There has so far been inadequate attention to the development of indigenous design and technology. There should be no hesitation in borrowing technology from abroad. In fact no country has made any significant advance without drawing heavily upon the industrial advances of other countries. With the growing consciousness of the need of developing indigenous technology and the potential which has been created through an enormous expansion in India's industrial life, there is every reason to hope that Indian scientists and technologists will play an increasingly important role in bringing about an economic renaissance that would be in keeping with the political re-awakening of the land.

III

The far-reaching political and economic changes sketched above were the result of an intellectual renaissance which had affected almost every aspect of Indian life. In fact, these political and economic developments might not have been possible without a complete reconstruction of Indian education in the beginnings of the 19th century. One of the major weaknesses of India and indeed almost all Asian countries has been the absence of a public system of instruction. Education was for the elite and catered only to the intellect. The emphasis on development of the intellect was accompanied by a neglect of manual skills. In consequence, handicrafts continued through the transmission of skills from generation to generation but without any formal training in a technical institute. Europe made a breakthrough during the industrial revolution and developed technology through the application of science to industry. The European domination of the world for almost three centuries was a direct outcome of this intellectual advance by which education received a broader interpretation than accent on the development of the intellect alone.

The impact of Europe disturbed the placid water of India. The British rulers of the day did not, however, wish to transplant European education on Indian soil. It is true that the East India Company in the early years of the 19th century, made a start by providing funds for public instruction. The funds were, however, reserved for oriental learning with special emphasis on the study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. In fact, some of the British rulers disliked the idea of imparting western education to Indian students. It was the initiative of Christian missionaries and non-official Indians that led to the establishment of schools and colleges imparting

education of the western type. The first English medium school in South India was opened in 1717 at Cuddalore. Richard Cobbe founded in 1719 a charity school at Bombay for poor European and Anglo-Indian children which was thrown open to Indian children in 1815. A charity school was established in Calcutta in 1720. The names of Alexander Duff of Calcutta, John Wilson of Bombay and William Miller of Madras will always occupy a place of honour in the history of western education in India. They could not however have succeeded without the pioneering activity of men like Jayanarayan Ghosal, Raja Rammohan Roy, Radhakanta Deb, Haji Mohammad Mohsin, Framjee Cowasjee, Rao Bahadur Maghubhai Karamchand, Premchand Roychand, Sreenivas Pillai, Hyder Jung, Raghavachariyar, Ganesh Gangadhar Shastri, Ranganath Mudaliar and later Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Syed Ahmad Khan, Dadabhai Naoroji and a host of others. The result was a revolutionary expansion of education which shattered old ideas and beliefs and created an intellectual ferment that ushered new India.

There has been much criticism of British rule in India and also of the system of education which they established. Macaulay through his famous Minute initiated the policy and Sir Charles Wood gave it a concrete shape. Any human institution has defects and the system of education developed in India during the British days is not free from blame. It cannot however be denied that this system of education disturbed the inertia of the Indian mind, helped to break down social barriers, removed old superstitions—even though at times new superstitions were introduced—and generally helped to create a sense of nationhood. Macaulay's prophecy that the extension of western education would ultimately lead to the dissolution of the British Indian empire has proved true. His other forecast that even when the British empire disappeared, Shakespeare and the English language would remain as part of the permanent heritage of Indians has proved equally true.

The major criticism against the system of education evolved during the days of British rule is that it was too narrow in quality as well as in quantity. Only a minute fraction of eligible pupils received the benefits of schooling. Even those who were fortunate enough to go to a school and later to a college were severely restricted in their choice of subjects. The syllabus was heavily weighted in favour of purely literary education. Science was neglected and technology was almost unknown. The curriculum was rigid and circumscribed and the small minority which received education was generally drawn away from agriculture, industry and commerce. In fact, the prevailing system of education tended to develop a bias against manual labour of every type. To educate a village boy very often meant the loss of a potential farmer, craftsman or technician.

After independence there has been literally an educational explosion. In 1947, there were barely 30 million children receiving elementary educa-

tion. Today the number is approaching 80 millions. The number of pupils in secondary schools has also increased four-fold, from less than 3 millions to over 10 millions. Even more spectacular has been the growth in numbers in higher education of every type. The number of students in various types of post-secondary institutions was barely a quarter million in 1947. Today their number has exceeded two millions. In fact, the proportion of pupils of the relevant age-group who go to universities or comparative institutions is perhaps higher in India than in any other country excepting the U.S.A. and possibly the U.S.S.R.

Equally remarkable has been the growth in the diversity of education offered in various types of institutions. At the elementary level itself, the evolution of basic education has introduced a new type of schools based on socially purposive activity. At the secondary level, many new streams have been introduced. Today a secondary school pupil can take courses in the humanities or science or technology or commerce or the arts. At the university level, the emphasis has shifted to science and technology. Before independence, there were few engineering colleges and they taught only at the undergraduate level. With the possible exception of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, there was hardly any institution in India which offered facilities for post-graduate studies and research in technology. The Nalini Ranjan Sarkar Committee had recommended as early as 1944 the establishment of four institutions of technology modelled after the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the U.S.A. and the Technische Hochschule in Zurich. One such institution was established in Kharagpur in 1951. Since then, five more institutions have been founded in Bombay, Madras, Kānpur, Delhi and Pilani. Simultaneously, the technological faculties in various universities have been strengthened. Advanced centres of study in science, technology and the humanities have also been established in a number of selected universities.

Not only has there been a spectacular increase in numbers and expansion of facilities in different directions, but simultaneously, special efforts have been made to educate those who for historical, economic or social reasons have been backward in education in the past. The number of Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe students in institutions of higher learning could be counted on one's fingers before the advent of independence. Today they have to be counted in tens, if not hundreds of thousands. Regions which in the past were denied facilities of education have received special attention. Today there is hardly any state or any region within a state which cannot offer opportunities of education of almost every type to its inhabitants.

A special reference should also be made to the progress of women's education in free India. Women had started to enter higher institutions of learning in the eighties of the last century but even ten years before independence, the number of women pupils in universities and colleges

was insignificant. In the early thirties of the present century, they numbered barely five per cent in post-secondary institutions while a woman in an engineering or technological institution was almost unknown. Some women had entered medical colleges but these institutions were overwhelmingly masculine. Within twenty years of the attainment of independence, a remarkable change has come over the scene. At the elementary level, girls form almost fifty per cent of the pupils. In the secondary and post-secondary stages also their proportion has shot up. When graduation lists are published—in the sciences, the humanities and even in technology—women often are found to occupy top positions. In both number and quality, wide-spread women's education is one of the most striking features of contemporary India.

With expanded opportunities of education has come a new awakening and new expectations among every section of the Indian people. Men and women who were formerly content to suffer disabilities and submit to what they regarded as the ministration of an unkind destiny today rebel against circumstances and seek to mould the world nearer to their heart's desire. Industrialization and urbanization are twin keys which govern their entry into a world of new opportunities. At the beginning of this century, some 80% of the Indian people depended on agriculture for their living. Today the figure has come down to 70% and there is a steady downward trend as more and more people take to industry. This is accompanied by a drift to the towns as well as slow urbanization of villages. Once people become accustomed to the amenities which cities and towns offer, they refuse to accept the hardships and disabilities of rural life. The more ambitious move to the towns. This sets in motion a vicious circle in which people move to the towns because of lack of opportunities in rural areas and opportunities in such areas diminish because able people move away. This is a modern phenomenon common to all countries, but in India it has reached alarming proportions. In countries like the U.S.A. or U.K. a contrary trend has started. People living in overcrowded metropolitan cities often seek to move out into the country for quiet and peace. The more enterprising seek to create conditions where they can enjoy rural surroundings as well as the amenities of civic life. This process has just started in India and the emergence of a new class of educated farmers is helping this trend.

One immediate result of urbanization is the weakening of the bonds of religion, caste and family. In rural areas, every one knows almost everything about every one else. In urban areas, one hardly takes note of one's next-door neighbour. The anonymity of the town is at times heartless, but it has one redeeming feature. It liberates the individual from the tyranny of the family or the caste and offers him greater freedom and scope for developing the personality. This was particularly necessary in a country like India where family claims have been so insistent that

the individual has at times been submerged. In independent India, many of the old bonds are in the process of dissolution. If at times it creates a sense of uncertainty and doubt, it also offers an opportunity of development to the individual which did not exist before.

There have been protests against caste from the earliest days of Indian history. Not only the Buddha but Mahāvira and many other religious teachers declaimed against caste. After the advent of Islam, the institution of caste was again challenged, but paradoxically there was also an accession of strength to the institution as a defence mechanism against the aggressive proselytization of the new faith. Throughout the middle ages *sādhus*, saints, *faqīrs* and *dervishes* preached a religion of humanity which transcended all class, caste and racial barriers. Men like Kabīr and Nānak, Rāmānanda and Caitanya, Khwājah Mū'īnu'd-dīn and Tukārāma, Niẓām-u'd-dīn and Rāmadāsa preached the unity of all men. In the modern period, a succession of reformers and leaders beginning with Raja Rammohun Roy and ending with Tagore and Gandhi have also sought to denounce the tyranny of caste. The Indian Constitution has recognized the validity of this humanitarian outlook by making untouchability an offence. Nevertheless, the rigours of caste have not yet totally disappeared.

The citadel of caste is however falling down under the impact of industrialization and urbanization with all their implications. The factory values the labourer for his contribution to the production of wealth and pays little regard to his caste. The town with its anonymity helps the less privileged to forget their disabilities and mix on more or less equal terms with strangers. Even more significant has been the impact of rural transport. Country buses are packed like sardines and the irrate driver or conductor has little time to pay any regard to the caste susceptibility of any of his passengers. The railways and even more the country buses have perhaps done more for breaking caste barriers than all the religious teachers and reformers from the days of the Buddha. Electricity is helping in the process by taking modern education, modern industry and modern communications into the most remote areas. It would not be rash to predict that the impact of these forces will make caste obsolete before the end of the century.

IV

The far reaching political, economic and social changes described above would have been remarkable at any time and for any people. Normally, such revolutionary changes have taken place only through violence and disruption that destroyed the existing society and created a new order out of the broken units. In the case of India, the transition has been predominantly peaceful. There were no doubt several conflicts among

different sections of the Indian people before independence. Things took an ugly turn when, on the eve of independence, the two major communities of the country seemed poised against each other in regular armed camps. Indian independence was ultimately attained at the cost of unity.

When a live organism is cut into two, dislocation and suffering are inevitable. In the wake of the partition of India, millions were uprooted. Accepted standards of conduct were destroyed overnight. Men and women, who in normal times were peace-loving citizens and governed by human considerations, lost their balance and became temporarily insane. Acts of cruelty, oppression and barbarism occurred which are not only against the Indian but against any human tradition. For a while it appeared that men had relapsed into a state of barbarism where the law of the jungle ruled. During this period of turmoil, distress and fear, one voice rang out in the clearest tones of humanism, rationality and democracy. Mahatma Gandhi pitted himself against the rising clouds of darkness. Even though he was physically destroyed, his spirit triumphed and the warring subcontinent found in him a symbol of hope and restoration of human values.

The independence of India set in motion a process of changes which have had far-reaching effects throughout the world. Described as the keystone in the arch of imperialism, it was perhaps inevitable that the arch should come crumbling down, once India became free. When India was fighting her battle of independence, she was fighting not only for her own freedom but for the end of all colonial regimes throughout the world. It is therefore not surprising that Indian independence was followed by the liberation of almost all occupied territories throughout the world. The liberation of Asia was followed by the liberation of Africa. Within ten years of the attainment of Indian freedom, almost the whole of Africa has shaken off the shackles of imperial rule. Africa is today proud and free—a new member in the comity of nations in spite of the thousands of years during which men had struggled against nature in that vast continent.

Indian freedom released new forces within the country and outside. There was a rising crescendo of expectations and it was not surprising that the reality did not always match the hopes. We have mentioned before the massive advances of India in the fields of agriculture, industry and commerce. In the field of education, the addition of some 65 million places in elementary and secondary schools within the brief period of twenty years is no mean achievement. This is a remarkable feat and compares favourably with the expansion of education in countries like the U.S.A., U.S.S.R, Japan and the U.K. In terms of numbers, the Indian achievement is magnificient, but judged from the point of view of proportion and even more from the point of view of quality, the Indian achievement is not up to expectations.

An unfortunate manifestation in recent times has been the growing

emphasis on narrow loyalties. Before the advent of independence, Indians were united in a common fight against an alien power. Opposition to foreign rule served as a bond of unity and glossed over many internal dissensions and differences. With the attainment of independence, a common focus of opposition disappeared. With it disappeared the bonds of unity which had bound together the Indian people. In consequence, we find today divisive tendencies in many parts of the country. India is and has always been a land of sharp contrasts. Her per capita income is among the lowest in the world and yet some of the richest men of the world are Indian citizens. Indians include some of the most sophisticated men even in the modern age and other Indians are among the simplest and the most primitive people of the world. Every stage of civilization and culture—from cowdung age to the age of atomic energy—co-exist on the Indian sub-continent. It would have been surprising if with her vast territory and such diversity among her people, Indians had been a completely homogenous people united in every way.

The reality is that the Indian people are a conglomeration of many races and tribes who have throughout the ages slowly worked towards unity. In such a context, it is inescapable that there will be minority groups of many types based on many considerations. There are groups organized on the basis of religion, language, region, custom, traditions or race. In fact, if one starts a close scrutiny, it would be difficult to discover any majority group in this vast sub-continent. Even the Hindus—who may be united against non-Hindus—show divisions in their customs, sects, clans and linguistic groups. It is perhaps better to describe India as a land of minorities in which the majority itself is fluctuating and differs in shape, size and texture according to the principle of organization we may seek.

The various minority groups in India share with minority groups in all countries a common difficulty. Each minority group is keen on preserving its autonomy and culture, and afraid of being submerged and lost in the majority. The majority where it exists—and where there is no majority, the single largest group—becomes suspicious of the minorities' insistence on autonomy. It is apprehensive that such demands may lead to fragmentation and weakening of national integrity. The conflict between these two points of view can be solved only if pride in group culture can be combined with pride in the achievement of the nation. Whether it be the question of Nāgāland or Kashmīr, of Tamil-speaking people or people speaking one of the Ādivāsī languages, divisive symptoms which appear today are mere expressions of the concern of different minority groups to retain their identity in the weltering mass of Indian humanity.

Of all the problems which face independent India, the most insistent and at the same time the most dangerous is the failure to provide necessary openings for the rapidly increasing population of the land. We have seen

that till now the production of food has on the whole kept pace with the growth of population. With an agricultural breakthrough, the rate of production can be accelerated. Simultaneously measures have been initiated and must be pursued with greater vigour to ensure that the rate of population growth is brought under control. The enormous improvement in national health services after independence is a major cause for the acceleration in population growth. The birth rate in India has fallen over the last half a century. In 1901, live births per thousand were 51; today they are about 37. This fall in the birth rate has however had no effect because of the sharper fall in the death rate. Before independence, the death rate in India was one of the highest in the world—about 33 per thousand. Today the death rate has been reduced to about 16 per thousand and there are indications that the death rate may be lowered still further with improvements in preventive and curative medical services. Increased social services demand even stricter control of the growth of population and this must be one of major tasks of independent India.

The control of population growth will demand family planning on an extensive scale. This can be effective only through the individual approach of educated men and women. Mass scale advertisements in newspapers and posters on the streets are likely to do more harm than good. To approach every individual family will require the services of about a million men and women for the half a million or more villages of India. Equally urgent is the demand for electrification and better communications in rural areas. Capital intensive industries cannot absorb our enormous manpower, but electrification—whether through thermal or hydro-electric or atomic means—offers the prospect of converting every village home into a miniature factory where family members can work in a congenial atmosphere without the friction and clashes that are inescapable in any large-sized factory. Minute additions to the income of each of the hundred and odd million families of India will have a snowball effect by creating demands for all kinds of consumer goods. This will give a fillip to the diverse industries of the country and in turn provide the incentive for the developmnet of heavy industries and the economic infra-structure. Once the present backlog of unemployment is wiped out, the present mood of frustration and despair will also disappear.

V

In one of his most remarkable statements, Rabindranath Tagore said that unity is not uniformity and only those who are different can unite. We have seen that the Indian Union has been constituted by the willing adherence of different sections of the Indian people to form a united Indian nation. So long as the Indian nation respects the claims of each of

its constituents, tries to mete out equal justice to all, the unity of India can never be in danger. It is only when there is an attempt by any element—whether religious or linguistic or political—to dominate over other units and impose its character on others that Indian unity faces danger. By its reconciliation of differences and recognition of unity in diversity, independent India has opened new horizons not only for herself but for the entire world. In the modern age, all societies must be multiple societies and these multiple societies must combine to form the one world in which alone the hope of man lies.

We have mentioned how the formation of the Indian Union marks a new departure in Indian history. In the past, there were empires when outstanding individuals conquered large territories and brought them under one control. We have also seen that these attempts at political unification of India failed, partly because technology had not reached a stage where a vast territory like India could be ruled from one centre. Aristotle said that the size of an ideal state must be such that a man can get on a hill-top and his voice carry to the farthest limits of the state. Today with telephone, radio and telecommunication, a man's voice can carry not only to the farthest corners of India but perhaps to the farthest corners of the world. Movement by train and bus and even more by aeroplane has helped to solve the problem of distance. In a way, still more important has been the invention and manufacture of large printing presses which can turn out newspapers and other material by tens of thousands within the hour.

Greater facility of movement has led to a vast expansion in the travelling habits of the people. In ancient times, a village 6 km. away was described as *videśa* or foreign country by a villager. Normally, he never moved more than 8 or 16 km. from his village. If he went on a pilgrimage, he often performed his own *śrāddha* before leaving. Today, thousands of villagers go on *Bhārata Darśana* and travel from one end of India to another not only to places of pilgrimage but also to see the country and with it some of the great monuments, ancient, medieval and modern built for artistic, industrial or other purposes. The Tāj Maḥal attracts today hundred of thousands of visitors every year. Bhākra Nāngal or Gāndhi Sāgar or the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay attract similar crowds. The sense of oneness has grown not only because people have voluntarily united to form one Republic, but also because they have far greater opportunities of mixing with one another and realizing that, though different in many ways, they all form part of one great nation.

This sense of unity has been further strengthened by various programmes undertaken by government as well as non-official agencies. All India Radio provides music of all regions for the benefit and delight of men and women of all regions. The Sāhitya Akademi started a programme of translating about a dozen classics of every major Indian language into

every other major Indian language, so that there would be a corpus of some two hundred books which would be the common heritage of all Indians. UNESCO cooperated in a further programme of translations in which some two hundred major classics of the world—Asian, African, European and American—would be available for translation into every major Indian language to stress the community of Indians with people of other countries and other cultures. There have been many intra-State exchanges of cultural troupes by which dancers and musicians of Kashmīr have performed in Kerala while similar troupes of Manipur have performed in Tamil Nādu. *Kathākali* of Kerala and *Bhārata Nāṭyam* of Tamil Nādu today rub shoulders with *Odissi* of Orissa and *Kathak* of Uttar Pradesh. In the world of culture, every part of India is proud of its own distinctive contribution and at the same time equally proud of the great achievement of Indian civilization in its infinite richness and complexity.

Perhaps for the first time in history, Indians have developed a consciousness of inner unity. In the past also there was a general feeling of Indianness, but it had not been given a firm intellectual and still less a political basis. One of the tragedies of India has been the failure to effect an intellectual synthesis of the great thoughts of ancient India with thoughts which came from Western Asia or Europe. During the period of British rule, western science as well as western political concepts influenced the thoughts and actions of Indians but the association generally remained external. In many cases, there was just a position of different elements without a real fusion among them. Independent India offers vast opportunities of synthesis where the various elements can be merged to form a coherent outlook which will retain the contribution of each giver and yet give to the totality a flavour that is characteristically Indian.

It is because of this development that independent India has within a brief period been able to make a mark in the international field. India has been a free nation for only a little over twenty five years. Economically, India is still at the receiving end of international economic transactions. In spite of the lack of any overwhelming political, economic and military strength, India's impact on international affairs has been striking. The First Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi on the eve of independence and gave a new sense of unity and purpose to all Asian peoples. The First Asian History Congress and the First Asian Literary Conference were also held in New Delhi. Still more important, the political conference held in New Delhi almost immediately after independence was a major factor in solving the Indonesian problem and led to the emergence of the Republic of Indonesia as a free entity in free Asia. It was again India which was largely responsible for enunciating the principle of peaceful co-existence and cooperation in economic and cultural matters in spite of differences in political and social organization. India's has always been a voice for reason and moderation in the councils of the United

Nations. It is not surprising that with this approach to political problems, India should play a leading role in both United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and Food and Agriculture Organisation. There have been occasions when India has spoken not only for herself but for other developing countries of the world. Perhaps the high water-mark of India's achievement in the international field was the Bandung Conference where Jawaharlal Nehru played a leading role.

Independent India has also opened out new prospects for her children in almost every field of human activity. Before independence, able and ambitious young Indians had very limited opportunities for using their talents. For some twenty years before 1947, the highest ambition of an able young Indian was to get into the Indian Civil Service. The Army, the Navy and the Air Force were still largely the preserve of the British, though a small but gradually expanding opening had been made in this citadel of exclusiveness after the first World War. Today there is hardly any field anywhere in the world where Indians have not made a mark. Within India, the highest political offices as well as positions of responsibility and power in the administrative, the economic and the professional world have opened out to them. Opportunities have unfolded in the outside world as well. There are Indian scientists, technologists and educationists in practically every country of the world working either on their own or on behalf of the International Civil Service which has developed through the United Nations and its associated agencies.

The modern age is characterized by a new concept of technical assistance from more advanced to less advanced countries. India has been a recipient of such assistance in many fields, but even Indians do not always remember that she is equally a donor. In fact, the number of foreigners serving in India on various technical assistance programmes is less than the number of Indians who in one capacity or another are rendering technical assistance to various countries of the world. Such employment of Indians abroad is not confined to the economically and scientifically less developed countries. The U.S.A. and the U.K., like many of the developed Western European countries, have drawn heavily on Indian talent and it was perhaps a fitting recognition of this Indian contribution to the world pool of scientific knowledge that an Indian domiciled in the U.S.A. should be the recipient of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry for original research in the mysteries of human heredity.

India has today not only embassies or missions in most countries of the world, but there are a large number of Indian students and teachers in many of them. Equally striking is the expansion of Indian industry and commerce beyond India's shores. From the beginning of recorded history, India was an exporter of cotton textiles, steel, sugar and finished goods of various types. In the last two hundred years, Indian export of finished goods had declined and she was reduced to the position of

mainly an exporter of raw materials. After independence the old trends have been revived. Today India exports many types of goods and seeks markets in the farthest corners of the world. Indian industrialists and entrepreneurs are helping to develop the Indian economy and simultaneously exploring possibilities of development in distant regions. They have carried India's industrial flag to the heart of Africa as well as some of the most industrially developed countries of the world. There is thus a renaissance in India which is expressing itself in almost every field of human activity and proving once again that the capacity of India to serve the world is as strong today as it was in the days of glory in the ancient and medieval past. Truly new horizons have opened out, horizons of hope, endeavour and fulfilment for new generations of Indians in the new dawn of independent India.

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